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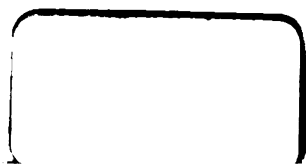
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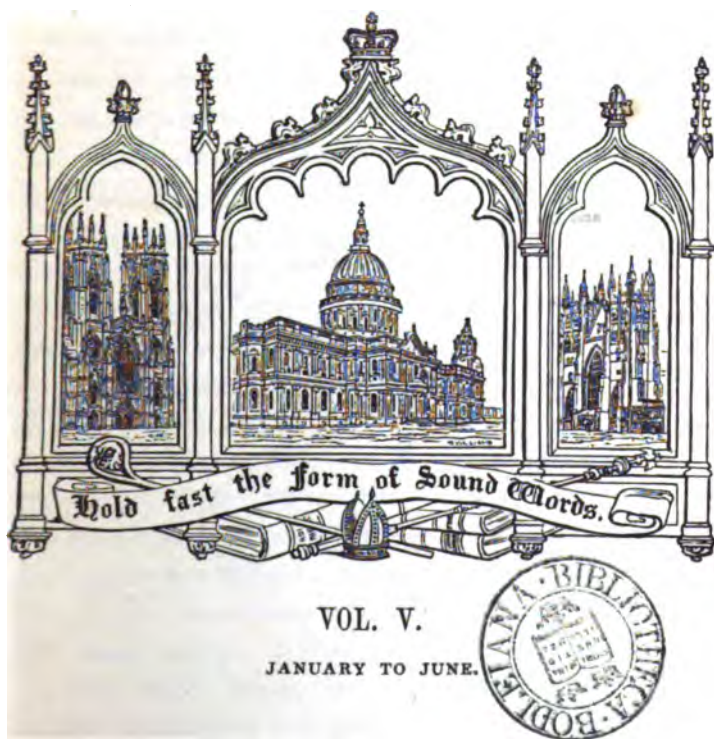


THE ...



THE
CHRISTIAN'S MONTHLY MAGAZINE
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P R E F A C E.

THE remarks which we might have prefixed to our concluding Volume have in a measure been anticipated in the Editorial Retrospect of our May Number, but there still remains a duty for us to perform to our Subscribers and Contributors, which at all times we have been ready to acknowledge. In reviewing the past, it is easy to trace deficiencies, which yet it would have been no easy task to avoid; and, in saying this, we acknowledge that our own aims to deserve success have never been fully attained. The *parergon* of our Editorship, in addition to heavy labours, has been no slight undertaking; and while deficiencies in execution are confessed, yet we may claim credit for an earnest endeavour and sincere desire to accomplish all which could be expected of us. We have attained more than reasonably could have been anticipated, though far less than the all-importance of the truth makes desirable; and it will be no boast, if we say that many Articles in this Magazine deserve a place in the library, rather than in mere periodical literature. We have aimed at solidity and sound Theology, without the catching devices of light reading or frivolous tales; and, in our opinion, one line of deep thought or severe argument is worth more than volumes of vain declamation against Tractarian or any other error. Popery, as Tractarianism, is now defunct, and we pray God that it may never disgrace or endanger our land by rearing its head. Nor do we mean to say that it is entirely gone as to individuals, but this we mean, that the party has lost its leader, has become split up into divers sections, has no prin-

ciples, no consistency, no hope of success as a party. It was once compact and unscrupulous, but at the present time it can put forth no open attack or powerful apology. The utmost which its defenders can effect, is to obscure its aims and conceal its character from the mass. If in this they succeed, there is hope for them; but at present they have no powerful and capacious leader,—no one who can head the forlorn hope. The dangerous men have been compelled to leave us, and those that remain are dangerous only on a small scale. They are dangerous, because trifles, when neglected, become important. They are like the full-blown spider which escapes destruction by concealment. Let them once shew their true character, and they also will be compelled to leave posts which they abuse. But, as the Lord hath especially manifested His presence with His Church in these times, so we trust He will ever preserve it in all its purity; and we pray that the Spirit of Truth may bring into the right way all such as “have erred and are deceived.”

Our existence ends at a time when the Church seems to have a slight rest from her labours; and, in concluding these our humble endeavours, we ask once more that allowance for deficiencies, which we have ever received, and an increased and earnest prayer, that when the Church Triumphant shall exist, and the Church Militant have for ever ceased, we, unknown as we are to man, may enjoy even the lowest room in the courts of heaven.

THE

CHRISTIAN'S MONTHLY MAGAZINE.

WE have been favoured with two Letters from the Rev. G. S. FABER, addressed to ourselves, which are a suitable accompaniment to that which we published in our last Number. The first is on the Romanist appeal to antiquity, and the second on the Pope's supremacy.

LETTER II.

To the Editor of the "Christian's Monthly Magazine."

THE ROMANIST APPEAL TO ECCLESIASTICAL ANTIQUITY.

SIR,

I am inclined to think, that a peculiarity, respecting the **PROFESSED GROUND** on which the decisions of the Council of Trent have been made to repose, has not, either generally or sufficiently, been noticed.

The common idea seems to be, that the decisions of that Council are *purely dogmatical*, resting upon nothing save a gratuitously assumed infallibility. Whence it would follow: that, while the Papists receive them on the score of their being nakedly infallible declarations from which lies no appeal, Protestants reject all those which disagree with their own creed, on the broad ground that infallibility is (what, indeed, abstractedly is true enough) a mere impudently ridiculous figment.

But this idea is altogether incorrect. By a sort of what really seems like a judicial infatuation, the individuals, who constituted the Council of Trent, do not rest their decisions upon the **GROUND** of an *asserted Conciliar or Papal Infallibility*, but upon the entirely different **GROUND** of a *confident appeal to Ecclesiastical Antiquity from the very beginning*, and therefore to an antiquity which commences with and includes the New Testament.

Now such an appeal is plainly a direct assertion of an HISTORICAL FACT. Consequently, like the assertion of any other historical fact, it must be tested by an examination of history itself. If history, commencing with the New Testament, substantiates the asserted FACT: then, no doubt, we must receive it. But, if history, commencing with the New Testament, either negatively *refuses to substantiate*, or positively and explicitly *contradicts*, the asserted FACT: then, according to the simple dictate of merely plain common sense, we must reject it. Unless this be admitted, there is an end to the value of Historical Testimony: and it is quite nugatory to appeal to it, as the Tridentines professedly do, unless the Romanists will be bound by an appeal deliberately made by the strictly official members of their own Communion.

I. After this exordium, it will, of course, be only fair and proper to exhibit some specimens of the appeal: in order that, so, the PROFESSED GROUND of the Tridentine Decisions may be indisputably evident even to the most careless inquirer.

1. The Council assures us: that certain traditions, appertaining both to faith and morals, either *orally delivered by Christ* or *dictated by the Holy Spirit*, have been preserved, *through a continual succession*, in the Catholic Church: whence they are to be received with the same reverence as Scripture itself. Concil. Trident. sess. iv, pp. 7, 8. Edit. Antwerp, A. D. 1644.

Can these assurances be verified by history?

2. The Council professes to deliver that sound doctrine respecting the Sacrament of the Eucharist, which the Catholic Church, *instructed by Christ and his Apostles and the Holy Spirit*, has ALWAYS [semper] held. Sess. xiii, p. 122.

Does history, sacred and ecclesiastical, substantiate this profession?

3. Respecting the doctrine of Transubstantiation as defined by itself, the Council declares: that *this Faith was ALWAYS in the Church of God*. SEMPER hæc fides in Ecclesiâ Dei fuit. Sess. xiii, c. 8, p. 124.

Can the truth of this declaration be proved by the testimony of history?

4. The Council asserts: that the Universal Church ALWAYS [semper] understood complete confession of sins to a priest to have been instituted, as a point of necessity, *by our Lord Himself*. Sess. xiv, c. 5, p. 148.

Can this assertion, respecting the auricular confession of the Romish Church, be verified by history, either scriptural or ecclesiastical?

5. Notwithstanding the full satisfaction made for sin by Christ, the Council declares: that the doctrine of *man's being able and bound to make satisfaction for his own sins* was, *through the whole course of*

time past [perpetuo tempore], recommended, to Christian people, by our fathers. Sess. xiv, c. 8, p. 156.

Is this declaration supported by the testimony of history?

6. The Council asserts: that the sacrament of Extreme Unction was instituted *by our most clement Saviour*. Sess. xiv, c. 1, pp. 159, 160.

Is the adduction of the language of St. James (Epist. v. 14, 15) by the Council any valid historical proof of the assertion: seeing that the language of the Apostle, and the Romish doctrine of Extreme Unction, differ, *toto caelo*, from each other?

7. The Council declares: that no Divine command requires either the Laity or the non-officiating Clergy to receive the Eucharist in both kinds: for, although (it goes on to pronounce) Christ established and delivered to his Apostles this sacrament under the *species* of bread and wine; yet *neither that institution, nor the tradition of it*, requires, that all the faithful are bound to receive the Eucharist in both kinds. Sess. xxi, c. 1, p. 203.

Will history, either scriptural or ecclesiastical, bear out this declaration?

8. The Council declares: that *our Lord left, to his spouse the Church, the Eucharist, under the aspect of a sacrifice*; which sacrifice is truly a propitiatory sacrifice: and it further declares; that the Catholic Church ALWAYS [semper] *so understood it*: finally pronouncing, that, *according to the tradition of the Apostles*, this propitiatory sacrifice is offered up, not only for the sins and punishments and satisfactions and other necessities of the living believers, but also for the dead in Christ not yet sufficiently purged from their sins. Sess. xxii, c. 1, 2, pp. 238—240.

Can these assertions be substantiated, either by Scriptural History, or by continuous Ecclesiastical History from the beginning?

9. The Council declares: that the doctrine of the expiatory sacrifice of the mass, as drawn out in nine several canons, *is contained in the Gospel*; and that that faith is founded upon *the traditions of the Apostles and the unanimous consent of ALL the Fathers*. Sess. xxii, c. 9, pp. 243, 244.

Will history substantiate this alleged FACT?

10. The Council asserts: that, as *Christ instituted the perpetual sacrifice of the mass*; so, correspondently, *He instituted a perpetual sacrificing priesthood*. Sess. xxii, c. 1, p. 278.

Have we any proof of this from history?

11. The Council asserts: that the Catholic Church, taught by the Holy Spirit, has learned, *from Scripture and the ancient tradition of*

all the Fathers, the existence of a purgatory; and that souls, there detained, are benefited by the suffrages of the faithful and especially by the acceptable sacrifice of the altar. Sess. xxv, pp. 505, 506.

Have we any trustworthy historical proof of this?

12. The Council declares: that the intercession of saints, the invocation of them, the honouring of relics, and the legitimate use of images, *were all received from the primitive times of the Christian Religion, agreeably to the consent of the holy Fathers and the decrees of the sacred Councils.* Sess. xxv, pp. 507, 508.

Can this declaration be substantiated by history and by the unanimous attestation of the Fathers from the time of the Primitive Church?

13. In the concluding acclamations of the Tridentine Fathers, they broadly assert, respecting their whole performance: *This is the faith of Peter and the Apostles; this is the faith of the Fathers; this is the faith of the orthodox.* Acclamat. Patrum in fine Concilii, p. 631.

Will the New Testament and Ecclesiastical History, to which an unanimous appeal is thus made, verify the present universalising assertion?

II. Sundry other questions might be added: but these will suffice.

Now, in the reasonable way of *previous examination*, we have a fair right to conclude, that all the young gentlemen, who have recently gone over to the Church of Rome, are fully able to verify, from distinct historical testimony, all the preceding appeals or assertions of the Council of Trent: or, at any rate, if *they*, in the ingenuous simplicity of adolescence, have rapidly taken matters upon trust and have not as yet essayed the necessary work of verification; we may surely expect, that their seniors, who have acted as their spiritual advisers in their travelling Rome-ward and in their abjuring that declared "sin of three centuries," the Reformation, will be quite prepared with the most ample historical proofs of the Tridentine assertions. I really ask, for the sake of obtaining information: and my very sufficient reason is, that, so far as my own reading extends, I have never been able to verify historically the assertions before us.

The ingenuity of a very ingenious man, Mr. Newman to wit, has devised a scheme, which he decorates with the name of *The Principle of Development*, but which I fear I must somewhat irreverently call *The Principle of the Quidlibet ex Quolibet*. Be the value of this principle, however, what it may, we may be quite certain, that it would never have been propounded, if direct and satisfactory historical testimony could have been produced. The very propounding of such a Principle seems something like an acknowledgment, that no historical verification of the manifold Tridentine assertions, *historical verification*, I mean, in the

ordinary sense of the expression, has hitherto been discovered. Certainly, I may be mistaken on this point: but my mistake may be easily corrected and my honest inquiry satisfied by the production of a *clear historical verification*, if any such thing be in existence. The Council of Trent has asserted, again and again, in a great variety of phraseology, so that there can be no mistake, the remarkable FACT: that *the Faith, which it specifically defines, was ALWAYS in the Church of God*. It appeals, therefore, to HISTORY: and to HISTORY it must go.

Now it may be doubted, whether THE PRINCIPLE OF DEVELOPMENT will be accepted, by any exact inquirer as AN HISTORICAL VERIFICATION of the large assertions put forth by the Council of Trent: and probably the less so, since the recent publication of the long-desiderated and finally recovered ancient Syriac version of the Epistles of Ignatius by Mr. Cureton, whose admirable critical introduction shews, that, in that branch of argumentation, he is, as Longinus phrases it, "no ordinary man." If I rightly recollect, Mr. Newman, in one of his performances, exhibits Ignatius as applying the term *Altar* [*θυσιαστήριον*] to what we sturdy Protestants of the Reformed English Church are apt to call only *The Lord's Table* or *The Communion Table*: and, from this usage of the word *Altar* by the venerable primitive Father, he, curiously, on the principle of development, proves, that the Eucharist was ALWAYS (as the Tridentines speak) held to be a propitiatory sacrifice for the sins of both the quick and the dead. The proof, no doubt, is very ingenious: but its *satisfactoriness*, I fear, will be considerably abated by this same mischievous Syriac version, from which it appears, that the alleged *Altar* of the primeval Ignatius is nothing more respectable than a mere interpolation. Probably with sundry other extraordinary matters which all turn out to have been interpolated, it was introduced into the Greek text during the fourth or fifth century, when the glaring heresy associated with it had, no doubt, crept into the then rapidly apostatising Church.

G. S. FABER.

Sharnhurst-house, November 26th, 1845.

LETTER III.

ON THE POPE'S SUPREMACY.

SIR,

I have been lately told by a gentleman, who has mixed a good deal with the Tractarian party, that the GROUND *now* taken by the seceders to Popery is *the supremacy of the Bishop and Church of Rome* : whence he suggests, that a short paper on that particular point, which would be of easy perusal, might not be without its utility. With your permission, his suggestion, through the channel of your pages, shall be carried into effect.

In prosecuting the subject, I perhaps cannot do better than follow the plan adopted in my former communications : namely, *since the claim of Papal supremacy is now confidently put forth as valid, and thence professedly acted upon, by the seceders ; to request some tangible PROOF of the alleged validity of such claim.*

I. That everything may be done with full regularity, I shall begin with exhibiting the FACT of the claim itself being put forth by the Romanists : from whom, I suppose, it has been adopted by the seceders.

1. In the Bull addressed A. D. 1544 to the Council of Trent, Pope Paul III distinctly asserts : that, *By the Lord's disposul, he presides over the Government of the UNIVERSAL Church.* In other words, he claims, by divine right, the jurisdiction of an UNIVERSAL Episcopate. Concil. Trident., ad finem Sess. VII, pp. 113, 114. Antwerp. 1644.

2. This claim, on the part of the Pope, is ratified by the Council : for it pronounces ; that *Supreme Power, in the UNIVERSAL Church, is delivered to the Sovereign Pontiff.* Sess. XIV, c. 7, p. 153.

3. Immediately and necessarily associated with such claim is the assertion : that *the Roman Church is the Mother and Mistress of ALL Churches* ; and that *the Roman Pontiff is the successor of St. Peter, the Prince of the Apostles.* Whence, since the Pontiff is ruled to be, by divine right [*disponente Domino*], the UNIVERSAL Bishop of the entire Catholic Church, the additional assertion obviously and (from the premises) legitimately follows : that *He is also the Vicar of Jesus Christ.*

Such, accordingly, in professed concurrence with the Tridentine Council, is the statement put forth, by Pope Pius IV, in one of his new additional Articles suffixed to the old orthodox Niceno-Constantinopolitan Creed : and, very truly, the statement is only an echo of the authoritative decision of the council. Syllog. Confess., p. 5. Oxon. 1827. Concil. Trident., Sess. VII, de Baptism., can. iii, p. 87 ; Sess. XIV, c. 3, p. 162 ; Sess. XXII, c. 8, p. 243.

4. The points, therefore, of *the UNIVERSAL Episcopate of the Pope and of the Supreme Rule of the Roman Church as the Mother and Mistress of ALL Churches*, each, furthermore, by *Divine Ordination*, rest, so far as claim is concerned, on the joint decision of Pope and Council.

Consequently, the point, which *really* respects a *matter of history*, is ruled by what the Papists deem *infallible Authority*: or, as they are wont compendiously to settle the question, *Roma locuta est; causa finita est*. And, according to the tenor of the *present* plea, which (it seems) is put forth by the Tractarian seceders, the rule of the Council is admitted by them to be so imperative, that they have finally discovered the impossibility, notwithstanding the ingenious discussion contained in the 90th Tract, of conscientiously remaining any longer in the Church of England.

II. But, saving the argument from *infallibility* (respecting which, in this particular case, more anon), where is the *PROOF*, that the *CLAIM* of an Universal Episcopate is valid?

Where is the *PROOF*, that the Roman Church is the Mother and Mistress of all Churches?

Where is the *PROOF*, that the Pope is the heir and successor of Peter?

Where is the *PROOF*, that Peter was the Prince of the Apostles, in the Romish sense of his being their sovereign from whom they derived both their delegated authority and their rightful mission: whence, in the present day, it is deduced; that *No Bishop or Presbyter, even after his ordination, has any lawful mission, except it be derived from the Pope?*

Where is the *PROOF*, that Peter *himself* was ever the Diocesan Bishop of Rome: a matter plainly necessary for the making out a case, that the Popes are his successors?

Where, finally, is the *PROOF*, that the whole fabric rests upon Divine Right: that the Pope, to wit, is the *UNIVERSAL* Bishop, and the Roman Church is the Mother and Mistress of *ALL* Churches, *disponente Domino*, by the special appointment or disposal of the Lord?

III. If, as I am told, the seceders profess to have gone over to Rome on the *GROUND* of the Pope's universal supremacy, they surely must have thoroughly studied the subject. Hence they must be fully prepared, bringing out from their treasure things new and old, to give satisfactory answers to the preceding questions.

Now, should they either be *unable* to give satisfactory answers, or should they ominously preserve a *profound silence* and refuse to answer *at all*, we cannot admire even their discretion: for their *refusal* to answer will be a virtual acknowledgment of their *inability* to answer; and, thence, when they are thus publicly invited to communicate to us Pro-

testants *information* which we fairly own ourselves not to possess, their silence will be tantamount to a very extraordinary self-inculpation.

IV. Meanwhile, on the other side, there is a fearful amount of evidence, both *negative* as consisting in the total silence of History respecting the claim before us, and *positive* as consisting in a direct contradiction of the claim by History, which our seceders would do well to consider, in order, if possible, to their setting it aside.

Some of its many particulars shall now be produced.

1. We are assured : that *the Roman Church is the Mother and Mistress of ALL Churches.*

This is a very remarkable assertion : and it may well be thought to require some historical explanation. Yet neither Pope nor Council is careful to inform us, how a Church can be the *Mother*, and thence (*jure materno*, I suppose) the Mistress, of Churches, which are *older* than herself, and which consequently have *never originated from her.*

Now it is a notorious matter of history, that most, if not all, of the Apostolically founded Churches, are, in point of chronology, *older* than the Roman Church. How, then, can the Roman Church be their *Mother* ?

For our present purpose, it will be sufficient to notice the Church of Jerusalem.

This Church, if we may credit History both inspired and uninspired, is indisputably the *oldest* of all Churches : and, since the Gospel *first* went forth from Jerusalem to the whole world, *she* is the only *real mother* of all Churches.

Accordingly, so little did the ancients recognise Rome in that character, that they were wont to bestow upon Jerusalem the very title of *Mother of all Churches*, which is now somewhat incongruously arrogated by Rome.

Nay, what fearfully trenches upon Conciliar Infallibility, we have absolutely two so called Ecumenical Councils flatly contradicting each other on this point.

The Council of Trent, as we have seen, declares : that *Rome is the Mother of all Churches.*

But the much earlier Council of Constantinople pronounces : that *Jerusalem is the Mother of all Churches.* Τῆς δὲ γὰρ Μητρὸς ἀπαρχῶν τῶν Ἐκκλησιῶν τῆς ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις. Concil. Constant. Epist. Synod. ad Damas., apud Theodoret. Hist. Eccles., lib. v, c. 9.

The discrepance is serious. Are the young gentlemen, who have seceded to Popery, able, either to reconcile the two Councils, or from History to substantiate the Romish claim of *Universal Maternity* ?

2. As the successor of St. Peter and the Vicar of Jesus Christ, the Pope claims, by the special *disposition of the Lord*, the *Authoritative* and *Gubernative Supremacy* of an Universal Episcopate : and his Claim, by divine right, is ratified by the *Infallibility* of the Council of Trent.

Where is the *PROOF* of this wonderful congeries of assertions ?

(1). Our oldest and surest historical witness, the New Testament to wit, is totally and ominously *silent* on the subject : or rather, indeed, to speak somewhat more correctly, it proleptically *contradicts* the papal and conciliar asseveration.

Peter, from whom, by right of succession, the claim is made, nowhere, in Scripture, is described as an Universal Bishop, who was the Lord of the other Apostles, and from whom they confessedly derived their whole authority and mission. On the contrary, we are told : that *only* the Apostleship of the Circumcision was committed to him, and *that* apparently in equal conjunction with James and John ; while the Apostleship of the uncircumcision was, correspondently and independently, committed to Paul. Galat. ii, 7—9. Doubtless, Peter might, as it were by the bye, be the instrument of converting a Gentile : and Paul might, similarly, be the instrument of converting a Jew. But, still, their respective peculiar *commissions* are explicitly declared to have been to the circumcision and the uncircumcision : and, as the Romanists themselves will, of course, not dispute the immediate divine commission of Peter ; so Paul is careful to inform us, that his commission was equally divine and equally independent, inasmuch as he received it, not from any other senior Apostle, but immediately, by the revelation of Jesus Christ. Galat. i, 11—20 ; ii, 1, 2, 6, 11—19. Nay, were we disposed to make out a plausible case, from Scripture, of an Universal Episcopacy confided to *any* man, Paul, not Peter, would be the Universal Bishop : for, if we captiously take his words in their grammatically literal signification, the great Apostle of the Gentiles has declared ; that *the care of ALL the Churches came upon him daily*. 2 Corinth. xi, 28.

(2). Can the Romanists or the Tractarian seceders produce any equally specific text in proof of the Universal Episcopate of Peter ? For, clearly, before *the Pope* can even plausibly claim the Supremacy of an Universal Episcopate *as* the successor of St. Peter, it must be evidentially shewn that such Supremacy was possessed by St. Peter *himself*.

The favourite text, adduced for this purpose, is that contained in Matt. xvi, 18, 19. But it is nothing to the purpose in the way of *evidence*, unless, previous to the using of it, two points can be established.

The one is : that *The power of binding and loosing is given to Peter EXCLUSIVELY*. The other is : that *The rock, upon which Christ promises to build his Church, is PETER*.

Of the first, the establishment is rendered impossible, by the circumstance of the very same power being given, by our Lord Himself, independently to ALL the Apostles. John xx, 23.

And, of the second, we have no more valid establishment, than the mere confident assertion of the Papal Church itself.

Now, if, as reasonable beings, we resort to the testimony of History, it positively refuses to verify such an assertion. Instead of our ancient historical witnesses *unanimously* attesting, that *the intended identity of Peter and the rock* was the interpretation received by the Church, from the beginning, as that delivered by the Apostles : *some* only of the early ecclesiastical writers give that gloss, as their own private opinion ; while *others*, and among them Justin Martyr the *oldest* writer who notices the text, more reasonably and certainly more scripturally, pronounce the rock to be, either directly Christ himself, or else Peter's candid Confession of Jesus of Nazareth, in the two-fold character, human and divine, of both the promised Christ and also the Son of the Living God.

3. But, even if Peter *were* the rock intended by our Lord, the Pope would thereby have no advantage, unless it could be additionally shewn : both that the promise extended, beyond the individual Peter *himself*, to Peter's *successors* ; and, also, that the Popes *are*, as they claim to be, the successors of Peter in the *Diocesan Bishopric of Rome*, for, on this precise point, they rest their claim to be the successive heirs of Peter's alleged universal supremacy.

(1). In the text, not even a poor hint, for the exercise of Mr. Newman's Principle of Development, is given : that any promise was made to the *successors* of Peter. Be the import of the promise what it may, the context unequivocally shews, that it was made to Peter alone : because it is described, as a *personal* honour conferred upon him by reason of his noble Confession.

(2). Accordingly, when about the commencement of the third century or the close of the second, the then Bishop of Rome, apparently the imperious Victor, asserted his hitherto unheard of right to a Dominant supremacy over the Universal Church (so early, in *the Papacy*, did this vain figment begin to blossom), on the plea that he was the heir and successor of the Universal Bishop St. Peter ; Tertullian plainly told him, that he was an impudent usurper : intimating, at the same time, that, if Christ *did* grant any preeminence or privilege to Peter, He granted it only to Peter himself *personally*, and not to any line of his pretended *successors*. Tertull. de Pudic., Oper., pp. 767, 768.

(3). The same view of the matter was evidently taken by Cyprian of Carthage and his Provincial Council of African Bishops, in the third century or shortly after the protest of Tertullian, when opposing the

judgment of Stephen of Rome in the matter of the rebaptisation of heretics.

In the particular point of dispute, Stephen (a rare praise to a Roman Pontiff) happened to be in the right: though our *modern* Romanists, by their practice (I understand) of rebaptising their perverts, side with Cyprian *against* the Infallibility of Stephen. The African Prelates, however, unanimously decided the question in flat opposition to the Roman Bishop: adding a severe censure of the insolent claim of *Supremacy*, which the Popes, about this time, were beginning to put forth.

"No one of us," said they, "has ever constituted himself a Bishop of Bishops; or, by the influence of a tyrannical terror, has imposed upon his colleagues the necessity of obedience to him: inasmuch as *every* Bishop, agreeably to the unrestrictedness of his own liberty and power, has his proper will; and, as he cannot be judged by another, so neither can another be judged by him. But let us wait for the judgment of our *UNIVERSAL* Lord Jesus Christ, who *alone* has the power, both to place us in the government of his Church, and to judge of the quality of our actions." Concil. Carthag. Sentent. Episcop. LXXXVII, in Oper. Cyprian, vol. i, pp. 229, 230. Oxon. 1682.

(4). In the same manner, Firmilian of Cappadocia strongly expresses his indignation at the impudence of the claim to a Monarchal Supremacy, put forth by this Stephen, as the pretended successor of St. Peter.

After duly sneering at him for setting up such a ridiculous figment, he finally (not quite politely, according to our modern habits) pronounces him to be a second Judas, and calls him an arrogant and presumptuous fool. Nay, he charges him with being the arch-schismatic, whose only labour was to spread quarrels and dissensions throughout the Churches of all the world, and who, by pretending to excommunicate other Communions, had only excommunicated himself.

"What a mighty sin," says the disgusted Asiatic, "hast thou heaped up to thyself, in that thou hast cut thyself off from so many Flocks! For do not deceive thyself. It is *thou*, that hast cut off *thine own self*: inasmuch as *he*, verily, is the *real* schismatic, who has made himself an apostate from the communion of Ecclesiastical Unity. While thou thinkest, that *all* may be separated from *thee*, thou hast merely separated *thyself* from *all*." Firmil. Epist. lxxv, in Oper. Cyprian. vol. ii, pp. 218, 224, 225, 227, 228.

I need scarcely say, that this ancient protest of the third century is precisely the ground and language of our modern Protestantism: and we may readily appreciate the value of the claim of *An Universal Gubernative Supremacy based upon Succession from St. Peter*, when

we see it thus contemptuously rejected as soon as ever it began to be made.

4. In exact accordance with these just protests by Tertullian, Cyprian with his African Council, and Firmilian : four several Ecumenical Councils, in fact, the four *first* Ecumenical Councils, those of Nicea, Constantinople, Ephesus, and Chalcedon, in the successive years 325, 381, 431, and 451, give to the Roman Patriarch, out of his own Patriarchate, nothing more than the barren right of *Precedence*, just as our own Canterbury possesses *precedence* over our own York : and *that*, be it observed, NOT on the score of his being the acknowledged successor of St. Peter, but purely because Rome was the ancient capital of the Empire ; while, at the same time, which effectually prevents all possibility of misapprehension, the second rank in *Precedence* is assigned to the Patriarch of Constantinople, on the exactly parallel ground that Constantinople was the new capital of the Empire. As for the substantial power of *Actual Jurisdiction*, they assign to each of the four great Patriarchs an equal and independent authority within the limits of their own several Patriarchates : or, rather, they *confirm* this authority, not as any novel thing, but as a matter quite familiar to the whole world.

In my "*Difficulties of Romanism*," pp. 302—307, 2nd edition, I have given at large both the Greek originals and the English translations of the decrees, together with the comments of Aristenus and Balsamon. The words of the *latest* of the four Councils, that of Chalcedon, A.D. 451, as ratifying the decisions of its three *predecessors*, are so remarkable that I make no apology for subjoining them.

"Following, in all things, the decrees of the Holy Fathers, and recognising the lately read canon of 150 most pious Bishops, we also define and decree the same matters respecting the privileges of the most Holy Church of Constantinople, which is New Rome. For, to the throne of Old Rome, ON ACCOUNT OF that city being the imperial city, the Fathers rightly granted privileges : and the 150 most pious Bishops granted EQUAL privileges (τὰ ἴσα προεβέβη) to the most holy throne of New Rome ; rightly judging, that the city, which is honoured with the Imperial Sovereignty and Senate, and which enjoys equal secular privileges with the Older Imperial Rome, should be magnified also LIKE IT (ὡς ἐκείνη) in ecclesiastical matters, being in rank or *precedence* the second city after it."

5. Thus do four Ecumenical Councils concur in proleptically contradicting the notoriously packed Synod of Trent : and, as if even this were not sufficient, we have actually two Popes, Pelagius II and Gregory I, toward the close of the sixth century ; and at the commencement of the

seventh censuring and disclaiming the proud name of UNIVERSALITY as both inherently impious in itself, and as insolently derogating from the just liberty and honour of all other Priests.

Nay, Pope Gregory goes so far, as to call the title of UNIVERSAL BISHOP *even a name of blasphemy* (nomen illud blasphemiae) or rather (in pointed reference to Revel. xiii, 1), *THAT name of blasphemy*. And he, furthermore, declares: that "to consent to the adoption of that wicked appellation is nothing less than to destroy the Faith;" and that "he, who either expressly calls himself, or who even *desires* to be called, UNIVERSAL PRIEST, is, in his vain elation, the precursor of "Antichrist."

The originals I have given at large in my "*Difficulties of Romanism*," pp. 298–301.

Yet does Paul III declare himself to *preside over the Government of the UNIVERSAL Church* or (in other words) to *be the UNIVERSAL Governing Bishop*: and the Council of Trent re-echoes and ratifies what Pope Gregory I has pronounced to be *that name of blasphemy*.

6. As the superstructure of Universal Papal Supremacy is unsound, so is its professed foundation equally unsound.

The Pope claims this supremacy, as the successor of St. Peter in the see of Rome. Hence it is clear, that, if Peter never *was* Bishop of Rome, the Pope, in his character of Bishop of Rome, can, by no possibility, be the successor of Peter.

There are difficulties respecting St. Peter ever having been at Rome at all: and it is evident, both that there *was* a Church and that Peter *was not* at Rome, when St. Paul, according to the narrative in the Acts, reached that capital. See Acts, xxviii, 14, 15, 30, 31.

But let it be granted, that, during some period of his Apostolate, Peter *was* at Rome: still, where is the requisite HISTORICAL PROOF, that he *was the first Bishop* of that Diocese?

The earliest writer, who throws any light on the subject, is Irenæus, about A.D. 170: and, to the papal plea, *his* statement is absolutely fatal. He tells us, that the Roman Church was jointly founded, under the aspect of a *regular ecclesiastical organisation* (*fundatæ et constitutæ*), by Peter and Paul: and he then adds, that, when this had been done; namely, I suppose, when the handful of individual Christians, whom Paul found there in Rome upon his arrival, had been organised by the two Apostles into what is technically called a *Church*; they (thus *fundantes et instruentes*) delivered the Episcopate of the new Church to Linus. Linus, therefore, not Peter any more than Paul, was the *first* Bishop of Rome: and all possibility of misapprehension is removed by the subse-

quent *numerical* statement of Irenæus in his catalogue of the Roman Bishops down to his own time; for his several expressions of *third* and *sixth* and *twelfth*, when the numbers are reckoned backward, inevitably make, agreeably to his *verbal* statement, the *first* Roman Bishop to have been Linus, and thus no less inevitably deny Peter to have ever been Bishop of Rome *at all*. Iren. adv. Hær., lib. iii, c. 3, pp. 170, 171. Edit. Callas, 1570.

Since, then, as we learn from our oldest historical witness Irenæus, Peter NEVER WAS Bishop of Rome: how can the Popes substantiate their idle claim to a succession, which, in *their* sense, NEVER EXISTED?

7. It is further asserted: that *the Pope's universal Supremacy exists by divine appointment*; and, consequently, that *He is himself the Vicar of Christ*.

Where is the PROOF of this assertion?

In the Bible, we certainly have *no* Proof, that even Peter himself held the imaginary office of Christ's Vicar: therefore, *à fortiori*, we have no scriptural Proof of the Pope's Vicariate. Yet is the title as boldly assumed, and the claim of divine right as boldly put forth, as if there could be no doubt whatever on the subject. The texts, propounded in the way of proof, as we all know, are Matt. xvi, 18, 19, and John, xxi, 15—17. But the total insufficiency of the first has been already shewn: and, to establish the claim from the second, would require more than all the powers of that grand Principle of the *Quidlibet ex Quolibet*, the Principle of Development. The passage in Cyprian's Treatise on the Unity of the Church, which is often confidently adduced by Romanists, is rightly stated by Rigaltius to be everywhere interpolated: and our Lord's triple address to Peter, recorded by St. John, he understands, as conveying, not the lofty prerogative of Supremacy, but a reproof allusive to his denial of Christ. His note on the place is not a little curious. "The Lord is described as addressing Himself to *Simon*, not to *Peter*. For the Apostle was then no longer *Peter*, inasmuch as, by his departure from the Faith, he had fallen away from the Rock. But the 'Rock' was Christ, the Faith and Confession of the name of Christ." See Cyprian. de Unit. Eccles., Oper. vol. i, p. 106; Epist. viii, vol. ii, p. 17. I may add, that the great Augustine similarly understands the triple, *Lovest thou me*, and *Feed my sheep*, to refer, as Peter sensibly felt the implied reproof, to the Apostle's denial of his Master: a denial thrice repeated. *Contristatus est Petrus, quod eum tertio interrogavit: quasi ille, qui vidit conscientiam negatoris, non videret fidem confitentis.* August. de Verb. Domini, serm. xlix, c. 3; Oper. vol. x, p. 68. Colon. Agripp. 1616.

V. I have now stated some of the many difficulties, which impede the satisfactory evidential establishment of Papal Supremacy. The task, however, of establishing it, the *onus probandi*, rests with those who maintain it.

In the judgments of charity, we must conclude, that the tractarian gentlemen, who have gone over to Popery, have given this subject full study: for, otherwise, as possessing the ordinary average amount of common sense, they would scarcely (as I am credibly informed) take up the ground; that *submission to the Roman Pontiff, in his character of Supreme Universal Bishop, and an implicit assent to what Pope Pius IV calls the True Catholic Faith, are essential to salvation.*

May we hope, then, that they will favour us with the PROOF of the Roman Bishop's Gubernative Universal Supremacy by divine right?

Assuredly, they must *possess* this PROOF: for, otherwise, we cannot account for their secession on the ground (I understand) alleged by themselves. Let them, in Christian pity and through a charitable wish for our salvation also, enlighten our Protestant darkness touching the DEMONSTRATION of what, by their own estimate, is a *vitally* important matter. To each and every one of the gentlemen seceders, from Mr. Newman downward, I would say, from a real desire of information: *Si quid melius habes, candidus imperti.* I am now an old man, and have long *fruitlessly* sought for the *desideratum* of a PROOF; in order that, having received it, I may honestly join the Church of Rome without delay; but we are never too old to learn.

At the same time, I will frankly confess, that curiosity enters pretty largely into my request. I wish to see, what the gentlemen can say: I wish to learn, how the Principle of Development, when worked by a skilful hand, can bring out the desired result; for nothing, I fear, save that very ingenious Principle, which claims to bring something out of nothing, can establish the Gubernative Supremacy or Universal Episcopate of the Sovereign Pontiff.

And, truly, the lofty enterprise may well satisfy the aspirations of the highest ambition. The task, to which I would invite the gentlemen, is no easy one: and I am not without some apprehension, that their prosecution of it may lay them under a serious charge of Heresy; a foul crime, which their gentle adoptive parent, the Mother and Mistress of all Churches, never fails to visit with her utmost possible extremity of condign punishment.

For how stands their task? They must shew, that the concurring judgments of two venerable Popes, Pelagius II and Gregory I, was assuredly erroneous; and they

must set aside, as manifestly false and as grievously offensive to all pious ears, the equally concurring decisions of the four first Ecumenical Councils, Nicea, Constantinople, Ephesus, and Chalcedon.

Now this, I admit, may be done very easily, by an appeal to the subsequent counter-judgment of Pope Paul III and the subsequent counter-decision of the Council of Trent, *provided* such an appeal be of any worth.

But here commences the danger of the undertaking. To each gentleman we must say: *Incedis per ignes, suppositos cineri doloso*. If an appeal be made to Pope Paul and the Council of Trent against Popes Pelagius and Gregory and the four first Ecumenical Councils, how are we to steer clear of the rank heresy of denying the sound doctrine of Infallibility? *Incidit in Scyllam, cupiens vitare Charybdin*.

The old Popes and the old Councils pull one way: and the modern Pope and the modern Council pull another way.

In the midst of this awful *rugging and riving* which may well require the stilling hand of a King Sobrino, how are our tractarian seceders to furnish a PROOF of the Sovereign Pontiff's Gubernative Supremacy and Universal Episcopate, whether with or without a divine right?

For its due production, they must condemn two Popes and four Ecumenical Councils: and, if this condemnation be pronounced, they will plainly deny the existence of Papal and Conciliar Infallibility: and, if they deny the existence of Papal and Conciliar Infallibility, they stand forth confessed as stark heretics; they are taken *flagrante delicto*, and must be dealt with accordingly.

Perhaps even worse than this still remains behind. They will have incurred the *guilt* of heresy, without deriving any *benefit* from it. For, if Popes and Councils be, by their own antecedent shewing, fallible: where can be the use of an appeal to Pope Paul III and the Council of Trent? The ready answer will be: What security have we, that Pope Paul and the Council of Trent may not be just as much mistaken, as you declare Popes Pelagius and Gregory and the four first Ecumenical Councils to have been?

In short, so far as I can understand their position, the gentlemen seem necessarily to be placed in what is familiarly called *a cleft stick*. They cannot maintain Supremacy, without denying Infallibility: and, if they deny Infallibility, they cannot maintain Supremacy.

I speak, of course, under correction. But, on the whole, it may be doubted, whether they have much mended their position by quitting the Reformed Church of England. The Reformation, as they assure us, *may* be a sin of three centuries: Luther *may* be an apostate monk and (remarkable historical discovery!) an atheist to boot: and the apostolic

doctrine of Justification through faith and solely on account of the external merits of Christ, though taught by St. Paul and handed down by all the Fathers from Clement to Bernard, *may* (an't please you) be the *invention* of that same ingenious Saxon; and (as we are gravely assured) *may* further be a form of Heresy worse and more hateful than Atheism itself. But, *still*, what will all this avail, so long as Mordecai the Jew, in the form of Conciliar Fallibility, sitteth at the King's gate?

G. S. FABER.

Sherburn-house, Dec. 6, 1845.

AN ESSAY ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE.

By JOHN HENRY NEWMAN, Author of "Lectures on the Prophetical Office of the Church." London: Toovey, 1845.

It would be impossible to take up any work with more pain, and lay it down with more profound astonishment, than has been our lot with reference to the "Essay on Development." It is a practical illustration of its author's assertion, that "no one has power over the issues of his principles; we cannot manage our argument, and have as much of it as we please and no more*."

"Doubtless the theory of the Secret and the theory of developments are *expedients* †," which are as easily laid aside at the bidding of Rome as former arguments against that Church are recalled. The Papal Church uses the instrument, smiles on it, and will disown it. Mr. Newman very dutifully submitted his Essay "for revision to the proper authorities;" but this was declined for two reasons; of which the first is, that it was written before its author was a Catholic; and the second, that it would be more persuasive if read as the author wrote it. A third reason will suggest itself to our readers; namely, that it is convenient for an infallible Church to disseminate opinions, such as are therein contained, without, in any sense, becoming responsible. This essentially sceptical theory might be a dangerous engine, if guided by an adversary; and Rome will stand by, and receive her votary without his

* Introduction, p. 28.

† Introduction, p. 29.

offering, until a more convenient season shall arrive, when it will either condemn or extol, as circumstances require. *Hermesianism* was convenient until a certain period, when delay became dangerous, and it was condemned even at the risk of a schism. This essay is also convenient, for it is Rome without Rome's danger, just as privateers in war time are sanctioned, and by worldly statesmen are admired, for they can do the enemy damage while the Powers are irresponsible. But, in addition to this, it would hardly become a church which, by her neophyte, boasts of acting on one settled and harmonious system*, to identify herself with one who has so long been in a Church with which he had no sympathy, and who wrote this elaborate work before he ceased to receive heretical emolument. Men have no command over the issues of their principles, nor can they manage their arguments. They are filled by some new imagination. It takes a shape peculiar to the mind of its worshipper. Controversy sends it in one direction; applause gives it a higher elevation. A hard argument shews a vulnerable point, and the self-lover intrenches his position with some fresh device. After all, his method of warfare is ill adapted to the peculiar requirements of his case. He resigns all thoughts of retaining the exposed position, and it never occurs to him that the whole error is one of judgment. The relinquishment is commenced, and, like every phantom, this new imagination hides itself in the swamps before the truth. On the one side is Rome, and on the other scepticism; on the one side is superstition, believing everything and wishing for more to believe, and, on the other, doubt, wishing for more to discuss and disbelieve. Truth loses some of its defenders; but it is no less true, that no man can long defend truth by falsehood without being rejected by the true and welcomed by the false. This seems precisely the case with the Tractarian party and their fallen, lost leader. The Bible was to teach "*mediately*," and tradition† "*positively*." Man was to be great, and the written word to be under his power, for he might interpret it beyond its literal meaning. The English Church did not welcome such a defence, and its apologist would give it no other; and the question forced itself upon the mind, whether the line of defence, or the thing defended, must be abandoned. Mr. Newman has chosen the latter alternative, and, by his deeds, proclaims the issue of a mistaken defence. If the Church of England, like a strong castle built on a rock, refuses any defence other than her position and her heaven-armed soldiers; if she declines to build her authority on councils and

* Page 432, and *passim*.

† Tracts for the Times, Tract lxxviii, p. 2; also, the whole tone of Tracts lxxxv and xlv.

Fathers until she have proved them, it is more natural than sound, that one who lives among such Fathers and smiles at the Scripture, should decline any part in her defence and enrol his name amongst her enemies. If we defend our cause by Scripture, such an one will elevate other writings, and, having found a medley of sound and false doctrine, it never occurs to him to doubt, but he receives such a system as affording more scope than any other for the peculiar bent of the mind. Indeed, if paucity of evidence is an advantage, and it is fitting to practice without doubt, and, still more, if it is impossible to decide except by practical trial,—and “we prove them by using them*,”—then we must become Romanists before we can judge of the truth or falsehood of certain dogmas. It is easy thus to erect as a high court of appeal our own satisfaction or dissatisfaction. It is by such a course as we have sketched that “an *incurable contrariety* does but come to view between portions of the *theology thus developed and a war of principles; an impossibility, moreover, of reconciling it with the general drift of the formularies* in which its *elements* occur, and a consequent appearance of unfairness and *sophistry* in adventurous persons who aim at *forcing* them into consistency; and further, a prevalent understanding that this really is the case, *authorities keeping silence, eschewing a hopeless enterprise and discouraging it in others, and the people plainly intimating that they think both doctrine and usage, antiquity and development, of very little matter at all; and, lastly, the evident despair of even the better sort of men, who, in consequence, when they set great schemes on foot, as for the conversion of the heathen world, are afraid to agitate the question of the doctrines to which it is to be converted†,*” &c. It is no unfair criterion to try a man by his words and tone, and our readers will see how far our view of the real wound in Mr. Newman’s case is the correct one. It is, indeed, true, that, on the very last page in a solemn appeal, “*disappointment, or disgust, or restlessness, or wounded feelings, or undue sensibility, or other weakness,*” are disclaimed as influences of the apostasy; but there are many influences of which we are unconscious and no one can reasonably doubt that Rome would have lost a convert: if our Church had followed a new system, which eventually would have swept her from the face of the earth. This “*great scheme*” has failed, and, by its failure, the striking impossibility of reconciling Rome and England is taught by the *à fortiori* ground that neither is her basis one nor her defences similar.

But it is no want of charity to accuse Mr. Newman of ignorance of

* P. 148.

† P. 136.

his own motives, for he confesses more than this. "It was his intention "and wish to have carried his volume through the press before finally "deciding on this step," (recognising the Church of Rome); "but "when he had got some way in the *printing*, he *recognised* in himself "a conviction of the truth of the conclusion to which the discussion "leads, so clear as to supersede further deliberation*." It is one of the most extraordinary of the phenomena of mental history, that a man of no ordinary powers, and of no puerile age, actually wrote a book, which is a contemptuous attack on Protestantism under the name of heresy, and on almost every page asserts and maintains some peculiar Roman dogma, without being aware that he was a Romanist. Or, again, it is passing strange, that a work which professes to be philosophical, and to establish and maintain the very basis on which every peculiar Romish dogma rests, should be written before its author understood the principle of his treatise. The author is so ignorant of himself, that he "*got "some way in the printing*" before he recognised the conviction that his assertions were true, or his principles more than imaginary. But, if it be said that a scientific work may follow the Platonic form, and suggest doubts in such a way that the author is unaware of their tendency, we shall again make the writer explain his treatise. "If, at times," says he, "his tone appears positive or peremptory, he hopes this will be "imputed to *the scientific character* of the work, which requires a *dis-* "*tinct statement of principles, and of the arguments which recommend* "*them* †." Of the dogmatic character of the work no one can remain in doubt, when, within a few lines, the similarity of the Romish and Primitive Churches is asserted in such terms as the following:—"without "any question," "universally considered," and "it is the nearest approach," "for all will agree." A dogmatic work has been scientifically written by a learned man without his *recognising* its conclusion, and dogmatically a clergyman declares, that the Virgin Mary has the "character of Patroness or Paraclete ‡," and speaks of "Mary occupying a "new sphere, if we may so speak, in the realms of light, to which the "Church had not yet *assigned* its inhabitant§." Or, again, this same writer describes in glowing terms the power and vigour of the Romish Church||, while he contemns its opponents; and by the same writer the omission of the second Commandment is defended¶. But, above all, the champion who lauds the religious principles of the Jesuits**, even this man did not recog-

* Advertisement, p. x.

† Advertisement, p. iv.

‡ P. 387.

§ P. 405.

|| P. 135.

¶ P. 434.

** P. 427. Only a full quotation can give an adequate view of this praise, or, it may be called, identification.

nise his own conclusions. At last we are compelled to exclaim, that such a man must long have been familiar with these doctrines, or otherwise he could not have forgotten that they ever have been and are the distinguishing traits of Papal Rome. If such confessions are true, they for ever destroy any idea of a sound mind or discriminating intellect, or safe conscience in their confessor; but, if they are not true, we leave the conclusion. But is this the man by whom hundreds have been led heedlessly for years, and over whose writings antagonists have prayed and friends exulted with a frenzy of triumph? If so, how are the mighty fallen, and how low does the mind sink, when it embraces the dogmas or practice of Rome!

These remarks may in some measure tend to answer those who inquire how an English Clergyman can have left light for darkness, truth for error. The fundamental principle which Mr. Newman has just *recognised* is, that a man cannot manage his arguments. And it is very true, that if men regard as axioms certain premises, which are in themselves false, they cannot control their conclusions, which will be necessarily false. Accordingly, it would have been well, if the first basis of Tractarianism had received more examination before it was put forth to the world. A number of small tracts were intended to act upon our nation, and were prepared in the midst of a deadly war between latitudinarians and sceptics on the one side, and sincere Christians on the other. They were meant for the people, and the people demand strong terms and decisive language. Thus, we may see that the state of mind in which the writers were, as well as their object, impelled to extreme statements. Men were tired of arguing against a species of mob oratory, which every talker learned from his superiors in station. The Tracts proposed to cut the knot by simple dogmatism, and by an appeal to the Fathers. Their opponents appealed to Scripture in a perverted sense; and zeal was too much engaged to dispute, and it was contented to dogmatise. But there were men who soon saw the tendency of such principles. Even one in their own camp, after fifteen Tracts had issued from the press, resigned his place, because of the Romish bias; and he was no low-churchman*. It was a crisis in their history which a bold, honest Churchman should have seized. He should have exposed the danger, diverted the plague by making it public, or, by intimate communication with his Diocesan, have warned him of the plague spot. This Mr. Palmer did not do. He was

* Palmer's "Narrative of Events" may well be consulted for the most *favourable* account of the Tractarian development. Mr. Palmer spoke against the haste and want of revision.

silent, and permitted those who denounced Tractarianism as the germ of Popery to be themselves denounced as using slanderous accusations. In Mr. Palmer's power were complete evidences, but in sad silence he allowed his Diocesan to mistake the true nature of the party. And well would it have been if no worse result had followed; but he, by his silence, allowed error to become inveterate in the teachers, and to be dispersed amongst the scholars. Humanly speaking, if Mr. Palmer had spoken out what he knew, not one of the Oxford seceders would have apostatised, and most of them would never have known Mr. Newman as the leader of a party. Most of them were at school in 1835 and 1836, or were just entering on their University career. Mr. Palmer was silent until 1844, and with what pain must he have heard the repeated and public denials of the existence of any party. He must have felt for the honour of his Church. But others were not silent, and Mr. Newman beat a retreat from the anti-Nicene Fathers to the mediæval Church. Discussion and controversy followed, and a further retreat was sounded to development; and when this has to give an account of itself, it comes forth as dogmatic Popery. As Bellarmine said before, so do we see, that Mr. Newman makes his own such words as the following—"Next all Catholics agree;" *secondly*, that the Pope, when determining anything in a doubtful matter, whether by himself or with his own particular council, *whether it is possible for him to err or not, is to be obeyed* by all the faithful*? Now, we are quite aware that it is unphilosophical to denounce a man, simply on the ground that he has assumed Romanism as his creed: but it seems very important to give an account of the process by which, and the character of the person by whom, that religion is accepted. Mr. Newman tells us, that antecedent probability is evidence enough even in opposition to evidence, and that "if this probability is great, it almost *supersedes* evidence altogether†;" but in the present instance we have not only antecedent probability that the issue must be absolute Romanism, but also the positive evidence of successive writings to shew that the farther descent was faster. It has been then, in fact, no actual and immediate passage from light to darkness, but a gradual descent from light to twilight, from twilight to obscurity, from obscurity to the blackness of midnight. It has been as steady and certain a progress, if not more so, than might have been expected. There has been so little reaction, so very little drag on the wheels of this theological agitation, that the very absence of it astonishes. It is confessed that Mr. Newman did not

* P. 125. The *italics* are as the original.

† Pp. 131, 132.

understand either his basis or his arguments, and that some one theory, hidden may be, but simple, nevertheless, has hurried on the issue*. Indeed, of late, the question has not been, will Tractarian leaders join Rome? but, *when* will they secede? and this may be regarded as no small proof of the gradual process. Such a secession does no violence to Protestant theories, and is as natural as a reception of any other false doctrine. It need shake no one's faith, and excite no man's doubts. It does, however, appeal to us in one way, which is a matter of deep inward thoughtfulness; for we have a prayer in our Litany which reaches the case, when we pray for such as "have erred and are deceived." Protestantism is no whit the less safe than before, but spurious Protestantism is stripped of one of its defences. The course and the issue of these new views are rather a confirmation of the fundamental principle that the Bible is our rule, and accordingly development meets no one Protestant argument. Its foundation is different. There is no common ground on which it can argue. The Essay will not affect any but such as have pinned their faith to patristic lore as a rule. Indeed, it is only intended for men of certain extreme sentiments, who regulate their creed by a sentence of the Fathers, as if it were revelation. It is an excuse for Romanism,—an apology for its absence from the Bible and its presence in the Romish Church. And, assuredly, it will have the effect of shewing to some the utter absurdity of any other rule than inspiration. Some will be led on as the middle ground is cut from under them, and Rome may gain a convert more. The author having tried to cast a mist over other doctrines, by quietly assuming that they are unsystematic and false, then suggests a theory of credibilities, which he calls probabilities; and, lastly, concludes as if all his premises were certainty. And doubtless the Essay has been, like No. XC, for one class of persons, and that a class, who are content to read without examining or asking whether there are not two sides of the question. Throughout this volume, scarcely an objection is answered, hardly an opposing text is quoted or a patristic passage referred to, except it is thought to be in favour of the views supported. And a wise precaution such a plan is, for it hides from the careless reader, who reads without thought and receives without argument, that immense mass of contradictory evidence which history and prayerful reason has supplied against the innovations of Rome. And the

* This gains support from what is stated "On the Process of Development in Ideas," p. 31, *e. g.* "a whole train of investigation or inference may depend on the original admission of some one proposition which is false."

"aim will be answered if he succeeds in *suggesting* thoughts, which, in God's good time, may *quietly* bear fruit in the minds of those to whom that subject is new, and which *may carry forward* inquirers who have *already* put themselves on the course *." History and facts are important things, but they are to be used in *subjection* to the rule, just as our Church subjects the creeds and receives them, because they may be proved by sure warrants of Scripture. We can use the Fathers as witnesses of a fact, and put our own value upon the fact, that is, try it by the Bible, without danger; but enlarge revelation by every mystical interpretation, and there is no point at which the disputant can manage his argument so as to stay its career. "And yet," says the author of this Essay, "it may almost be laid down as an historical fact, that the *mystical interpretation and orthodoxy will stand or fall together*†." It cannot be denied that the *rule* guides us to doctrines; and just, therefore, as Mr. Newman has indefinitely enlarged his rule by Fathers, Popes, and Councils, so he as naturally receives new doctrines as we reject them. We hear God rather than man. Mr. Newman hears man rather than *revelation*, and therefore all astonishment ceases at his fall. He fell when he gave up the Bible, by thinking it vague and insufficient; and from that our grief for his apostasy should have begun.

Before touching further on the insufficiency of the rule and basis of this new development, it is worth while to observe another trait of character. The deficiency of Scripture arguments is proclaimed, but Scripture is sometimes, though seldom, quoted, and it will throw a light on the subject if we inquire as to the way in which it is quoted. Of course, it will be supposed that no one would denounce the insufficiency of a proof with which he is unacquainted; and, therefore, we ought to expect a peculiar accuracy in arguments and quotations from Scripture in the case of one who has tried it and found it wanting. Perhaps the writer's own opinion will be best understood by referring to a very strong passage. "The common sense of mankind does but support a conclusion 'thus forced upon us by analogical considerations. It feels that the 'very idea of revelation implies a present informant and guide, and that 'an infallible one; *not a mere abstract declaration of truths not known before to man, or a record of history, or the result of an antiquarian research*, but a message and a lesson, speaking to this man and that. "This is shewn by the popular notion which has prevailed among us "since the Reformation, that the Bible itself is *such a guide*, and which

* Advertisement, p. iv.

† P. 324.

“succeeded in overthrowing the supremacy of Church and Pope, for the very reason that it was a rival authority, not resisting merely, but supplanting it. In proportion, then, as we find, in matter of fact, that the inspired Volume is *not calculated or intended to subserve that purpose*, are we *forced* to revert to that living and present guide which, at the era of her rejection had been so long recognised as the dispenser of Scripture *according to times and circumstances*, and the arbiter of all true doctrine and holy practice to her children. *We feel a need, and she alone, of all things under heaven, supplies it. We are told that God has spoken. Where? In a book? We have TRIED it, and it DISAPPOINTS*; it disappoints that most holy and blessed gift, not from fault of its own, but because it is used for a purpose for which it was not given*?” This passage is given in full, that there may be no danger of a misinterpretation; and though we might inquire how its author could call or think himself a member of our Church, yet, as it might divert our attention from the point at issue, we will leave such inferential inquiries to our readers. Mr. Newman has *tried* the Bible, and found it wanting! “It *disappoints!*” It is not a guide sufficient for “all true doctrine and holy practice.” The book has been *tried*, but the question is, in what way? Perhaps it has been tried with a view to make it pure *Roman* doctrine and *Roman* practice. Under such circumstances it will be found wanting. This is a test to which the sceptic often reduces the Word of his Creator. There ought to be in it some peculiar theory of his own, and he finds it not, and, with a sweeping conclusion, he condemns the authority to elevate his theory. Politicians sometimes try God’s word by this test, and republicans are dissatisfied with a theocracy; and, accordingly, they represent the Bible as antiquated. And thus, perhaps unconsciously or consciously, the Bible has been balanced against Church authority and mediæval practice, until the conclusion, more general than reverent, more striking than humble, is announced: “We have *tried* it, and it disappoints.” Our inquiry here is not so much as to the theory by which Mr. Newman has tried it, for this is evident; but rather we are anxious to learn with what accuracy and honesty he has *tried* it, or, indeed, whether there has been any *trial*, any examination at all. Fidelity of quotation is essential when the purpose is honest. When truth, not seduction from the truth, is aimed at, difficulties are not to be concealed or hidden by omissions. Especially does it become one who holds to a Church which calls itself infallible, to shew that he derives some aid from her infallibility. It is the duty of one who de-

* Pp. 125, 126.

nounces literal interpretations to rest his opposition on tangible grounds, and not on misquoted texts.

The first instance of absolute and undeniable misquotation to which we shall refer is with regard to withholding the cup from the laity. Mr. Newman is anxious to prove that it was the custom of the primitive Church to administer only the bread. "Again, St. Paul says, that " 'whosoever shall eat this bread *or* drink this cup of the Lord unworthily, shall be guilty of the body and blood of the Lord.' And while he does but say, 'the cup of blessing which we *bless*,' without speaking of the communication, he says of the bread 'which we *break*,' and proceeds: 'We, being many, are one bread and one body, for we are all partakers of that one bread,' without mentioning the cup. And our Lord in like manner says absolutely, 'He that eateth me, even he shall live by me.' " It may first be observed, that, by the italics of the word "*or*," it is evident that stress is laid on that particle. It is surprising to find the Romanists resting on this reading, as if Protestants had any objection to it; for it is quite clear from it, that if a man communicates in *either* kind unworthily, he condemns himself. And if the argument proves that the bread might be received alone, it will also prove that the wine might be received alone. This is the absurdity of the argument; but the unfairness of it is found in the fact, that both the verse preceding and the verses which follow speak of communion in *both* kinds. For instance, we read, "For as often as ye eat this bread *and* drink this cup, ye do shew the Lord's death till He come*." Again, "But let a man examine himself; and so let him eat of that (the) bread *and* drink of that (the) cup; for he that eateth *and* drinketh unworthily eateth *and* drinketh damnation to himself, not discerning the Lord's body†." Thus, the context absolutely refutes the hypothesis which Mr. Newman has thrown out; and this makes its omission very striking, when committed by one who has tried the book, and found it wanting; by one whom it disappoints as a guide to doctrine and practice. Now, let us come to the second passage, in which we are informed that the Apostle "*does but say* 'the cup of blessing which we *bless*,' *without speaking of the communication*." What is the fact, and what are the Apostle's words? "I speak as to wise men; judge ye what I say. The cup of blessing which we *bless*, *is it not the communion of the blood of Christ?* The bread which we *break*, *is it not the communion of the body of Christ?*" And the Apostle "*proceeds*"

* 1 Cor. xi, 26.

† 1 Cor. xi, 28, 29. The most cursory reader might see, that the warnings of St. Paul apply, not to the minister, *but the people*, even if the opening words of the Epistle did not state it.

not, as Mr. Newman writes, as if there were no interval between the words "which we break" and that which follows, but, after having spoken of the communion, "For we, being many, are one bread, (and) "one body, for we are all partakers of *the* one bread*." The Bible will disappoint those who are afraid of quoting it fully and accurately†. The third passage is taken *from* our Lord's words; and although it proves nothing to the purpose, and perhaps it may be classed rather under the head of perverted Scripture than as a misquotation, it is more convenient to remark on it with its context. It is not very surprising that mere Tractarians should quote from the 6th of St. John, because they do not as yet deny the cup to the laity; but that a Romanist should quote any part of it in favour of withholding the cup from the laity surpasses credit. As a fact, however, which comes under our own eyes, it is no small evidence that ignorance, as well as carelessness, is calculated on in readers. We will say nothing of the many learned Romanists who have confessed that it does not refer to the sacrament of the Eucharist, simply because they know it would declare that all, even infants, must receive the bread and the wine, or be shut out of salvation. It is enough for our purpose to say, that each of the four verses‡ which precede Mr. Newman's quotation speaks of eating *and* drinking, and that one of these verses, according to Mr. Newman's view, "*absolutely*" makes salvation impossible *without* the cup: "Except ye eat the flesh *of* the Son of Man, and *drink* his blood, ye have no life in you." Or, again, the next verse "*absolutely*" declares that every one who eats the flesh and drinks the blood shall be saved. The quotation sounds well, but proves nothing without its context, and, with its context, destroys the very hypothesis of which it was intended to be the buttress. This is a sad instance of a deficiency of discernment, even if no term of more severe usage be applied. It would certainly seem that there is a sad want of argument and evidence, when men of talent are thus practically compelled to confess their inability to discover any more persuasive arguments. Evidence such as Mr. Newman adduces would destroy the credit of a sound cause, and by no means, therefore, can it prop up the falling pretensions of Papal infallibility. To claim for the Church of Rome absolute power over Scripture would be a more bold and every wiser course, for half measures will not maintain whole errors.

* 1 Cor. x, 16, 16, 17.

† Romanists are fond of a literal sense sometimes in words which refer to our Lord's Supper; we are therefore anxious to know why they do not think themselves literally bread and literally the body of the Lord, according to the 17th verse just quoted.

‡ St. John, vi, 53—56.

This sin of the Romish Church the writer seems very anxious to defend on Scripture authority, and of course it would be a satisfaction thus to escape from a difficulty. It cannot be defended as a development, because it is the very reverse of it. It *curtails*, cuts short the Sacrament. Denial cannot be development, and, therefore, it must have been felt to be a painful inconsistency, which could not be solved by Möhler, De Maistre, or Mr. Newman. Purgatory is the result of one thing, and prayers for the dead the result or development of some other thing ; but the denial of the cup, alas ! has no origin other than the selfish and arbitrary will of a despot called the Church. Scripture, therefore, cannot contain its germ, unless it absolutely authorises it or exhibits the practice of it. Here, therefore, is the reason for anxiety, and in this the Roman Church clearly has essayed to improve upon Scripture. They do not, however, give up without a struggle, and, accordingly, Scripture, "so unsystematic," so uncertain, must be appealed to by their new controversialist. Its positive teaching must be obscured by omission and its declarations garbled, and that this might come with an appearance of custom, with the persuasiveness which would arise from its being possible, the writer produces what are to him precedents, and no marvel for "starting with the *presumption* that the council" (that is, of Constance in the 15th century) "is right, which is the point here to be assumed." Mr. Newman is tolerably confident that the probabilities will be overpowering, or, in his own persuasive diction, we "shall be *satisfied* to decide in the affirmative." Only believe that it must be so ; only believe Constance and its novelties, and then search Sacred Scripture, and all will be possible, and, by no uncommon step, at once necessary. If either Constance must have erred or Scripture be defective, decide the point by wish and argue it by prejudice. What ! will Scripture disappoint after all ? If it does not govern, at all events it will not follow in all the intricate windings of a subtle mind, and assuredly it will be evident to all, but the ill-fated lover of his own system, that Scripture neither teaches nor allows any such dogma. We shall find the examples as far from aiding this lame theory as the passages referred to above. "For instance," says the writer, "Scripture affords two instances of what may be reasonably considered the administration of the bread without the wine ;" viz. our Lord's own example towards the two disciples at Emmaus, and St. Paul's conduct at sea during the tempest. Moreover, St. Luke speaks of the first Christians as continuing in the Apostles' doctrine and fellowship, and "in *breaking of bread*, and in prayer" not mentioning the cup*.

The first of these cases explains itself, for it is said that the disciples recognised their Lord in breaking of bread, and that He vanished out of their sight. The passage leaves no doubt that, immediately they recognised Him, He disappeared, and therefore no evidence or even possibility can be drawn from it. But the second instance is still more unhappy, for St. Paul exhorts them to take some *food* because of their long abstinence, and "they also took some food *." These men were not even Christians, for the soldiers' counsel was to kill the prisoners, which no Christians would have wished to do, or even a man who was endued with a spark of gratitude. Besides all this, they did not receive, but took. We might multiply inferences against Romish views from this account, but one shall suffice. Is it reasonable to suppose that these men, after fourteen days' abstinence, contented themselves with food without thinking of thirst?—for the necessities of nature, as well as their good spirits, would induce them to eat and drink, as "then were they all of good cheer." Now, if at a meal such as this, when it is certain that they drank, the sacred writing contents us with merely saying they *eat*, what proof will it be that there was no cup, when the Lord's supper is merely called "breaking of bread?" We will not illustrate the subject by more than a passing reference to daily habit among men. The third instance may either be answered by this last argument, or it may be inquired of Mr. Newman, how, in the same context, he interprets the phrase in which they, *i. e.* all the disciples, "breaking bread from house to house [or at home], did eat their meat with gladness and singleness of heart †?" In whatever sense you interpret the words in the first passage, at all events it refers to food generally in the latter; and if thirst must be quenched in one case, and is not mentioned, why not in the other? The context points us to the community of goods among Christians. This, therefore, is no more conclusive or favourable than the preceding instances, and Mr. Newman did wisely when, from plain Scripture and its necessary inferences, he took refuge in what he is pleased to term "types of this Sacrament." In such a line of argument there is more scope for subtlety, and, therefore, less fear of refutation. But Scripture has been tried and disappoints. It will not prove error, and this is no fault of the controversialist. His object Scripture fails to effect, and, naturally enough, disappoints his hopes; and if Scripture will not support what men most *anxiously* endeavour to prove by it, can they have a stronger evidence that it is not on their side? Here, however, there are a number of grave errors in one passage, and we are not at a loss to know how sophistry can justify them.

* Acts, xxvii, 36.

† Acts, ii, 46.

Again, says the author, "it (Scripture) leaves on our minds the general impression that Christ was returning on earth at once; 'the time 'short,' worldly engagements superseded by 'the present distress,' persecutors urgent, Christians *sinless* and expectant, without home, without place for the future, looking up to heaven. But outward circumstances have changed, and with the change, of necessity, a different application of the revealed word became necessary, that is, a *development**." Is it possible, that Mr. Newman should have so disliked what he calls a modern interpretation of St. Paul's prophecy of the man of sin, as to forget the existence of the whole chapter in which it occurs? It must be so, unless we accuse him of dishonesty; for in this chapter the Apostle entreats his Thessalonian converts not to be soon shaken in mind *with regard to* the coming of the Lord, *as if it were immediate*. And so far is it from being true that Scripture had to be developed, that it gives a plain contradiction to the mistaken theory of the "at once" presence, and not only contradicts, but gives a reason for its own certainty. "Let no man deceive you by any means, for (it is not) except there come a falling away (*the apostasy*) first, and the man of sin be revealed, the son of perdition, who opposeth and exalteth himself above (or against) all that is called God or that is worshipped, so that he as God sitteth in the temple of God, shewing himself that he is God." And then follow those important words which shew that, even at this time, St. Paul was introducing, not a new but an old doctrine. "Remember ye not, that, when I was yet with you, I told you these things†." It is not Scripture that needs development, or is found wanting, but there is inaccuracy, or ignorance, or perversion in the writer. Again, anything rather than a perfect acquaintance with either the letter or spirit of Scripture, is exhibited in the following: "The difficulty, for instance, in accounting for the fact that the dispersion of the Jews followed upon their keeping, not their departing from the law, does not hinder us from insisting on their present state as an argument against the infidel‡." This extraordinary difficulty is very similar to many Romish objections, but we are content with our Lord's denial of its assumption. "*Ye have omitted the weightier matters of the law, judgment, mercy, and faith*: these ought ye to have done, and not to leave the other undone§." And our Lord denounces these blind guides as hypocrites making clean the outside of the cup and platter, and as a generation of vipers; but Mr. Newman tells us that

* P. 101.

† 2 Thessalonians, ii, 1, 5.

‡ P. 150.

§ St. Matthew, xxiii, 23: St. Luke, xi, 42.

they kept the law. Does he not know that the spirit is that which God demands, and that, as St. Paul saith, "the law was our school-master to bring us to Christ*;" and, therefore, if carnal Jews did not look to the Messiah, but rejected him, it is more than daring in the teeth of Scripture to affirm that the Jews kept the law. Scripture declares that they made void the law by their *traditions*†, even as Jews at this hour are the slaves of a tedious tradition. The author of this work affirms that they kept the law, and yet he complains of the insufficiency of Scripture as a guide. Perhaps a question may arise in the minds of some as to the reason which induces thus to pervert Scripture when a simple doubt is raised, and no real advantage accrues to the disputant. An answer is sufficiently given to this by the fact, that, on the same ground, in a later page, Mr. Newman rejects the natural meaning of the second commandment. "It may reasonably be questioned," says "he, then, whether the commandment which stands second in our Decalogue, on which the prohibition of images is principally grounded, was "intended for more than *temporary observance* in the letter‡." It is not antecedently clear or probable for what reason *one* of God's commands should be merely of temporary observance when the rest are binding on men. The following are the arguments intended to prove its possibility: "None could surpass the Jews in its literal observance;" "if their adherence to the letter was no protection to the Jews, departure "from the letter *may be* no guilt in Christians." We have no doubt that Mr. Newman knows under which fallacy this ingenious deduction may be classed. Perhaps there might have been some colour for the inference if there had been *only one* commandment, or *if* the Jews had been shewn to have observed all the rest; but when a nation knows not what belongs to its peace, when on it rests the blood of every prophet, when it has cried crucify Him, crucify Him, against the Lord of glory, the literal observance of one command will not save them. Or, again, as an argument in itself, that is, if we grant the premises, what is the value of the conclusion? The Jews mistook the meaning of the command, therefore we may eject it entirely! Up to this time, we thought

* Gal. iii, 24.

† See St. Matthew, xv. "Thus have ye made the commandment of none effect," or have annulled, "by your traditions. Ye hypocrites, well did Esaias prophesy of "you, saying, 'This people *draweth nigh unto me with their mouth, and honoureth "me with their lips*; but their heart is far from me.'" If, therefore, Mr. Newman means what he writes, mere lip-service is all God requires!

‡ Pp. 434, 435.

that the literal meaning was that from which the spiritual meaning was drawn, the one being the lowest, the other the highest; but, if Mr. Newman is sound in his argument, because the Jews *in words* honoured their parents, and were punished, therefore we are not literally to honour our parents. The Jews did only a part of their duty, and therefore we have none! But let us inquire in what other sense the second commandment can be obeyed than in a literal sense; and, if we must first keep it in its literal sense, that we then may learn its fullest meaning, before stubborn, truth-loving Protestants erase it from their creed of agenda, they will require something less unlike logic and argument than they find in this ingenious subterfuge. The Romish plan in Ireland, which lately has been copied in England, would be far more honest, for they omit it as useless, and do not trouble their laity about one of God's commands which *they* deem *obsolete*. We can only regret that the Douay translators were not made acquainted with this new theory of its being for mere "temporary observance;" or, in plain words, an *expedient* to keep Israel from idolatry, and then they would have allowed Jacob, as in the time of its observance, to worship *on* his staff, without worshipping the senseless wood. This new light came too late for such a useful purpose. Image worship will still be idolatry, unless some better argument shall be *developed* than the above.

In Mr. Newman's opinion, unless we had been told it by tradition, the application of that prophecy, "A virgin shall conceive," &c., to the Messiah, would surprise us; and of this we are again incredulous; for it seems not merely a natural, but the only interpretation which can by any laws of rational criticism be put on a passage which speaks of the name of Emmanuel; but surely, if there were any doubt, it is enough for us that the inspired Evangelist records its application. Mistakes are, however, by far too frequent for comment, and errors are abundant enough for examination. This may be more apparent when we read, that, "*without misgiving*, we may apply to them" (that is, the Saints) "*the most sacred language of Psalmists and Prophets*." 'Thou art a priest for ever' may be said of St. Polycarp or St. Martin, as well as of their "Lord;" and that "I have found David my servant," is to be transferred to Christ's "Vicegerents on earth;" or, again, that "I have given thee the nations for thine inheritance," is the prerogative of Popes*. Of course, in controversy, Mr. Newman would *intrench* himself, as it is called, in the literal meaning of his words, and would deny that he claimed such power as the Apostle declares the Saviour to possess, be-

cause of his unchangeable priesthood. "Wherefore," says the inspired writer, "He is able also to *save* them to the uttermost *that come unto God by Him, seeing* He ever liveth to make intercession for them." Or, "*without misgiving*," it is said that the *nations* are the Pope's prerogative. This is ultra-Montanism, but it is something worse; for that is folly, but this borders on blasphemy; for those words are preceded by, "Thou art my Son; this day have I begotten thee." The context bears out, and more than bears out, our view; and woe unto the man who places a sinful Pope in the honour of his Lord. The section "*On the Deification of the Saints*" supplies us with another example of reckless argument, and something more; for, after saying that the silence as to angels in the Pentateuch was a token of jealousy, and the "*comparative prominence*" of them in the later prophets a token of its cessation, we read the following: "Nor can anything be concluded from St. Paul's censure of angel-worship, since the sin which he is denouncing was that of not holding the head and worshipping creatures, *instead* of the Creator, as the source of good*." It is true that St. Paul was preaching Christ, and exalting Him before his converts; but this is a reason, rather than otherwise, against worshipping angels; and if the worship of angels was forbidden by St. Paul, in close connexion with a charge of not holding the head, it shews incontrovertibly that St. Paul connected the two errors; and as he condemned the one, so, also, did he denounce the other as its corollary. Thus might we argue from the Essay; but the context is also to be examined. Not a *part*, but *all* the verse is worth quoting by those who wish to know its real meaning; and thus we find, "Let no man beguile you of your reward in a voluntary humility and worshipping of angels, *intruding into those things which he hath not seen*, vainly puffed up by his fleshly mind, and not holding the head." Not only is angel-worship a forsaking of Christ the head, but, still more, it is a vain presumption as to things of which we know very little; and it is an indication of a fleshly mind—a mind which must have more than God reveals to it. Which of these reasons is of mere "*temporary observance*," or which manifests the cessation of that jealousy which hath proclaimed, "I will not give my glory unto another?"

There is, however, an argument no less ingenious, by which an answer is developed to that passage in the Revelation in which John is forbidden to worship a creature. After quoting from Athanasius, Mr.

* P. 402.

† Chap. ii.

Newman says, "In this passage it is almost said that the glorified saints will partake in the homage paid by angels to Christ, the true object of all worship; and at least a reason is suggested by it for the angel's shrinking, in the Apocalypse, from the homage of St. John, the theologian and prophet of the Church*." So, then, it was out of honour to St. John, as a saint deified, that the angel refused his homage! This accounts for the shrinking of the angel! We are again under the painful necessity of referring Mr. Newman to the book which he professes to have tried. "And I fell at his feet to *worship* him. "And he said unto me, *See thou do it not. I am thy fellow-servant and of thy brethren that have the testimony of Jesus: WORSHIP GOD; for the testimony of Jesus is the spirit of prophecy†.*" Thus saith the Scripture, and a more decisive contradiction could never be written of any passage than the text supplies. To comment on such a perversion in its true character is perhaps needless, and it would be, at all events, difficult to retain that moderation of language which is so desirable.

Here we will for the present conclude our notice of Mr. Newman's scriptural knowledge and research. The Bible has been tried by him, and he thinks it deficient; but what would men say if any other book were thus quoted and perverted? No moral philosopher could hope for charitable constructions, if Aristotle and Plato were similarly used. But as that book is God's word to man, which, in divers times and ways, He hath given us, no one can lament enough for such sorrowful shortcomings. Holy George Herbert wrote—

The Bible! That's the book! The book indeed!
 The book of books
 On which who looks
 As he should-do, *aright*, shall never need
 Wish for a better light
 To guide him in the night.

It must be read *aright*, and used aright. Man must bend to it: it cannot bend to man. And unless a man is faithful in the least, he will not be faithful in much; and so, also, unless men quote faithfully, and take text with context, all their inferences are deceitful, and, sooner or later, such persons will either head some new heresy, or fall in with the rear of some previous schism.

The same process is also applied to the Apostolic Fathers in reference to "relics;" but this will be seen by a comparison of the passages. "They ascribed virtue to their martyred tabernacles, and treasured, as

* Pp. 403, 404.

† Revelation, xix, 10.

"something *supernatural*, their blood, their ashes, and their bones. "When St. Cyprian was beheaded, his brethren brought napkins to soak up his blood. 'Only the harder portion of the holy relics remained,' say the Acts of St. Ignatius, who was exposed to the beasts in the amphitheatre, 'which were conveyed to Antioch, and deposited in linen, bequeathed by the grace that was in the martyr to that holy Church as 'a priceless treasure.' The Jews attempted to deprive the brethren of St. Polycarp's body, 'lest, leaving the crucified, they begin to worship him,' say his Acts; 'ignorant,' they continue, 'that we can never leave Christ;' and they add, 'we having taken up his bones, which were more costly than precious stones, and refined more than gold, deposited them where was fitting; and then when we meet together, as we can, the Lord will grant us to celebrate with joy and gladness the birthday of his martyrdom*.'" Not to say one word as to the deficiency of proof, quoted, as these passages are, by Mr. Newman, let us refer to them as they really stand, following Archbishop Wake's translation, for the convenience of comparison. First, then, with regard to Ignatius, he had no idea of the "*supernatural*" value of relics, for his Acts say, "Thus was he delivered to the cruel beasts, near the temple, by wicked men; so that the desire of the holy martyr, Ignatius, might be accomplished, as it is written, 'The desire of the righteous is acceptable;' namely, *that he might not be burthensome to any of the brethren by the gathering of his relics*, but might be wholly devoured of them according as, in his Epistle, he had before wished that so his end might be. For only the *greater and harder* of his holy bones remained, which were carried to Antioch, and there put up in a napkin, as an inestimable treasure left to the Church by the grace which was in the martyr†." The passage to which a reference is made is found in Ignatius' Epistle to the Romans,—“Rather encourage the beasts that they may become my sepulchre, and may leave nothing of my body; that being dead, I may not be *troublesome* to any: then shall I be truly the disciple of Jesus Christ, when the world shall not see so much as my body‡.” Here is evidence that bones and relics were esteemed a burden, rather than “*something supernatural*.” The modern Romish view of relics is utterly inconsistent with these Acts, although there is considerable doubt as to the age of these later chapters §,

* P. 373.

† Acts, xii.

‡ Epistle to Romans, iv.

§ See Archbishop Wake's Prelim. Dis., s. 20, who mentions Grabe as thus arguing. Mr. Faber in his notes on "*Stories of the Primitive Church*," quotes Adonis and the Menæum, which prove that the remains were decently buried, p. 161.

and therefore more possibility of their supporting relic worship. It was nothing more than natural, that the bones of so distinguished a bishop should be deposited in his own church, and they would be a great treasure by bidding many not to fear those who can only kill the body. The reference to St. Polycarp's acts is, however, that to which we are anxious to draw attention. The words which are omitted by Mr. Newman are worth observation. "Not considering that *neither* is it possible for us ever "to forsake Christ, *who suffered for the salvation of all such as shall be* "saved throughout the whole world,—'the righteous for the ungodly,'— "NOR WORSHIP ANY OTHER BESIDES HIM. *For Him, indeed, as being* "the Son of God, we do adore; but for the martyrs, we worthily love "them as the disciples and followers of our Lord, and upon the account "of their exceeding great affection towards their Master and their "King; of whom may we also be made companions and fellow-disciples*." A more complete refutation can scarcely be imagined than this passage, which divides the two quotations of Mr. Newman; and besides, the point at which Mr. Newman stops his second quotation, as to spending this martyr's anniversary, is thus continued, "both in memory "of those who have suffered, and for the exercise and preparation of "those who may hereafter suffer." What so free from any superstitious reverence, or what so natural and becoming as the feelings and objects which are thus described. There is no evidence of the "supernatural," but a plain record of truth.

Butler suffers a similar misfortune at Mr. Newman's hands, but our space precludes the quotation, and we are convinced that evidence enough had been produced to shew that the writer of the "Essay on Development" is the last man in the world who should be bold enough to say that he found the Bible wanting as a guide. It is manifest that he has never tried it in a fair and teachable spirit. He is content to use it word by word or piece by piece, without its context, and seems never more happy than in making an inference from a word which he misunderstands and misapplies. It is a melancholy thought that such a writer, so dangerous even to himself, and so much more dangerous to his unreading, unthinking disciples, should be the leader by whose *ipse dixit* so many are absolutely guided. We are not speaking carelessly when we express a conviction that no arguments will be read by Mr. Newman's followers, except those in his favour. They do not believe in his habitual *inaccuracy* and perversion of authorities, nor will they be persuaded of it. It is a plain delusion by which they have dreamed

* Martyrdom of St. Polycarp, ch. xvii.

through life for some years, and the spell has its hold, notwithstanding some shocks. Fruitless, however, as may be our labour with regard to the determined, it is a satisfaction to expose such reckless mis-statements; and, before this part of our task was completed, it would have been worse than a mistake to argue against the main theory. Now we have a sketch of the whole, a character of the writer; we have more than mere probabilities to guide us in our investigation. Words would fail to express the painfulness of the task in thus reviewing the fall of him who was once a brother. There is nothing to cheer or console, for in this fall it is a mind not led away, but leading itself away. It is the fall, not of a man who has died in a noble aim or desire of the truth. It is not that noble eagerness which compels our sympathy, though we differ in the result. It is rather the natural issue of a long system of subtlety which sought to argue away the truth in defence of a private theory. Truth is not private, but comes from God to man in his Revelation. If this satisfies not, the harmony of the heart is out of tune and has not the keynote of happiness. *Truth* first tampered with has bitterly revenged itself. The mind may subtilise itself into any absurdity, and die in any labyrinth of miserable doubt and uncertainty. By this fall, a life spent in some sort of activity has been declared to be one long falsehood, one hollow act by which nothing was ever meant. But we must conclude, and not linger on such thoughts; and sure we are that our readers will not expect *a priori* much accuracy or acumen in the theoretical parts of the "Essay on Development." The moral character of its argument is like "the baseless fabric of a vision." It has not the *prestige* of victory, or even of momentary triumph. It is not a meteor, but a phantom; it shews a ghost of the mind, which *might have* been great, if the truth had made it free.

EGYPT AND THE BOOKS OF MOSES.

"Egypt and the Books of Moses; or, the Books of Moses illustrated by the Monuments of Egypt; with an Appendix." By Dr. E. W. Hengstenberg, Prof. of Theol. at Berlin, from the German, by R. D. C. Robbins, Abbot Resident. Theol. Sem. Amherst, with additional Notes, by W. Cooke Taylor, Esq., LL.D., M.R.A.S. of Trinity College, Dublin. Edin. Clark. 1845.

It is well known in this country that the late successful study, though even yet not complete knowledge, of the hieroglyphic lore of Egypt, has been, independently of its own intrinsic interest, attended with other most curious and important results. On the one hand, it

has been considered to have demonstrated the veracity of Manetho, an Egyptian writer under the second Ptolemy, whose history is only preserved to us in part by a few fragments, and by various tabular abridgments, sometimes varying from one another, though not always unaccountably. On the other hand, the hieroglyphic monuments have been applied with different measures of judgment and fidelity to the elucidation of the earlier Scriptures. The present work of Professor Hengstenberg is calculated to awaken feelings of very opposite descriptions. By one convinced of the truth of the Mosaic history, nay, of its incalculable importance as the only literary work in the world penned by an inspired lawgiver, the Doctor's triumphant refutation of the cavils of Von Bohlen is hailed with reverence and delight. By one persuaded of the authenticity and consistency of the ancient abridgments of Manetho, taken in the main; of the general credibility of that author as to facts, whatever his opinions may be reckoned at in respect of judgment; of the rational arrangement of his dynasties, and their readiness of reconciliation with the sacred history taken in all their detail, without any of the garbling which they have sustained from modern chronologers,—by one persuaded of all this,—few perhaps of his admirers go so far,—or even by such as, without going so deeply into the study of his difficulties, are contented to see that he was an author not to be set aside as unworthy of credit; by such must Hengstenberg's attack on our great illustrator of Egyptian monuments be looked upon with something like pity—in certain cases probably with something like contempt. Now, if the Professor's opinion on this point be rash, prejudiced, incorrect—what a disservice to religion must it render, falling into the hands of one imbued with this last-mentioned superficial reliance upon Manetho, and, at the same time, misled, or it may be more culpably erring, in his judgment of the books of Moses. If, again, Hengstenberg's opinion be such, and his publication come before one deeply impressed with the high opinion of Manetho first described, and this person be also equally mistaken on the vital point, much more ruinous must be the result of rashness, prejudice, and incorrectness in this matter on that reader's mind. But we *know* it to be possible that the above favourable estimation of Manetho can co-exist in the same mind with the reverence for Moses already expressed; and, if so, though Professor Hengstenberg's opinion might not be attended with any unfavourable consequence, either way, to the reader's mind, still it may be readily supposed with what feelings of deep regret one must, in this case, observe the cause of sacred truth upheld, or rather attempted to be upheld, by what one must in this instance deem no better than a passionate, though sincere, belief in a falsehood.

This is written with the greater seriousness and sorrow, because, when we look at Hengstenberg's work, apart from his *rabies* against Manetho, and his determined contradiction of the main fact preserved to us from his Egyptian History, the conquest of the land by the Shepherds, then we feel we must lay our finger on our lips before pronouncing the trite quotation,

Non tali auxilio nec defensoribus istis
Tempus eget.

Here, then, let the matter rest as regards Manetho. This does not seem the most fitting place to do battle for him. Let us, in the boasted spirit of chivalry, and in the most enviable and true spirit of charity, forget our quarrel when not engaged in it, and, side by side, with a valiant champion, mark with pleasure his exploits in the better cause of Scripture truth.

The Professor's work, of which the translation forms part of a New Series of the "Biblical Cabinet," presents, beside his Appendix on Manetho and the Shepherds, two grand divisions of the argument against Von Bohlen, the Negative and Positive, the first proving that Egyptian antiquity offers no evidence against the authenticity of the Pentateuch, as Von Bohlen supposed; the second, (which is by far the most considerable, as may be imagined), that, on the contrary, it furnishes most decisive witness in its favour.

The profound nature of Von Bohlen's objections may be exemplified by the first brought under review. He fancied brick building not to be Egyptian! As Hengstenberg observes, "We can scarcely trust our own eyes when we read such things." He, however, deigns, of course, to disprove the fancy from Herodotus, Müller, Champollion, Rosellini, and Wilkinson. On this we have a note, that, "as Hengstenberg has not given the precise dates here, it may be proper to add, that *arches* were constructed of brick as early as 1540, B. C., in the reign of Amenoph I, and probably in the time of the first Osirtasen, who is supposed by *Wilkinson* to have been contemporary with Joseph." This note may be the translator's or the editor's. It has no signature. Many are signed T., but whether they are Mr. Taylor's or the translator's, may be doubted. We may mention it as a pity that this oversight prevails throughout the book. As to the date of Amenoph, we hold it to be about two centuries too early, yet own it to appear in nearly the most certain period of the chronology. As to Osirtasen and his dynasty, Mr. Wathen has argued strenuously for their existence after the Persian conquest, or at least that the works attributed to their age are of that period. (*Arts and Antiquities of Egypt*, pp. 184—186).

This opinion, if correct, interferes very greatly with the *particular mode* in which those monuments have been applied to Scripture. Thus, in the *positive part* of Hengstenberg's argument, (p. 21), the sale of Joseph is illustrated from the Desert stations of a king assumed to be of the 16th Dynasty, (for here Manetho fails to elucidate the monuments), that dynasty being also held to be contemporary with Joseph. The Scripture illustration would be valid and useful, even should it turn out not to be so chronologically fitted to the case. Just so with regard to the domestic painting of the steward or overseer of slaves at Beni Hassan, which also is of the Osirtasen period, and which Dr. Hengstenberg applies in illustration of Joseph's history, (p. 24). It may not be out of place to observe that the Professor, treating of Joseph's father-in-law, (p. 33), remarks, that Wilkinson makes Osirtasen contemporary with Moses: whereas he rather synchronises the last Osirtasen with the death of Joseph. But, at present, let it be remembered, errors of this kind are excusable. Transcripts of tables are so generally modifications of them rather than transcripts, while opinions are so various and fluctuating also, that it is almost as difficult to rest on them as on mere memory. The difference between Wilkinson and Rosellini as to the grandest epoch of Pharaonic history, the beginning of Dynasty XVIII, is about two centuries and a half. The Beni Hassan are again referred to in reference to Joseph's history of the harvest—nor will the reference be less valuable, though less curious, if the age be far distant. On the extraordinary and beautiful representation, at Beni Hassan, of thirty-seven foreigners, men, women, and children; brought before a military chief of the Pharaoh Osirtasen II, Hengstenberg treating at some length, notices the belief of some that it directly records the arrival of the Israelite family, and Wilkinson's change of opinion from the idea of their being captives to that of their being simply strangers, so termed by a vain figure of speech usual with Egyptians. He thinks it will be ever a problem, whether Joseph's family be intended, but considers it proof of immigration "and formal admission," "even in very ancient times, or, more correctly *yet*, in these times." The force of this last remark, of course, must depend much on the age of the monument, or, at least, of the king under whom the recorded event took place.

But, to return, Dr. Hengstenberg takes, in succession, and successfully refutes, in the first part, Von Bohlen's objections to the Pentateuch in regard to the Egyptian animals, animal food, winds, vines, origin of civilization, and use of iron.

The "*positive*" part of his subject opens with a chapter on Joseph's

History and the Egyptian Geography of the Pentateuch. In addition to what has been already observed on this chapter, we must not omit to notice a curious misunderstanding of Dr. Hengstenberg's meaning in a note signed T., at p. 28. As it is at variance with the clear meaning of the text, as translated, it should seem that the note is *not* by the same hand. It speaks of "Hengstenberg's strange acquiescence in Bohlen's assertion that Potiphar is described as a eunuch. The word סריס *seris*, 'correctly rendered 'officer,' in our version, like the Greek word 'eunuch,' originally signified a 'chamberlain,' or 'attendant of state;' the root (סרס) is still preserved in the Aramaic, and designates a 'higher degree of servitude than the ordinary verb of submission' (ענר). The instances of secondary meanings obliterating primary significations are sufficiently common in every language; and Bohlen's error, in which he is strangely followed by Hengstenberg, arises from mistaking the secondary and prevalent signification of the word for its original and primary. T." Hengstenberg certainly does fall into the common error of supposing "chamberlain" to be the *transferred* signification; but, as certainly he does not acquiesce in Bohlen's error arising therefrom, for his words are these, "An eunuch, in the literal sense, cannot be meant," (meaning the unliteral, figurative, and modern sense). "The term in this place is equivalent to court-officer. But the transferred signification" (meaning the literal one from *ευνη* and *ερα*) "rests upon the employments in which real eunuchs engaged, and thus it follows, from this designation of Potiphar, that there were, in the opinion of the author, eunuchs, even in Egypt." The probability of this he then proceeds to prove from the monuments against Von Bohlen. It will be seen that this is not the only case in which the annotator T. seems to have misunderstood the text.

Dr. Hengstenberg, treating (in p. 62) of the peasantry and priest-lords of Egypt, thus writes of an objection to the Mosaic history of Joseph: "Herodotus, it might be said, ascribes the partition of the land to king Sesostria, but he cannot possibly be the king in whose time the administration of Joseph falls." Granted, according to the reveries of modern chronologers, who have chosen severally to identify Sesostria with sundry kings of Egypt after the time of Moses or even Solomon. But *Manetho's* Sesostria died 208 years before the end of the *early* Diospolite Dynasties; and Joseph died about 215 years before the Exodus; and Diodorus synchronises that with the expulsion of the Phœnician and Hellenic tribes; and the tables taken from *Manetho* simply insert a recapitulation of dynasties of Phœnician and Hellenic, and other *Shepherds*, between the *early* and the *late* Diospolitan dynasties, the commencement of which last seems to synchronise with the expulsion of

the Shepherds and the Exode of Israel almost at once. Whence it follows that Sesostris and Joseph were really about contemporary. But in what relation they stood to each other is quite another question. Hengstenberg acquiesces in the "fixed result of modern investigation, that "Sesostris is not an historical, but a mythic personage." How far the myth excludes the history is a problem not to be solved by a mere antithesis. In the Arabian legends, in Josippon Ben Gorion, in the Talmud, in the mediæval chronicles, and, we believe, in the *Gesta Romanorum*, Alexander the Great is "not an historical, but a "mythic personage." Whether this really annihilates him is a query hardly worth discussing. Let us extract Dr. Hengstenberg's conclusion of this part of his subject. "At the close of this chapter, we would also "call attention to the wonderful change in the spirit of the Egyptian "people, which appears in the narration of the Pentateuch. *Abraham "found an easy entrance into Egypt and a friendly reception, and no dis-* "tinction between him and the Egyptians is manifested. *In the time of "Joseph, the spirit of the Egyptian people had acquired a more decided "character.* Already are the Shepherds an abomination, and Joseph "must be freed from the ignominy of his origin by an alliance with the "daughter of a priest of the highest rank. But still that such an alli- "ance is possible shews that the repulsive severity of the Egyptians "against strangers had not yet reached its greatest height. The manner "in which Pharaoh answers the request of Joseph for the admission of "his family into Egypt proves the same thing; but, *just at the begin-* "ning of the Exodus, we see the hatred and contempt of the Egyptians "against all foreigners, and their strong national egotism, which is so "conspicuous in the circumstance, that the term *man* is used exclusively "for their people, designating them as of the highest rank. (*'Salvolini "Campagne de Rhameses ;'* Paris, 1835, p. 261). Every one must "confess that this gradual development is perfectly in accordance with "nature, and that the representation of the Pentateuch carries with it "the proof of its authenticity and credibility." (Hengst. p. 78). This view must be owned perfectly clear. How far it can be decided to be correct must rest on a diligent comparison with the views of others, on the very passages from which he draws his inferences; some interpretations of them being just the reverse of his. The editor has, indeed, annexed an Appendix to this chapter, combating this "theory of a gra- "dual spirit of exclusiveness having spontaneously grown up;" and with it, in some measure, the author's theory of the Shepherds. This cannot here be entered into; but with the three passages which we have marked with italics, any one willing to dive into the subject would, perhaps, find it worth while to compare respectively the following three historical

phases of Egyptian antiquity from Manetho and the Greek classics :— 1st, *Nuphis* or *Chcops* of Memphis and his relation, as to *Salatis* or *Philitis* the Shepherd; 2nd, the war of *Sesostris* in Thrace against *Crocops*, and an Hellenic race of emigrants from Egypt; 3rd, the conclusion of a long war against the remnant of the *Shepherd* race by *Achmos*, the victorious founder of the magnificent 18th Dynasty of Egypt.

In connexion with what has been quoted above, regarding the “egotism” of the Egyptians in “using the term *man* exclusively for their “people,” we may notice a statement (at p. 229) in a note, whether of the author’s, or translator’s, or editor’s, is not clear. The statement, however, is Wilkinson’s, who, on Herodotus’s report, that each of the 345 high priests of Thebes had been “a piromis son of a piromis,” remarks, “it is singular that the historian should not have understood the signification of the word *rômi* (man, or *pirômi*, the man) as the sense alone suffices to point it out.” With due deference to Sir Gardiner Wilkinson, of whose works no one must speak but with respect and pleasure, even though on many points perhaps differing from his conclusions, it does not appear proved that Herodotus did not understand the meaning of the word *Pi Rôme*, “*the man*.” “It was equivalent,” he says, “to gentleman,” every gentleman being, we believe, a man; and certainly, however the term may have degenerated, every gentleman in the sense of the Greek phrase, *καλὸς κ’ ἀγαθὸς*, according to the adage, “gentle is that gentle does,” must be entitled to the name of man in its most honourable sense. Now, that the word *Rôme*, particularly *Pi Rôme*, with the article, might be restricted to this kind of man, is evident from the Latin, *VIR*, more than probably the original of the mediæval *Baro*, and our Baron. It is quite certain, too, that the name *Alle-manni* was assumed as a title of honour, and claims for the whole nation the character by which Herodotus translates *Pi Romi*. Nor is this of the *Alemans*, a singular instance of a nation assuming such a name, as arrogates a pre-eminent claim to the designation of their kind.

Dr. Hengstenberg’s next three chapters treat of the positive illustrations of the Pentateuch’s being correct in its history of the Exodus; the second of these two chapters being devoted to the signs in Egypt. In treating of Pharaoh’s fears and cruelty, he examines the celebrated picture of the brickmakers, copied by Rosellini, from Roshere’s Tomb at Thebes, under the reign of a Thothmes, fifth king of the 18th Dynasty, two reigns, as Wilkinson supposes, five as we should rather think, after the Exodus of Israel. Some of these appeared to Rosellini Israelites at work, not so to Wilkinson. The latter finds only indirect, the former direct, evidence to the history. Wilkinson supposes the bricks made for a building at Thebes; the inscription in Rosellini, Hengstenberg says,

does not affirm this : nor does he see any objection, as Wilkinson does to the supposition of any Israelites being brought so far as Thebes. It is not likely any of the people were left behind either in Upper or Lower Egypt ; but certainly the silence of Moses as to the various places of labour can scarcely be made positive evidence, nor is the history of the ten plagues the story of a *day*. A note, with the signature T., represents it as probable that the tyrannising Pharaoh was not an Egyptian, but a foreigner, most likely one of the Shepherd race. On the principle of this note, certainly Roscher's picture could not represent Hebrews.

We will extract Dr. Hengstenberg's opening of his chapter on the "Signs and Wonders in Egypt," in order to do the professor justice, which seems hardly done at the end of the chapter in Mr. Taylor's note. Such we find the notes marked T. to be, from his reference in one of them, at a earlier a page than 128, to his "Illustrations of the Bible." Questions about the authorship of notes are in the present day hardly worth adding to the perplexities of a difficult subject ; they are so easily avoided ; and where the different bearings of such a subject are discussed by author, translator, and editor, want of the necessary distinction between them must add perplexity. Even to the end of the book the notes of the author and translator remain undistinguished. "It would require," says Mr. Taylor, "more space than the limits of a note allow to examine the theory of the plagues, advocated by Dr. Hengstenberg." . . . "All the sacred writers who have referred to the Exodus insist strongly on the direct interference of Jehovah to effect the deliverance of his chosen people, and speak of the *signs and wonders in the land of Ham* as marvels without a parallel in human experience. Dr. Hengstenberg's effort to shew that they were natural calamities in an exaggerated form leaves still the greatest of all the wonders unexplained : the occurrence of ten such dreadful visitations in such rapid succession." Assuredly, so it is. But Hengstenberg says no other. "Many have wished to make the connexion of the wonders with the natural phenomena of Egypt an argument against the Pentateuch. So, indeed, the English deists have done, as, for example, *Morgan*." Among those more recent, *Von Bohlen* is conspicuous. Moses, he remarks, "in order to avoid the suspicion of self-deception, was at least obliged to express himself in the mildest manner possible among his contemporaries, who were so well acquainted with Egypt, if he wished to make the commonly observed phenomena avail as miracles. But it is perfectly clear, that these occurrences, as they are related, notwithstanding their foundation in nature, always maintained their character as miracles, and, consequently, are sufficient to prove what

“they are intended to prove, and to accomplish what they did accomplish.
 “Attempts to merge the supernatural in the natural, such as have been
 “made by Du Bois Aymé, and then by Eichhorn, will not accomplish
 “their design. Indeed, the unusual force in which the common exhibitions
 “of nature here manifest themselves, and especially their rapid succe-
 “sion, while at other times only a single one exhibits itself with unusual
 “intensity, as well as the fact that Eichhorn, notwithstanding all the un-
 “natural misrepresentations which he allowed himself, yet found material
 “for a treatise on the ‘Wonderful Year of Egypt,’ if we at the same time
 “consider these events in connexion with the changing cause of them,
 “and also take into account the exemption of the Land of Goshen, bring
 “us to the limits of the miraculous; for the transition to the miraculous
 “is reached by the extraordinary in its highest gradation.

“But we are brought into the sphere of the miraculous itself, by the
 “circumstance that these things are introduced and performed by
 “Moses, that they cease at his request, and a part of them at a time
 “fixed upon by Pharaoh himself. Hence, the connexion with natural
 “phenomena can be made to avail against the Pentateuch only when,
 “going beyond the present narrative, we limit what in it can be explain-
 “ed by the natural occurrences of Egypt, and establish the presumption
 “that the remainder belongs to fiction. But this assumption wants all
 “foundation. Not until the historical character of the Pentateuch is
 “disproved, is it necessary, in conformity with the natural philosophy of
 “Egypt, to separate truth and fiction from one another, although it is
 “then better to transfer the whole narrative to the province of mytho-
 “logy, since the natural in it acquires its significance merely through
 “its connexion with the supernatural. And, so soon as it shall be
 “separated, we can no longer comprehend how Moses could make use
 “of this to prove anything, and how it produced the consequences as-
 “cribed to it.

“But that the natural is in itself a presumption against the super-
 “natural, and thus furnishes an argument against the historical veracity
 “of the Pentateuch, cannot be affirmed. If we exert ourselves to bring
 “forward any one tenable reason for this, we shall soon see that we
 “have allowed an entirely arbitrary assumption. On the contrary, that
 “the connexion with the natural serves for confirmation to the super-
 “natural, is clear from the following reasons:—

“Since we have shewn that the natural groundwork of these wonder-
 “full events cannot be made an argument *against* the Pentateuch, it be-
 “longs to us also to point out how far it is in favour of the same. Here
 “comes into view, first, the fitness of this character of the miracle to the
 “end designed. The *supernatural* presents generally in the Scriptures no

" violent opposition to the *natural*, but rather unites in friendly alliance
 " with it. This follows from the most intimate relation in which natu-
 " ral events also stand to God. The endeavour to isolate the miracu-
 " lous can aid only impiety. But there was here a particular reason also
 " for uniting the supernatural as closely as possible with the natural.
 " The object to which all of these occurrences were directed, according
 " to chapter viii, 20, was to shew that Jehovah is Lord in the midst of
 " the land. Well grounded proof of this could not have been pro-
 " duced by bringing suddenly upon Egypt a succession of strange ter-
 " rors. From these it would only have followed, that Jehovah had re-
 " ceived a momentary and external power over Egypt. On the con-
 " trary, if the events which annually return were placed under the im-
 " mediate control of Jehovah, it would be appropriately shewn that he
 " was God in the midst of the land, and the doom of the false gods, which
 " had been placed in his stead, would go forth, and they would be en-
 " tirely driven out of the jurisdiction which was considered as belonging
 " to them.

" Further, later fiction would aim specially at the dissolution of all
 " connexion between the supernatural and the natural, on the supposi-
 " tion that the dignity of the former would be marred, and that the
 " omnipotence of the Lord, and his love for Israel, would be obscured
 " through this connexion. It would make it an object to concentrate
 " upon Egypt the strangest terrors. The consideration of the signifi-
 " cance of the connexion of the supernatural with the natural, which
 " has just been pointed out, would not be sufficient to counterbalance
 " this advantage, even if it could be supposed that this delicate manner
 " of considering the subject, so far removed from common observation,
 " would have been understood. And, even aside from this view, a fic-
 " titious account could never succeed in sustaining so accurately the
 " Egyptian character in connexion with the supernatural, in preventing
 " the obtusion of an element which was not Egyptian. Were it even
 " probable that individual Israelites of later times had an accurate ac-
 " quaintance with Egypt, it would be of little advantage, since the
 " thing would necessarily not take its shape from them merely, but far
 " more from the prevailing ignorance of Egypt. Thus, therefore, the
 " connexion of the supernatural with the natural throughout the whole,
 " is an argument for the credibility of the narrative, for its composition
 " at the time it purports to have been made, and consequently for its
 " Mosaic origin."

The abstract theory seems here clearly stated and conclusively ar-
 gued; and to bestow upon it a name of opprobrium, is to steal away op-
 probrium from the name. A note, apparently of the author, shews

that Calvin, in his remarks upon the plague of frogs, did not shrink from a similar view of it. That the connexion is clearly and happily made out in all the detail of the ten plagues, cannot, perhaps, be affirmed. That it is possible to make it out in all may be doubted, perhaps denied. Hengstenberg first discusses the "harmless" sign of the serpent-rods of Moses and the magicians; nor does he in the least *endeavour* to explain away the change of the prophet's rod into a serpent, and again into a rod; but the *magic* he of course illustrates from the ancient and modern Paylli. "Even in the three first signs," says he, "the superior power of the God of Israel made itself sufficiently known to any one who did not studiously seek a support for his unbelief and rebellion. They change, it matters not whether really or in appearance, their rods into serpents, but the rod of Moses swallows up their rods; they also change, at least on a small scale, water into blood, but they are not able to restore the blood to its former state; in like manner, imitating on a small scale the miracle of Moses, they brought up frogs upon the land, but they were not able to free it from the plague of frogs." With regard to the neological question as to miracle abstractedly, the previous sign of the serpent is conclusive. Its truth rests on that of the history. No natural power exists of the slightest tendency to change sticks into snakes. But wood, clay, or dust, are alike materials for that power which first called them into being and life out of the brute and lifeless earth. Had supernatural agency really changed the magicians' rods, it is difficult to account for their perseverance after this sign. It may shew their art to be jugglery; from themselves they might judge Moses, and only envy him the creature he employed.

But the supernatural in this sign, totally unconnected with the natural, does not induce the inference that every other "sign," "wonder," "marvel," or "miracle," (by whatever name we think it most correct to translate the various Scripture designations of such occurrences), was radically of the same nature,—an utterly "new thing created on the earth." Yet, let us take the first of the plagues which Hengstenberg (we believe in perfect piety and sincerity of heart) thought fit to usher in with the preface above cited. He thinks "it appears from Joel iii, 4, according to which the moon shall be changed into blood, there is no reason to suppose literal blood is here meant." The reasoning is much the same as if, because Moses said "the heaven over thee shall become brass," we might fairly doubt whether he made the serpent in the wilderness literally of brass. Moses's history of the Exode is far more simple and majestic prose than that of most of the classic historians. Joel's prophecy is at least as figurative as the diction of any classic poet. When we read of the river becoming blood, no one ever took the trouble of

building up such a laborious imagination, as that every particle of water from Abyssinia to Rosetta was transmuted into blood by a species of supernatural alchemy, or that every particle of water was rapidly evaporated, and a particle of blood substituted in its place, after the mode in which some geologists account for the petrification of a belemnite. No; we understand him as every child of nature speaks; as a peasant understands the peasant, who tells him, "the pool was all mud;" not taking his meaning to be that it is all mud, which yet would be far less remarkable. Yet this is the way in which Dr. Hengstenberg understands Moses. It is the fine red earthy particles from Sennaar which, to his imagination, change the river into blood at the beginning of the floods. He cites Sonnini, who *always drank it* with his companions, even when thick and reddish, and *appearing* loathsome. How is it that what this foreigner could do with pleasure, the natives, one particular year, some thousand years ago, *could not bring themselves to do even with loathing?* There is, indeed, a season when the Nile is loathsome, and scarcely fit for drinking; but then it is *green*, not red. The kennel runs blood where a horse has been slaughtered, the rill where a man has been killed, the stream where a battle has raged; and, in such cases, the water not only "appears" but is "truly loathsome." Whence came the real blood with which the mighty Nile was so disgustingly polluted, can be known now only to the God of creation, the Lord of life and death, who hideth His face, and His creatures are troubled; who taketh away their breath, and they turn again to their dust. The whole creation groaneth and travaileth together in pain—severally or in masses—during the reign of sin upon the earth. Awful conjectures alone can trace the dim outlines of the connexion here between the natural and supernatural. That traced by Hengstenberg is, plainly, quite inadequate. He vindicates the narrative well from a ridiculous contradiction found in the expression of "*all the waters;*" but he has omitted the very obvious vindication, that it was only where Moses stretched his wand that the waters were to be changed; if over the river, in the river; if over the lake, the tank, or the canal, in them likewise: *all* of them, wherever he went upon that terrible mission. But he was not ubiquitous like the power of his God. And this also was of God's mercy. Independently of Hengstenberg's fundamental error as to this plague, there is, nevertheless, much to interest and instruct in his illustrations of its history.

On the common, and, we believe, the true view of this visitation, there seems to be dependent a connexion between the natural and supernatural, which, of course, he could not trace. The second plague grows out of it. In the following week, while the matter was in abeyance between Pharaoh and Moses, there was no formal withdrawal of

the first plague. It is not difficult to see through the contrivances by which the king was deceived that week. Obedience might have made the waters run themselves clear, or settle into purity; but unbelief charged the first plague with its natural results. They were withheld by the power that could have averted them, till the fixed day of the prophetic denunciation. Then, on the given signal, the plague of frogs, unable to endure the waters in which the very fish died, (no usual result, by the bye, of a river at flood-time being charged with mud), came swarming up on dry land, in the most unaccustomed places.

"The third plague," Hengstenberg says, "it is now generally agreed," was of gnats—*kinnim*. He fixes the time of it about the end of flood-time, the usual season of gnats; as he had the plague of blood, at the rising of the river. If so, the annual blessing of the land was changed into its curse. And this arrangement appears probable, without resorting to the mud theory. Bochart appears to have satisfactorily proved the Talmudic interpretation of the *kinnim* by "lice" to be correct, in spite of the Greek and Latin versions. Harmer's *tarrente* worm seems unlikely to supplant it; nor *even* the interpretation of some, "crocodiles." Thus, in the notes on Cahen's late French version, Abarbanel is cited as making it an animal of the Nile, called in Arabic *أَل تَمْسَاح*, *Al-Timsah*,—a name, by the way, in which the Egyptian tachompo of Herodotus's time is evidently yet retained. But, passing by such trifling, it may well be guessed the priestly magicians, with their enchantments, could have mimicked a miracle of gnats. They could not, and would not, if they had dared, the other. It was too evidently the finger of God that smote them, in spite of all their ablutions; or, perhaps, here also was a connexion of the natural with the supernatural,—a result of the bloody river accomplished on the appointed signal, at the predestined day. There is a surmise of some advocates for merely reddening in the usual way, which becomes still more plausible, taking the "blood" to be meant literally; for then how readily might Pharaoh's priests persuade him it was the *real blood* of Adonis Osiris of Egypt and Phœnicia, whose river Adonis, at the feast Adonia, ran red *like* blood from Lebanon far out to sea, and who was yearly bewailed there till the yearly message was received from Egypt that he was found.

We hope we may be allowed to return, in another paper, to Hengstenberg's remarks on the other plagues, the Exodus, and the Law.

JOHN FREDERICK MAYER, ON LUTHER'S VERSION OF THE BIBLE.

Under the auspices of Jesus.

PREFACE.

SUNIA and Fretela, to whom St. Jerome had written a long and learned epistle, (a few years ago edited with emendations and notes by John Marcianæus, at Paris), have long and much tried the patience of the learned, whether they were names of men or women. At last, the illustrious L. Ferrand has relieved them, in his erudite commentary on the Psalms, appealing to manuscript copies of Jerome of indubitable credit, which read, "*To the dearest Brethren, Sunia and Fretela.*" Yet, by dint of other reasoning, Thomas Reinesius, namely, on Aventine's authority, (Ann. Boior. 3), affirming plainly they were Presbyters in Bavaria, Sunia of Niderava, and Fretela of Augustura, had in his Various Readings (3.2. p. 375) corrected Andrew Rivet, for having, in the Introduction to Holy Writ, (Is. ad S. S., cc. 13, 23), classed them as women; a mistake also made by John Morin, in the "Biblical Exercitations," pp. 179, 473; by Richard Simon, in the "Critical History of the Old Testament," animadverted on by Paul Colomesius, in his French Letter to Justel, subjoined to Isaac Voss's Observations; and lastly, by Michael Le Quien, in reply to whom an Epistle by John Marcianæus will be found in the "*Ephemerides Parisienses*, 1690." But waiving this question of their sex, none ever doubted that Germany claims them as her children, rejoicing to be called their mother, because through them it is known to posterity even to this day, with what love, in the early ages after Christ, Germany was inflamed, so as to send her citizens, for the easier understanding the sacred volume at its sources, into the east to St. Jerome, and their praise no age will be so ungrateful as to allow to grow obsolete. To whom the Abbot of Stridon, replying in the epistle we have mentioned, praised wondrously their zeal and diligence, and, satisfying their inquiries, testified his wonder that even among the Germans were found some to labour in exploring the very sources of sacred literature, and set their whole study in the right understanding of the words and thoughts of holy men of God. "Who

"would believe," says he, "that the barbarous tongue of the Getæ should be seeking the truth of the Hebrew, and, while the Greeks slumber, nay scorn, Germany herself be investigating the oracles of 'the Holy Spirit?' Far greater cause of wonder would Jerome have had, if he had lived within the memory of our grandfathers, when the Latins were slumbering, nay scorning, and French, Italians, Spaniards yawned or scoffed, and the Greeks were ground under a pitiable tyranny, and he would have seen from Germany, nearly alone, certainly first, the most auspicious light after long darkness dawn again on the Holy Volume, and Divine learning, neglected by almost all, by Germans alone not trampled on; and, by the light which the blessed Luther carried in advance, and by the elegant, easy, vivid, perspicuous, and faithful version which he framed closely to the original Greek and Hebrew, both read and understood.

It is worth while, then, to learn what prompted such an undertaking; under what auspices Luther achieved a work so salutary, and so full of glory; with what aids he brought it to its close; lastly, what was the destiny of his most useful toil; whereby not only will a fuller knowledge of Luther's version minister to the pleasure of many, and their love of learning; but more especially *the minds of considerate readers, weighing but lightly the slanders of evil men, will be more and more spurred on and kindled to proclaim the vastness of the benefit, and celebrate with constant praises the name of God.*

CHAP. I.

On the Rise, Progress, and First Edition of Luther's Version; also of the two Translations of the Psalter by that blessed man.

ALL are, I think, aware, that even before Luther's times, many, not only French and Italian, but German versions were in existence, of the Books of both Covenants. Of these I have treated in a separate book appended to this history. But whoever has seen them, or scrutinised parts or specimens thereof, durst not deny the need of a new and better translation. So that those who blame Luther on this head, and vilify his design, either betray the darkblooded envy of their souls, or prove themselves ignorant of matters well known and commonly acknowledged; for not only from a bad Latin were they made worse German, and one and all drawn, not from the sources—the Hebrew and the Greek, but from that version whose name comes from the vulgar, or from the still more turbid streams of the "*Speculum Historiale*," or "*Historia Scholastica*;" but they were also written in a style hard and harsh, uncouth and barbarous; that in this day their readers, schooled in the Ger-

man, cannot refrain from laughing. Although in those points they departed not far from the genius of the Vulgate, which they made it their business to express; since in that also are read many solecisms and barbarisms ungrateful to Latin ears, as may be seen even from the specimens given by Hunnius in his "Examination of the Controversy on the Word of God" (2, 14), and unsuccessfully defended by the otherwise learned Alberic Gentil. I pass over at present the great obscurity reigning over the whole of those German translations, which renders them always displeasing, and often useless, to readers, and proves them devoid of perspicuity and clearness, the chief virtue of good versions. This has been proved of one of them by John Mathesius, the pious pastor of the flock of Christ in the Vale of Joachim, who, in the vernacular tongue, has composed a history of Luther with extraordinary use and pleasure to his readers; for he says, "I have in my youth read an unintelligible German Bible, without doubt translated from the Latin, which was dark and obscure, since at that time the learned held the Bible in no esteem." (P. 159). The last words of Mathesius have been mistranslated by Richard Simon, that unfair censor of Luther's version. (L. 2, Hist. Crit. Nov. Test., p. 16). "Mathesius, who was one of the companions of that Heresiarch, and has written his life, testifies to having seen, in his youth, a Bible, in old German, which was at that time esteemed of the learned."

2. Nor need it be a marvel to any one, that Mathesius related, as an incident singular and worth mention, that, when young, he had met with a German copy of the Scripture; for, so great, before Luther's time, was the scarcity, not only of the native, but even of the Latin Bible, so great the industry of those who hid and withdrew it from the eyes of Christians, so great the carelessness of readers, that it is proved there were Doctors of Theology who had not even set eyes on the sacred Scriptures; and Luther, while an Augustinian monk, was not a little rejoiced when at Erfurt, in the public library, he had found a copy of the Latin Bible, and observed there was in it more than was read in a year in church.

3. Luther was indignant that the book to be preferred to all, most healthgiving, and commended by God Himself to the perusal and scrutiny of all, should lie hid and shut up in the dark lockers of libraries like a light under a bushel. And so, not only did he, even in spite of the vain indignation of others, indulge the joy which he had tasted in abundance from the reading and careful consideration of it; (*"I have seen Luther's beginning,"* says John Wigard, 'Preface on Swenckfeldianism,' *"how he, when yet under a hood, so attentively perused the whole Psalter, that, word for word, he interpreted it with his own hand; the Epistles*

"also to the Romans and the Hebrews; for his own autographs I have had in my hand, examined them, and admired them"); but also, afterwards, when made Doctor of Theology, and recommended by John Staupitz to strive to be literal and local, he gave himself wholly up to the study of Scripture; and both in the school and in the churches inculcated Scripture on his hearers: that he might be free, too, to approach the fountains, he attained a knowledge of the Greek and Hebrew tongues, (see Franz. on the Interpr. of Scr., p. 21, Præf.), when now, by Erasmus, Reuchlin, and others, the light of that literature had begun to glimmer on the eyes of not a few in Germany.

4. Luther had not yet become sufficiently acquainted with those languages, when, in 1517, he translated into German the Penitential Psalms out of the Vulgate; but using, as he professes in the Preface, Reuchlin's New Latin Version, which had come out at Tubing in 1512. This Reuchlin was always highly esteemed by Megalander, and is even called, in a letter written to him, "an instrument of the Divine Counsel, as ardently looked for by those desirous of pure theology, as unknown to himself." In Melancthon's opinion, also, not less by the translation of those Psalms than by his other writings, Reuchlin "*has deserved well of the Church and all posterity. For he has both invited many to learn the Hebrew tongue, and explore the fountains of Prophetic Doctrine, and has aided their studies also.*" But that German translation of Luther's, seldom met with separately, is found in the first volume of his works, brought out in the native tongue, complete, at Altenberg, of Saxony, p. 25. He seems also to have used the assistance of John Lang, bachelor, of Erfurt, to whom, in the same year, 1517, he wrote thus: "*The Psalms translated by me, and explained in our own tongue, if they pleased none else would please me; but John the printer [Chalcographus] is waiting for thee to finish those which I sent thee.*" But this matter he suffered to spur him on wonderfully to learn the Greek and Hebrew thoroughly, in which what progress he made in little time is testified by the native version of the whole Scripture, undertaken by him in 1521, and finished a few years after, drawn from the true sources with elegance and faithfulness. So that, even by the judgment of Joseph Scaliger, "*Luther is called 'learned' in the Hebrew tongue, whence he rendered the Bible well.*" (See the first Scaligenara, p. 104).

5. The same year, 1521, he translated the 68th Psalm, given in pp. 741, 806, of t. 1, of the Altenberg edition. And that in this year he finished the whole Psalter, which, though against his will, was printed at Adam Peters's, in Basle, was collected from Luther's Epistles by John Christfrid Sagittarius, in the History of Luther, subjoined to

the 9th vol. of the Works, (Altenb. p. 1574-5); for, in 1520, he thus wrote to George Spalatine; "*I am scarce sufficient for the Psalter. Thou canst not believe how much trouble sometimes even one verse will give me.*" (T. 1, Ep., p. 242). And in another, of 1521, "*I shall proceed also with the Psalter and the Postils.*" (T. 1, p. 328). And, lastly, in another to the same Spalatine, in the same year, is expressly stated: "*Adam Peter has printed my Psalter, which I would not have had.*" (T. 1, p. 306). But it is far more likely that the first version of the whole Psalter, nearer to the Hebrew idiom and more alien from the German, was first published by *Luther* in 1524, as will be mentioned below. And since *Luther* writes, he shall proceed with the Psalter, after having written that the Psalter had been printed by *Adam Peters*, he seems in this place to mean by "the Psalter" not the whole book of Psalms, but some few Psalms he had translated into German before he had entertained a serious thought of rendering the whole Bible into his own language. But this design of his he is found to mention first in an epistle to the Erfurdt preacher, John Lang, (l. 1, ep. 204), written on the 18th December of the same year, 1521. For although, in the edition of *Luther's* epistles brought out by John Orfevre, that letter is said to be written on the 4th of the week after St. Lucia, in 1520, which year is also retained by *Sagittarius*, (l. c. 1575); yet, since it is there said to be from "the Wilderness," (or Wartenburg), into which castle *Luther* withdrew in the year following, it is rightly noted by the illustrious *Seckendorf*, that an error has crept in, and we must for "1520" read "1521," (l. 1, Comm. on Lutheranism, p. 208). Thus, then, in that letter to Lang, writes *Luther*: "*Here I shall let it hid till Easter and meanwhile shall write Postils, and render the New Testament in our own tongue, which our people require, (so must a lacuna here be supplied). In this I hear that thou art also labouring. Proceed as thou hast begun. Would every city had its translator; and this one book alone were in the tongue, the hand, the eyes, the ears, the hearts of all.*"

6. Since, in these words, there is mention of translating the New Testament alone, in an epistle of January 1522, written from the same castle, to *Nicolas Amsdorf*, he speaks of rendering into German the Scripture of both covenants, (l. 2, Ep., p. 45, b): "*Meantime I will translate the Bible, though I shall undertake a task above my strength. I see now what it is to be the interpreter, and why hitherto it has been attempted by none who would profess his name. But the Old Testament I shall not be able to attain to, unless you be present and co-operating. Lastly, if any how it could be managed that I might have a secret chamber at the house of any of you, I would soon*

"*come, and, by your aid, translate the whole from the beginning, so that the translation may become worthy of being read by Christians; for I hope we are to give our Germany a better than the Latins have, The work is great, and worthy of our all labouring therein, since it is a public one, and to be presented to the public welfare.*" And, not long after, he wrote to Hartmann von Cronberg to this purpose, (l. 2, Ep., p. 107, 6): "*I have settled also to translate the Old Testament into the German tongue, a thing of which I perceive I have great need. Perhaps otherwise I should have died overgrown with a persuasion of vain knowledge. And this labour, indeed, those ought to undertake who, foolishly pleasing themselves, think there is nothing which they know not.*" The same year Luther published his book against Henry VIII, king of England, in the end of which he says he cannot spend time on all and each of the king's objections, since he is called off by other greater business, and must now devote his time and industry to the far more useful work of translating the Bible, (t. 2, ed. Alt., p. 204, 6, 7).

7. Nor had the whole of March in that year elapsed, when Luther had translated all the books of the New Testament in his Pathmos, and was now beginning with Philip to polish his version, as appears from a letter to George Spalatina, written on the Sunday "Lætare" in 1522, the words of which we shall give below, (c. 2, s. 4, from l. 2. Ep., pp. 55, 6). Add to these Hermann Conring's congratulatory epistle to the Duke August on his 88th birthday, p. 66; and there, too, of a passage from Philip's first epistle to Camerarius, which, quoted by Bucholcer, Melchior Adam, Walther, and others, has nevertheless nothing of Luther's being helped by Philip in editing the New Testament; unless you read there, "*The New Testament is printed; in revising which, there is almost no trouble at all for us;*" instead of what is edited, "*The Old Testament is printed,*" &c. This epistle was written in January, 1532. Luther had, moreover, set himself to bring out the New Testament about the beginning of that year, beginning with the gospel of Matthew; this was followed by Mark's, and the Epistle to the Romans, Luke's gospel, the two to Corinthians, and so the other separate books of the new covenant (partly in quarto, partly in octavo); so that now, by *St. Matthew's day*, in September of that year, the whole New Testament, in Luther's German version, was written out for the press, as is found from other epistles of his to Spalatina. And when the first edition had come out at Wittenberg, various places vied in reprinting it; and within the space of a few years it appeared at Augsburg, Grima, Strasburg, and again at Wittenberg in the December of the same year (1522); and that an edition of this version reappeared

at Basle in 1523, we find from Calovius, in his "*Prolegomena ad Bibliam Illustrata*."

8. But, with what fruit so many copies of Luther's translation of the New Testament had been sown among the people, behold how plainly confesses Luther's most bitter foe, John Cochseus, in the acts of Luther at this year (1522). "*Before Emser's book came out*," says he, "*There's New Testament was wonderfully multiplied by printers, so that even cobblers and women, and any common folk, (idiotes), who knew anything of German, were reading most greedily that New Testament, as if it were the fountain of all Truth,—all that were Lutherans,—yea, by repeated reading, committed it to memory; carrying the book with them in their bosoms. From which, within a few months, they claimed so much learning for their own, as not to blush to discuss faith and Gospel, not merely with laymen of the Catholic party, but even with priests and monks; aye, and with masters and doctors of theology.*" And, after something more, he adds, "*It has resulted that the crowd of Lutherans spend more pains in learning the sacred Scripture thus translated, than the people of the Catholics, where laymen mostly used to cast the care of it on priests and monks.*" *Wherefore it befell, that sometimes more passages of Scripture were cited by lay Lutherans in the conferences, ex tempore, than by the Catholic priests and monks. Yea, Luther long ago had persuaded his crowds that no sayings were to be trusted, except those brought from Holy Writ. Therefore, Catholics were by them considered ignorant of the Scriptures, even if they were most erudite theologians; nay, even openly, sometimes before the multitude, some laymen used to contradict them, as if, before the assembly, they had been speaking mere falsehoods or fignents of men. There accrued also other inconveniences,* (light, odious to the realm of darkness, is what he calls an inconvenience), *for since the old divines, many years ago, had neglected skill in the languages and the politer literature, Luther, almost from the first, drew over to his side, through Philip Melancthon, and through Zwingli and Ecolampadius and Bucer, (before they had begun in some points to dissent from him), almost all the youth devoted to eloquence, letters, and the study of languages, and gracefully cultivated in genius by the pointed and polished works of Erasmus of Rotterdam. And these youths, quick in intellect and enduring toil, very soon, in the sacred Scriptures,—to which Luther ascribed but one sense, and that the literal alone,—made such advances literally, that divines of thirty years appeared less ready in quoting passages of Scripture than they were. And these, also, priding themselves in skill in languages and*

"elegances of style, soon began, not only to scorn, but even challenge any divines of the old stamp, particularly when they addressed the people. But if any one spoke against their novelties, anon they masked them under the Greek or Hebrew reading, or one of the most ancient authors?" This is the remarkable confession of Cochläus, long ago cited by Franz and Gerhard, but deservedly, in this place, repeated by us.

9. The New Testament being now put forth, Luther, yet staying at Wittenberg, resolved on publishing the historical books of the Old Testament in German; and already, in the beginning of November in that year, had reached Leviticus, as appears from these words written to Spalatine on the 2nd of the week after All Saints, 1522: *"In rendering the Old Testament I am only in Leviticus; for it is incredible how, hitherto, letters, business, society, and many other things, have hindered me. But now I have resolved to shut myself up at home, and hasten to send by January (1523) Moses to press; for we shall give him separately, then the Histories, lastly the Prophecies. For thus to divide and bring them out by degrees I am enforced by consideration of the size and price of books,"* (t. 2, Ep., p. 94). And, in a letter to Wenceslaus Link, on the 6th of the week before St. Thomas, 1522: *"I have finished translating Moses. Another edition, too, is finished of the New Testament. Now we shall enter upon Moses. It is wonderful how we have need of thee here, in the native tongue,"* (t. 2, Ep., p. 99). And to George Spalatine, about the beginning of 1523: *"I shall this week complete Deuteronomy, and we are now in the revision for its being put to press,"* (t. 2, Ep., p. 137, b). And so, before the end of 1523, the whole Pentateuch, in German, came out at Wittenberg, in folio. But the same year Luther had ended another part also of the Old Testament, namely, the historic books, which saw the light in the next year, 1524. For thus he writes to Nicolaus Hausmann, on St. Barbara's day (4th December, 1523): *"Now, another part of the Old Testament being done, which will be brought out at the next feast, I at once give myself up to the third, most difficult and important,"*

10. Meantime the king of England, Henry VIII, by letter, exhorted Frederic the Elector and John Duke of Saxony that they should put down Luther from his purpose of translating Holy Writ into German, and should undermine his attempt. (T. 2, ed. Alt., p. 285, B). "When just about to sign the letter, it has suggested itself to me, that Luther, in his writing, says, he is hindered from answering the other heads by the business of the version of the Bible. And so I have thought it seasonable to advise you, that of all things ye should anxiously take care

"this be not allowed him; for, as I think it not at all convenient that Scripture be read in any vulgar tongue, so truly it is a thing full of peril that it be read in Luther's version, whose ill faith forces all to expect that he, by a perverted interpretation, will corrupt the most excellent Scriptures, for the vulgar to believe that they read in Holy Writ what that execrable man has drawn from the accursed books of heretics." Thus the king of England, Henry VIII, in his letter, given 20th February, 1528, to which answer was sent in the name of the Elector Frederic and Duke John, in April of that year. But in that reply, which is found in p. 286, not a word is mentioned of forbidding Luther's version. And the Elector, when he allowed Luther's translation to be printed and sold at Wittenberg, testified clearly enough that he regarded but lightly the advice of the king of England.

11. There also, in 1524, was printed the Psalter, in octavo, translated by Luther into German. This is the *first version of the Psalms* which the blessed man presented to our Germans, less grateful to German ears and more observant of the Hebrew idiom. For, rightly, this edition of 1524 is set forth as the first, by Walther, in his "*Officina Biblica*," p. 362; by Kortholt, in his book "*On the various Editions of Scripture*," pp. 325, 326; and by others; although John Christfrid Sagittarius, who, at end of vol. ix of Luther's works, edited at Altenberg, has collected and recorded facts not to be despised as to Megalander's "*History*" and the version of the Bible, executed by him, seems to think otherwise, as has been said at 1521. But the next edition, less full of Hebraisms, and so sweeter to German ears, was set forth with a short preface by Luther at last, also in octavo, in 1531, which is stated to exist in the Augsburg Library, by Conring, p. 72, of his congratulatory letter to the most glorious Duke August. Moreover, in that preface, Luther mentions the former edition, and thus commends it to the reader, together with this latter:—"If any one would scrutinize severely, and contend that we have departed too far from the words of the fountain-head, he may enjoy his own sagacity, but not carp at our version. Wittingly we have done it, and yet have weighed exactly every word, and translated with the utmost faithfulness and diligence; and were assisted also by a sufficient number of learned men. But we retain also the first version of our Psalter for those who desire to mark our models and our vestiges,—how, in translation, we come nearer and nearer to the substance. The first German edition, in many places, approaches nearer to the Hebrew originals, and is further from the German idiom. This second is closer to the German, and further from the Hebrew." It is, however, no less to be regretted than wondered at, that the copies of that former version have nearly all disappeared and almost perished, by the carelessness of

our ancestors ; and that the version which Luther in this preface wishes retained, was lost. Wherefore Franz would have gratified the wish and benefit of not a few, if he, who witnesses how ardent was his own desire of reading that version (l. d. int. *Scripturæ*, p. 84) had, after he obtained a copy from a friend, (as he says in the preface, p. 58), taken care to have it reprinted as he had intended. But what was thus past over by that excellent divine, through other engagements or from unknown obstacles, at no distant opportunity I hope to execute ; a copy having been graciously allowed me from the collection of the most serene Rudolf August, Duke of Brunswick.

12. In March of that same year (1524), Luther states he is labouring at the translation of *Job*, in a letter to George Spalatine, dated the 3rd of the week after "Reminiscere" Sunday. "*In translating Job we have so much trouble from the grandeur of that style most grand, that he seems much more impatient for our translation than he was for the comfort of his friends ; or, in sooth, he is determined to sit for ever on the dunghill**. Unless, perhaps, the author of this book was determined it never should be translated, this, in the third part of the Bible, delays the press," (t. 2, Ep., p. 189). In 1526 his labour was bestowed on *Ecclesiastes*, as may be seen from this, written to Nicolaus Hausmann on the Sunday after St. Dionysius. "*Solomon's 'Preacher' gives me much trouble, as if he would not be read ; yet he must perforce be read ; so hitherto this book† has been lain by,*" (t. 2, Ep., p. 319). Meanwhile, he was hindered by various engagements of the greatest moment, and most heavy trials, and sometimes by ill health ; so that not till 1528 could he approach the translation of the Prophets. For although already, on February 4th, 1524, he was writing to John Lang, that "*he is illustrating Zechariah with a commentary, and had undertaken the translating of the Prophets into German,*" (t. 2, Ep., p. 328 B.) ; and, in a letter to Wenceslaus Link, written soon after, (p. 332) : "*The Prophets presented in the native tongue at Worms (by Jews) I do not think meanly of, except that the German is rather obscure ; perhaps they have done their diligence according to the dialect of that district. But who attaineth all things ? Yet I am now ready girt to publish them in their own tongue, being about at once to read Isaiah, lest I be idle.*"—Nevertheless, through multiplied struggles with Satan and the world, (see t. 2, Ep., p. 385, 342), and hard wrestlings with disease, he was not again left free for labours profitable to the Church, namely, comments on Scripture and translations of the Bible, to which he, with

* So also the LXX. at *Job*, ii, 8.

† Cp. note on this Chapter.

his whole heart, longed to return, before the year already mentioned, 1528.

13. Hence, in an epistle to George Spalatine, given at Wittenberg on the 2nd of the week after the feast of the Ascension, 1528, he says, "*We are labouring at the Prophets, or rather bringing them forth into the native tongue. Isaiah is being first elaborated with all diligence of translation and illustration, as far as Christ gives power,*" (t. 2, Ep. p. 378); and in a letter written the same year to Spalatine, on the Sunday after St. Barnabas, "*We are now toiling to translate the Prophets: God! what a work, and how harassing, to make Hebrew writers speak German! How they refuse their consent to leave their Hebrew idiom, and copy our German barbarism! As if the nightingale were forced to imitate the cuckoo, forsaking her most exquisite melody for that most notonous note which she detested,*" (t. 2, Ep. p. 387). The business however, proceeded slowly, from those causes we have touched upon; to which was added, that, on account of the Diet held at Spire, in 1529, some whose help Luther had been wont to use in translating were obliged to leave him, which Luther himself witnesses in the preface to the "Book of Wisdom," lately translated by him, addressed to Nicolaus Hausmann, and published in that year. "*Because the Diet which is now being held at Spire hath torn us from each other, so that we who had agreed to complete the translation of the Prophets could not remain together; and I am so hindered by my health as to feel myself unfit for this and other business of such moment: and yet was not willing to pass the time entirely idle; therefore, I have taken me this as it were a stock to be modelled, and translated the 'Book of Wisdom,' with assistance of my friends, into German; and as far as God has bestowed on me the power, have brought it forth from the darkness of the Latin and Greek, and set it in the light of the German language,*" (t. 4, Alk., p. 555, B).

14. After Isaiah, which came out in the same year (1529), Daniel was translated; then Jeremiah; and then, after publication of another edition of the Psalter, in 1531, of which we have spoken at 1524, Ezekiel also was begun, and soon after laid down again for a little while; the twelve lesser Prophets: and, lastly, the whole of Ezekiel. All these were brought out in 1532. The *Apocryphal*, or Ecclesiastical books, meanwhile, were translated as if for a relaxation of the severer labour at intervals, and published; except the third book of Maccabees, and the third and fourth of Esdras, which Luther never translated into German, but which were afterwards (as we shall shew in ch. iv.) added to the German Bible by the industry of others. The Books of Esdras, indeed, Luther states in his preface to the Book of Baruch, "*he held unworthy*

"of a German translation; since nothing occurs in them which is not found far better in Æsop and other books of still less worth. And so whoever would hereafter be the translator of them, they are not to be mixed by him with the other Apocryphal Ecclesiastic books." Moreover, on May 2, 1530, Luther being at Coburg, thus wrote to Wenceslaus Link, preacher of Norberg: *"I have resolved to give in our language what yet remains of the Prophets, and have already almost finished Jeremias,"* (given in George Celestine, t. 1 of the Hist. of the Comitia Augustana, p. 37, B). On the second day after, in a letter to Melancthon, he says, *"I have translated the two chapters of Ezekiel about God, with a preface, which will be printed. On finishing these, I took in hand the Prophets, and entering on the matter with great earnestness, was determined to have all the Prophets translated before Pentecost."* (Ib., p. 41, B). But when we read that he wrote to Didymus, pastor of Turgau, on the 19th of June, *"I have finished Ezekiel, and am entering on the translation of others,"* (Ib., p. 103, and t. 9, Alt.), this must either be understood of the two chapters of Ezekiel above mentioned, or, more likely, for Ezekiel we must substitute Jeremiah. For that same day he wrote to Cordatus, at Cygna, saying, *"he had turned Jeremiah into German, and Ezekiel remained, which he was about now to enter on."* Not to mention that again, on the 25th of June, he wrote to Nicolaus Hausmann, that *"he had translated Jeremiah into German,"* (Ib., p. 137); and in a letter to Melancthon, of the 15th August, he says, *"Ezekiel I have laid by a while, not only from the ailment of my head, but also because weariness crept over me from the length of the work. Meanwhile, I am translating the lesser Prophets into German, which this week, if God grant strength, I shall bring to an end: for only Hag-gai remains and Malachi. But I am rather devoting my pains to these for the sake of consolation than occupying myself with a labour."* (T. 5, Alt., p. 248, B).

15. Finally, in 1534, after the version was made of the New Testament, and the separate books of the Old Testament, and after the editions published apart in the last ten years, the whole Bible collected into one body, and somewhat amended throughout, and here and there, chiefly as regards the diction, more perspicuously rendered, was edited by Luther, at Wittenberg, in folio, with the privilege of John Frederic the Elector of glorious memory. This privilege (for that edition itself is rarely met with) may be read at p. 90 of Franz's excellent book, *"On the Interpretation of Scripture;"* and this was the first publication and revisal of the entire German Bible of Luther, in which were inserted the Psalms, not from the first Hebraising edition of 1524, but from that of

1581, (not, therefore, an altogether new one, or then first ushered into light, as is said in Walther's "Officina Biblica," p. 362).

16. To sum up, then, these several points, the Pentateuch was published by the B. Luther, in 1528; the other historic books of the Old Testament in 1524; that year he was employed on the book of Job. The Penitential Psalms, from Reuchlin's Latin version, he brought out in 1517. The whole Psalter, with the whole Hebraisms more strictly preserved, in 1524. The same book of Psalms, but in a freer version and less alien from the German idiom, in 1531. The Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and Canticles seem to have come out in 1527*. Isaiah in 1529. The other Prophets in 1531, 1532. The Apocrypha about 1530. The New Testament, 1522. Lastly, the whole body of the sacred writings, revised in 1534. The foregoing translation is made from a copy of "Mayer's His-

* This date, for the Proverbs, &c., he says, Mayer elsewhere repeats in his "Unsterblichen Luthero," (p. 56—7); but that it is certain the Proverbs and Song of Songs, with the Psalter and Job, issued from Wittenberg, in 1524; which Mayer could have known from tom. 3 of the "Autographs of Luther and his Contemporaries," where (in p. 103) is quoted from the private library of the Most serene Rudolf August, "The third part of the Old Testament, Job, the Psalter, Proverbs, and Song of Solomon, Wit. 1524, fol." Here, indeed, Ecclesiastes is not mentioned; but in the third volume of the "Autographs" is recounted (p. 125) "The third part of Luther's Old Testament, 1525, at Erfurt, in 8vo., *Job, the Psalter, Solomon's Proverbs, Preacher, and Song.*" Nay, Zeidler published "*Luther's Preface to Ecclesiastes*," printed 1524. And it appears from him that he then had before his eyes Luther's first edition of Job, Proverbs, and Ecclesiastes, of 1525, and thence published the prefaces. Kraft himself, too, examined the third part translated in 1524, from Job to the Prophets, and considers they then appeared the *second time*. The letter to Hansmann, of 1525, to which also Meelfürer, in the Preface to the Nuremberg Bible, appealed, Kraft understands, therefore, either of a *revision* or of the *exposition* of Ecclesiastes which Luther read publicly in Latin at Wittenberg, in 1526; for the collectors of his works state that in that year he was hindered writing against the "Sacramentarians," because he was answering "Erasmus on the Unfree Will;" and that he was much engaged in preaching and reading, for in that year (1526) he lectured on Habakkuk, Jonah, and Ecclesiastes. Not satisfied with this labour on Ecclesiastes, he treated it again publicly in Latin in 1532. (See the annotations, afterwards translated by Justus Jonas into German, t. 5, Alt., f. 1182). Luther there mentions at length the time and toil he had always spent on the *sense*. Of the annotations, he says, "*Though they be slight and small, yet to those who have no better, or have been formerly with me misled by false glosses, they may, as to wise men, give opportunity of becoming themselves better, and discovering better. I indeed have received the highest pleasure, even from a moderate taste of this book, after that, having wearied myself in it all my life, I had as it were crucified myself in vain.*" Hence Kraft, having extracted also the translation, or rather paraphrase, of the passage, justly concludes that nothing can be gathered from the letter to Hausmann as to the time when the Ecclesiastes was translated.

"tory," without date in the title, but the dedication dated 1750. Certain emendations and corrections, however, by Johann Melchior Kraft, bear date, at the end, 1704. An abstract of these it may be necessary occasionally to append*.

CHAPTER II.

What accuracy, faithfulness, and industry Luther used in translating the Bible; and whose help; and what copies.

It is now worth while to learn, by what assistances Luther was relieved in this most weighty business, and how diligently and carefully he undertook that office of translator; so that, conscious of his industry and faithfulness, he scrupled not to say, "This our German Bible (I need not praise myself, the work praises itself) is as good, plain, and clear as the Greek and Latin versions." (Table Talk, c. 2). In these words Luther will not be found to have flattered himself highly, by any who compares his German with the Greek and Latin, in truth, elegance, or purity.

2. But first we must insist that Luther took no little pains to learn the Hebrew and Greek, as we have noted, and as may be collected from his other writings and comments, and approached not the interpretation of Holy Writ with unwashed hands;—like one Dietenberg, who became a German translator of the Old Testament (please the powers!) when he could not even read the Hebrew, as himself plainly hints; or Emser, who, without the slightest tinge of Greek scholarship, as Erasmus witnesses, undertook to render the New Testament; or Cajetan, who, seeing only with the eyes of others, and, as himself confesses, unskilled in Greek and Hebrew, yet published Latin versions of some books of Scripture with the applause of his party. But that Richard Simon attributes to

* Kraft, in his second note, the reference of which is given by a misprint to Mayer's second Chapter, observes, that though most agree in the date (1534) advocated in this paragraph, for Luther's first collected Bible, some learned men assign 1535. He refers to John Cluver, Epit. Hist.; Kortholt, Tract. d. Var. Scr., 8th ed., p. 326; John Burchard May, in Boscl. Hist., sec. xiv.; Christian Juncker, Vit. Luth., Nummis et Icon. illustr., p. 101; and the author of the "Historic Calendar of Luther's Life," p. 70. He observes, that Mayer here seems to think the electoral privilege was only inserted in the Bible of 1534–35; but that it occurs not only in the Bibles published at Wittenberg in Luther's life-time, but in some others after his death. In the same note he observes also on a passage in Chapter 3, where this date is inserted in a passage from Mathæius on this point. The error probably arose from the want of a parenthesis, or neglect of a change of type for the insertion.

Luther "but a very moderate knowledge of the Hebrew," (l. 2, H. Cr. V. T., c. 23), if you deeply examine what he subjoins, will be found to rest on no other proof, than that Luther's judgment was not charmed in lauding and wielding the baby bucklers of the Rabbis.

3. And if, perhaps, something in the Greek or Hebrew had escaped Luther's notice, which neither himself denies, nor we would dare deny has happened to him not seldom, in the then foggy state of learning, he had at hand most erudite men, most skilled, some in Hebrew, and some in Greek,—Philip Melancthon, Caspar Cruciger, Johann Bugenhagen, Pomeranus, Johann Forster, Matthew Aurogallus, Justus Jonas, and others, who helped him with their services and counsel, yet so that at last the question stood on Luther's judgment, he choosing out of many opinions what seemed to him the truest; and the version, as a whole, must be ascribed not to them, but to him, as author. Hence, Andreas Masius wronged him when he wrote, in his "Comment on Josh. iii, 16," p. 66, "I know not what they were thinking of, who translated the Bible "into German, and inscribed it with Luther's name, when they understood 𐤇𐤍 here to signify, not a town's name, but man," [*homines*, mankind]. "Certainly, by the rules of the grammarians, they could "not do this." Nor is more credit due to David Chytræus, who, in his "Onomasticon Sacrum," p. 896, says, the two books of Maccabees were translated not by Luther, but Melancthon. "In the German Bible "only the two first books of Maccabees are translated by Philip Melancthon, who is shewn to be the author of the version by the language, correct, and most pure, and much simpler and easier than that "of the other books." To this the very reverend John Diecman rightly refuses his assent in the prolegomena to Luther's Bible, reprinted a few years back at Stada; since Luther acknowledges the books of Maccabees for his own, and has prefixed a preface. Nor is the style in the other historic books less simple and easy, though, in the revisal of these and the other books of the sacred volume written in Greek, it is not to be denied Luther had Melancthon's aid.

4. Often, too, by letter, he consulted learned friends; and still, among his letters, are read some to George Spalatine, in which he asks him to translate some words. Thus, in 1522, (t. 2, Ep., p. 55, B), "*Not only John's Gospel, but the whole New Testament, I had translated in my Patmos; but now we have begun to polish throughout, Philip and I, and, God willing, it shall be a worthy work. But thy labour, too, is sometimes needful in rightly applying words, thou art so ready; but it must be so that thou supply simple, not knightly or courtly ones; for this book would be illustrated by its simplicity. And, to begin, look at the gems, (Apoc. xxi), with their names and colours;*

"and I would you should give us their appearances from court, or whencesoever thou canst." Thus Luther. And he received those gems, at the instance of Spalatine, through Luke Cranach, the painter, as appears from these same letters. (P. 135, B). From the same Spalatine he desires (p. 137) some passages of Genesis to be aptly expressed in German, and begs (p. 171) for the names, and kinds, and natures of the birds of prey, and game, and venomous reptiles, to be explained in the native tongue, complaining, that, among the Latin, Hebrew, and Greek commentators, all this is much confused, and concluding thus: *"I wish thou wouldst take thee this department, the Bible set forth in Hebrew, and, diligently examining the whole, try to bring forth here something certain."*

5. John Mathesius has recorded, also, that Luther often consulted the elder German townsmen, to learn from them peculiar and pure German words; that sheep, too, were sometimes ordered to be slaughtered, that he might hear the butcher call the several parts of the animal by name; that, as to doubtful meanings of Hebrew words, he took the counsel not only of Christians learned in Hebrew, but of Jews likewise. And thus this man divine omitted no labour, no study, that could any way tend to adorn and perfect his translation. Of his diligence bestowed on the translation, himself has given a brilliant testimony; in an epistle on interpreting the Bible, which is inserted in Latin by Celestine. (Hist. Com. Augst., t. 3, p. 70, B). *"I have always taken pains that my version might be clear, pure, and correct. And it has often happened we have given four weeks to render one word properly, and yet had not been able to find it. I, Philip, and Aurogallus used so to toil in translating Job, that often in four days we scarcely transferred three lines; but now this version any one can read and correct. And often one perusing three or four leaves scarcely meets an obstacle; but he perceives not with what beams and trunks that way was blockaded which he now sees cleared, in removing which we have sweated with the toil of laying the way level. A cleared field it is not difficult to plough, but to eradicate weeds and roots asks pains and labour. In the world the antique gratitude lies asleep, who return no thanks to God for the benefit of sun, and sky, and soil, nor for the death and passion of his Son. Therefore, him who cannot retract we must execrate and let go."* (Illum qui sese retexere non potest, diis devotes mittamus). Thus far Luther. And these words, we believe, Richard Simon would contravene, when he charges Luther with haste and a precipitate work. Any will readily acquit him who looks at his autograph, wherein with the utmost admiration may be seen his incredible industry, how he took counsel on particular words, frequently

erased, and admitted nothing unless diligently weighed and carefully finished up, both to the Hebrew originals and the expression of the German idiom. Of this autograph, some pages having fallen into the hands of Abraham Calovius, he thus wrote of them in his prolegomena to the Bible, num. xiv. "In 1532 he published, in German, at Wittenberg, all the Prophets, at the press of Johann Luft, of which translation and edition I have some pages written by the hand of the blessed Luther; and, comparing them with that edition, I observe they are the papers which the printer used; and particularly, it is not without the utmost admiration and veneration of *Megalander's* * deep study, I find with what accuracy he laboured to render the Hebrew text in pure and emphatic German, continually correcting words and phrases till he found such as he could rest in." Thus writes Calovius.

6. In translating, moreover, Luther endeavoured to prove his fidelity not less than his industry; so that, in the before-quoted letter on translating the Bible he correctly wrote, *that, proportionately to his power, he had laboured in rendering the holy volume, and with a good conscience had set forth what had been set forth.* And, a little after, *If I have anywhere got bewildered, and have mistaken, of which, nevertheless, I am not clear, since my mind has not been to render wrong the smallest letter, I will not endure in that matter the Pontiff-party for my judges.* And again: *If my version displease any one, he may go. Ill luck, say I, to all who, without my will or consent, correct it, or ungraciously peruse it.* (*Malam gratiam imprecor omnibus . . . invitè legentibus*). *For I myself will give the polish and revision. And, if I do it not, I advise other not to put sickle to another's harvest; but any one, with my good will, may translate whatever he chooses. That I have used the highest faithfulness and diligence, and that I have wrought without intending a false meaning, I can say with a good conscience.* (*Nec quicquam falsi immiscere voluisse*). (*Das ich nie eine falsche Gedanken gehabt habe*). *For not a farthing have I sought by my labour, nor taken anything for it. God also is my witness, that I have not done it for the sake of*

* *Megalander*, by this name, expressive of the greatness of the man, the fond affection of the reformed sought at once to enrol their champion among the literati of his age, most of whose real names are unfortunately lost to our associations through a classical affectation, which must be regretted, if it may well be pardoned; and also, perhaps, to parry the scurrilous jests of adversaries on his native name. That name, like the victorious palm, has been too strong to be kept down; and we rejoice that the other needs a note.

"gaining glory, but for the sake of all Christians, and the glory of the Most High, I have done whatever I have done of this kind, who every hour conferreth on me so great benefits, that, though I should undergo much more and harder toils of translation, I were still unworthy to draw breath one hour, or taste the enjoyment of healthy eyesight." Thus Luther. What follows in the same place, a little after, since it no less proves the fidelity and zeal of the blessed man, which would not let him preserve the purity of the German, by neglecting the meaning or force of the originals, I have thought well also to transcribe. *"Yet have I not put by all care of a literary nature (literarum), but, with my colleagues and associates (συνμωρταις), have diligently weighed such points, and, when need was, have rendered literally: yet not even so have I been free from all care; as when, in the sixth of John, Christ saith, 'These hath God the Father sealed,' (versiegelte), more readily and purely it might have been translated, 'These hath God the Father pointed out, (gezeigt), or, 'these meaneth God the Father,' (meinet). But I chose rather to subtract something from the German idiom, than depart from a single word. To translate certainly is not any one's gift, as those thoughtless ones suppose. For a heart is required for this, pious, upright, faithful, cautious, Christian, educated, trained in the use of many things, and exercised for this one. A hypocrite, therefore, and a fanatic, I believe unable to translate anything faithfully, as appears from the Prophets made German at Worms, in which, doubtless, great diligence was used, and they proposed my version as their pattern; but Jews, irreconcilable enemies of Christ, were associated with those interpreters: otherwise, industry and diligence had not been wanting."* Thus he.

Luther's singular fidelity, moreover, in the interpretation of Holy Writ, however foes may slander him, may be attested by his retractations, of which we shall say more in the next chapter. Nor have adversaries hitherto been able to adduce one point wherein they can prove Scripture to have been purposely corrupted by Luther in translation: even in the dicta, which the Pontiff-party are wont most to abuse to their own heresy, he has changed nothing; whence it is little likely that he would in others incur a charge of fraud so easy to be brought against him by his foes. What, then, when Luther had so defended his cause, and without violence to Scripture,—nay, no otherwise than from the pure and unpoisoned source of Scripture,—could defend it? so that he had no need at all of such a wicked and abandoned refuge. Hence, *Antoine Arnald*, in his defence of the *Mons* French version of the New Testament, has owned, that, in Luther's version, what passages are read otherwise than in the Bible which the Pontiff-party use are

almost all in places where is not a trace of controverted dogmas ; and that these thus were changed by Luther against conscience is no way credible. Would that Papists had only laboured to approve to God and their readers equal fidelity with Luther in their versions ; they who have not scrupled to insert in their interpretations the *Sacrifice of the Mass*, the *Fire of Purgatory*, the *Faith of Rome*,—terms utterly unknown to Holy Writ. See the “ Observations on François Veron’s French Version of the New Testament,” by Daille, (l. 1, c. 5, de Usu Patrum, p. 128) ; Steph. Morin, in Life of Bochart, p. 3) ; and the author of a book in duodecimo, of the year 1678, entitled, *The Mass found in Scripture*, (La Messe &c.) ; also, the extracts by Henry Warton (in his addition to J. Usher’s Dogmatic Inquiry concerning the Sacred and Translated Scriptures, p. 454) from the French translation of the N. T. of the Louvaine divines, printed at Bourdeaux in 1686.

7. But, as to the suspicion hazarded by Hieronym. Emser, in the preface to his Annotations, against Luther’s version, in the New Testament, “that he used for his translation some particular Hussite or “Wiclifite copy, from which he falsified his version of the New Covenant,” it is clearly in part a heavy slander, in part a most empty conjecture. The words of the indictment which Emser brings against Luther are these : “If even Luther, in his interpretation, has mistaken “nothing, still, since he has slandered and bespattered the Christian “princes with such an unchristian lying prologue and preface, this prologue alone has given them cause enough, and rendered it needful, “altogether to forbid his interpretation, to avoid error among the common folk. I say nothing of his having, beside this, also envenomed “the other following prefaces and notes, in many places carelessly Germanised the text, in many mangled it piecemeal (zur Stücf,) and “falsified it, and thereto followed neither our trustworthy version (the “Vulgate), nor that of the highly learned Erasmus of Rotterdam, but “jumbled one with the other, and, as is lawful to conjecture, had a particular Wiclifite or Hussite copy before him, in which whatever concerns the faith and the holy sacraments was with care perverted or “wholly left out, as from the following passages will clearly appear and “be self-evident.”

But, if any one attends to the arguments wherewith Emser afterwards in his book tries to prove such charges against Luther, he will only find that he compared his Vulgate with Luther’s version to little purpose, and, when he found a disagreement, kept up a cry of error ; also, in his charge for trifles, from one or two Greek copies unskilfully judged of all ;—when, also, he observed Luther differ from Erasmus’s version, (for of Greek Emser knew nothing), falsely charged him as a falsi-

fier, intruding his own comments, or the falsifications of a Wiclifite or Hussite copy, on his version ; in fine, that he most frequently indulged in manifest falsehoods, and attacked and sneered at passages which in Luther's version were most admirably rendered.

8. Luther, moreover, had in express terms professed that he followed not the Vulgate version, but other copies, and those Greek ones ; but when his version differs from one Greek copy, or a few more, it does not necessarily differ from the rest, as at length has been proved against Emser by the learned John Saubert, in his prolegomena to the various readings of St. Matthew, and Balthasar Raithius, in his vindication of Luther's version ; to whom must be added Seckendorf (l. 1, *Commentar. d. Lutheranismi*, pp. 207, 208). But Luther seems to have compared not only Erasmus's edition and version of the year 1516, but also whatever other printed copies he could obtain ; as, the Complutensian, of 1515, the Aldine, of 1517 ; and so also other versions, and, among these, particularly the Vulgate ; and, after noting their difference, to have chosen what seemed to him best and most fitted to the mind of the sacred writers, though nothing is by any one related of his conferring Greek manuscripts ; so that I know not if we can assent to Saubert, who, (in the prolegomena, already quoted, p. 39), regarding Luther's omission of some words in various places of the Apocalypse, (to restore which, though occurring in all our copies, our Megalander would not be moved even by the clamours of the adversaries), says, " A strong suspicion led him to believe the blessed Luther relied on one or more excellent copies, led by the text of which, he held such words equally superfluous as those various readings which even yet lie hid in manuscripts."

Sometimes Luther also recognised errors of copyists in the text, as may be seen from his glosses on 2 Sam. xxiii, 8 ; John, xviii, 14 ; Acts, xiii, 20, &c.

9. In the Apocryphal books of the Old Testament he followed, in deed, the Greek copies, yet kept before his eyes also the old Latin version, and not rarely adopted it, and from it interpolated his own translation. In the Scriptures, also, of the Old Dispensation, where the Hebrew was the ground and spring of his version, he consulted the Lxx, the Chaldee, and the Vulgate, without neglecting the modern versions—the German of Worms, and the Latin of Reuchlin, Pagnini, and Münster ; who, nevertheless, all except Reuchlin, undertook to stir that stone after Luther's first edition. Yet he used them, as also the commentaries of Nicholas Liranus, rather to trace the meanings of the Hebrew words than to follow them where they plainly differed from the Hebrew. But

sometimes he made no scruple of religion to leave the pointing of the Hebrew, because he believed the points not to come from the inspired writers, but superadded, after a long interval, by the Jews, as is clear from his notes on Gen. xxii, 14, xxxviii, 12, &c., as well as from the preface to the edition of 1542, and from the book on the Shem nampnorash.

GOSTICK'S SPIRIT OF GERMAN POETRY.

"A Series of Translations from the German Poets, with critical and biographical Notices." By J. GOSTICK, author of "Henry Homeward." London: W. Smith, 1845.

A BOOK like this is always a welcome guest. In these days of sharp and bitter controversy, when men are wearying themselves along the dry and dusty road, it is, indeed, delightful to be enabled, if only for a moment, to turn aside and rest. A true book of poetry is at such times like a garden nook, clad with green grass, and rejoicing in many-coloured and many-scented flowers, whose breath mingles with the refreshing breezes from some sparkling fountain. Here everything is truly Catholic. There is no sectarianism in real poetry. It tells of the nature, the powers, the feelings, the passions of man. It unravels and opens up to us the mysteries of that microcosm, who is the reflection and the embodiment, the top and crown, of the visible universe. Here, at least, need be no quarrels, no divisions. Every man recognises the portrait of his own nature and character, what he is, what he has been, or what he might be. This is the case, we say, with all real poetry. Some there is to be found, it is true, where all is distorted, where the poet has seen the world only in the glass of a diseased imagination. Such is not the case here. We have the best works of the best poets of Germany, presented in the best form in which they could be offered to us; evidently the work of a kindred spirit. The criticisms, if not always those which we should have ventured, have much to recommend them. They are generally just, always powerful. The accounts given of the various poets are sufficiently comprehensive. The versions are almost always free and vigorous. We will present our readers with a few, that they may judge for themselves. The following is from the

opening of the second part of Göthe's *Faust*, a work not yet well translated in this country:—

ARIEL.

When the bloomy showers of spring
 Hover round, and lightly fall,
 While sweet meadows blossoming
 Blessings yield to mortals all;
 Gentle fairies—spirits light,
 Hasten, where their help is needed,
 Be he good or wicked wight—
 None distress'd is left unheeded.

In airy rings, around this mortal's head,
 Ye generous elves, your nightly watches spread,
 Allay the bitter strife that tears his heart,
 And ward away remorseful poisonous dart;
 His bosom cleanse from all experienced grief,
 And give him sweet, secure, and full relief;
 Four are the pauses of the soothing night,
 Now to your posts, you elfins glad and light!
 Soft be his pillow, while with Lethe's wave
 His cramp'd and stiffen'd weary limbs you lave.
 Discharge your elfin duties right,
 And give him back to holy light.

CHOIR OF ELVES.

When along the blooming dale
 Soft warm winds are lightly roaming,
 Wrapt in shadowy, misty veil,
 Gently steals along the gloaming,
 Whispering peace to every breast,
 Cradling hearts in child-like rest,
 And for eyes of weary ray
 Shuts the portals of the day.

Night sinks down, so softly darkling,
 Star joins star in mystic dance;
 Greater light and tiny sparkling,
 Near and distant, gleam and glance;
Here they glimmer in the lake,
There through heaven their circuit take,
 While the moon, with magic power,
 Seals the silence of the hour.

Gone and lost are hours so dreary,
 Vanish'd idle joy and grief!
 Bodes, in sleep, the bosom weary
 How the day shall bring relief;
 Spring looks out from hills and hollows,
 Rest abides in shady cave,
 And, in tremulous silver billows,
 Fields of corn for harvest wave.

Work is still for thee on earth,
 Now no more in slumbers keep,
 Lightly bound, spring lightly forth,
 Cast away the shell of sleep :
 Hope, and strive, and labour still,
 Never yield to sinking heart !
 He can all the work fulfil,
 Who fairly knows and does his part !
[A wondrous noise foretells the approach of the sun.]

ARIEL.

Hearken, hearken ! stormy pealing,
 For quick elfin ear too strong,
 Now the new-born day revealing,
 Echoing rocks have join'd the song ;
 Wheels of Phœbus roll along,
 Music of a mighty tone
 Comes with light too quick for sight,
 And the ear is all confounded
 Mid aerial trumpets blown.
 Hasten, ere ye be surrounded,
 Haste away, you little elves,
 In your flower-cups hide yourselves !
 Hide yourselves right still and deep,
 If you would your hearing keep !

FAUST.

The pulses of my life beat freshly now,
 While mild ethereal dawn enfolds my brow ;
 The earth, with quiet sleep refresh'd all night,
 Through open pores breathes out a new delight.
 How all things long to live ! and keen desire
 Awakes in me for ever to aspire ;
 In glimmering sheen the world is wrapt around,
 With thousand-voiced life the forests sound ;
 Along the vale the misty streaks are drawn,
 And light darts down where mountain chasms yawn ;
 And leafy twigs from misty clefts bloom out,
 On buds and blooms fresh pearls are dropp'd about,
 Hue after hue gleams from the dusky ground,
 And paradise is open'd all around !
 Upwards my glance ! the mountain-peaks are glowing,
 For us the signs of glorious day-birth shewing !
 Glad sooner to enjoy the eternal light,
 That later beams on our enraptured sight ;
 Now a bright glance awakes the mountain-green,
 With gradual spread fills all the vales between,
 And now bursts forth ! and, dazzled at the day,
 With aching eyes I turn myself away.

So 'tis with us, when fond hopes, cherish'd long,
 Upheld through storms of contradiction strong,
 To ripe fulfilment suddenly are grown,
 And gates of paradise are open thrown :
 Then, bursting from the eternal ground is seen
 A flaming light, for mortal eye too keen,
 Life's torch to kindle with one vital spark.
 We sought ; but now, with " light excessive dark,"
 We stand confounded, know not where to hide,
 A sea of fire rolls round on every side !
 Is't love or hate that glows around us here,
 And mingles joy with strange foreboding fear,
 As to the gate of life we draw too near ?
 Again we gladly seek the shadowy dale,
 And hide ourselves in Nature's maiden veil.

So let the sun behind me blaze awhile,
 As here I meet his fair reflected smile ;
 Yon waterfall, with genial gladness, see
 Burst through the rocky cleft, in rapturous glee.
 From leap to leap, a thousand streams outpouring
 Mid foam-clouds over foam-clouds lightly soaring.
 How glorious, beaming through the misty air
 The changeful-during rainbow's colours there !
 Now clear outshining, now they softly fade,
 Lost for a moment in the misty shade ;
 Well paints the varying bow our life's endeavour,
 For ever changing, yet the same for ever :
 Gaze, meditate thereon, and you will see
 Our many-coloured life's true mystery.

Next in order comes Schiller, the beautiful, the graceful Schiller, the poet of all that is most lovely and sweet in nature. We select a passage from the Song of the Bell :—

Browning o'er, the pipes are simmering,
 Dip this wand of clay* within ;
 If like glass the wand be glimmering,
 Then the casting may begin.
 Brisk, brisk now, and see
 If the fusion flow free ;
 If—(happy and welcome indeed were the sign !)
 If the hard and the ductile united combine.

For still where the strong is betroth'd to the weak,
 And the stern in sweet marriage is blent with the meek,

* A piece of clay pipe, which becomes vitrified if the metal is sufficiently heated.

Rings the concord harmonious, both tender and strong :
 So be it with thee, if for ever united,
 The heart to the heart flows in one, love-delighted ;
 Illusion is brief, but Repentance is long.
 Lovely, thither are they bringing,
 With her virgin wreath, the Bride !
 To the love-feast clearly ringing,
 Tolls the church-bell far and wide !
 With that sweetest holiday,
 Must the May of Life depart ;
 With the cestus loosed—away
 Flies ILLUSION from the heart !
 Yet love lingers lonely,
 When passion is mute,
 And the blossoms may only
 Give way to the fruit.
 The husband must enter
 The hostile life,
 With struggle and strife,
 To plant or to watch,
 To snare or to snatch,
 To pray and impune,
 Must wager and venture
 And hunt down his fortune !
 Then flows in a current the gear and the gain,
 And the garner is fill'd with the gold and the grain,
 Now a yard to the court, now a wing to the centre !
 Within sits Another,
 The thrifty Housewife ;
 The mild one, the mother—
 Her home is her life.
 In its circle she rules,
 And the daughters she schools,
 And she cautions the boys,
 With a bustling command,
 And a diligent hand
 Employ'd she employs ;
 Gives orders to store,
 And the much makes the more ;
 Locks the chest and the wardrobe, with lavender smelling,
 And the hum of the spindle goes quick through the dwelling ;
 And she hoards in the presses, well poliah'd and full,
 The snow of the linen, the shine of the wool ;
 Blends the sweet with the good, and from care and endeavour
 Rests never !
 Blithe the Master (where the while
 From his roof he sees them smile)
 Eyes the lands, and counts the gain ;
 There, the beams projecting far,
 And the laden store-house are,

And the granaries bow'd beneath
 The blessed golden grain ;
 There, in undulating motion,
 Wave the corn-fields like an ocean.
 Proud the boast the proud lips breathe :—
 " My house is built upon a rock,
 And sees unmoved the stormy shock
 Of waves that fret below !"
 What chain so strong, what girth so great,
 To bind the giant form of Fate ?—
 Swift are the steps of Woe.

The passage we have quoted is a long one, but we cannot avoid taking another from the same poem, the grace of which every poet will acknowledge, while its fidelity and closeness will only be apparent to the German scholar.

Now the casting may begin ;
 See the breach indented there :
 Ere we run the fusion in,
 Halt—and speed the pious prayer !
 Pull the bung out—
 See round and about
 What vapour, what vapour—God help us !—has risen ?—
 Ha ! the flame like a torrent leaps forth from its prison !
 What friend is like the might of fire
 When man can watch and wield the ire ?
 Whate'er we shape or work, we owe
 Still to the heaven-descended glow ;
 But dread the heaven-descended glow,
 When from their chain its wild wings go,
 When, where it listeth, wide and wild
 Sweeps the free Nature's free-born Child !
 When the Frantic One fleets,
 While no force can withstand,
 Through the populous streets
 Whirling ghastly the brand ;—
 For the Element hates
 What Man's labour creates,
 And the work of his hand !
 Impartially out from the cloud,
 Or the curse or the blessing may fall !
 Benignantly out from the cloud,
 Come the dews, the revivers of all !
 Avengingly out from the cloud
 Come the levin, the bolt, and the ball !
 Hark—a wail from the steeple !—aloud
 The bell shrills its voice to the crowd !

Look—look—red as blood
 All on high !
 It is not the daylight that fills with its flood
 The sky !
 What a clamour awaking
 Roars up through the street,
 What a hell-vapour breaking
 Rolls on through the street,
 And higher and higher
 Aloft moves the Column of Fire !
 Through the vistas and rows
 Like a whirlwind it goes,
 And the air like the steam from a furnace glows.
 Beams are crackling—posts are shrinking—
 Walls are sinking—windows clinking—
 Children crying—
 Mothers flying—
 And the beast (the black ruin yet smouldering under)
 Yells the howl of its pain and its ghastly wonder !
 Hurry and scurry—away—away,
 The face of night is as clear as day !
 As the links in a chain,
 Again and again
 Flies the bucket from hand to hand ;
 High in arches up-rushing
 The engines are gushing,
 And the flood, as a beast on the prey that it hounds,
 With a roar on the breast of the element bounds.
 To the grain and the fruits,
 Through the rafters and beams,
 Through the barns and the garneries it crackles and streams !
 As if they would rend up the earth from the roots,
 Rush the flames to the sky
 Giant-high ;
 And at length,
 Wearied out and despairing, man bows to their strength !
 With an idle gaze sees their wrath consume,
 And submits to his doom !
 Desolate
 The place, and dread
 For storms the barren bed.
 In the blank voids that cheerful casements were,
 Comes to and fro the melancholy air,
 And sits despair ;
 And through the ruin, blackening in its shroud
 Peers, as it flits, the melancholy cloud.
 One human glance of grief upon the grave
 Of all that Fortune gave
 The loiterer takes—then turns him to depart,

And grasps the wanderer's staff and mans his heart :
 Whatever else the element bereaves
 One blessing more than all it left—it leaves,
 The faces *that he loves* !—He counts them o'er
 See—not one look is missing from *that* store !

Out of many gems from the celebrated ballad writer Uhland, we select the following :—

THE WREATH.

As a little maid plucked flowerets wild
 Adown a blooming lea,
 All wondrous bright came a lady forth
 From the shade of the green-wood tree.

She greeted the little maid soft, and said,
 As she placed a wreath on her hair,
 “Though it blooms not yet it shall blossom well ;
 So for ever the circlet wear.”

When the fair little maid was taller grown,
 And walk'd in the pale moonlight,
 And, tender and sad, wept tears alone,
 Then budded her garland bright.

And when to his heart she was closely press'd,—
 To his heart whom she loved o'er all,
 In her garland green the buds were seen
 To change to flowerets small.

And when, with a mother's joy, she saw
 On her lap a sweet child laid,
 'Mid the winding leaves of her fairy wreath
 Was the golden fruit display'd.

But when her true love was buried low
 In the cold and gloomy grave,
 Like an autumn-wreath o'er her darken'd brow
 Did the fading foliage wave.

Alas ! she also in death grew pale,
 Yet her fairy-crown she wore :—
 Oh wonder ! its flowers and fruits shone forth
 More brightly than before !

To this we may add, as a specimen of a higher style, the same author's romance of “The lost Church.”

In the deep forest, far away,
 The wanderer hears the sound of bells :
 Whence comes the music none can say,
 And scarcely one old legend tells.

It cometh from the old church gray
That lies in deep, unbroken calm,
Where hundreds went, of yore, to pray,
Or join'd to raise the holy psalm.

I went into the wood to pray,
From every path I wander'd wide ;
For freedom from this evil day,
For rest and sanctity I sigh'd.
The music from the ancient tower
Came, soothing, through the forest air,
And rose and swell'd with greater power
As higher rose my soul in prayer.

And, as I listen'd to the sound,
It charm'd my spirit with its flow ;
I seem'd to tread on holy ground,
Like those a hundred years ago :
I lived as in the ancient day,
The present world was all forgot,
As, o'er a cloud of misty gray,
I look'd and saw the sacred spot.

All round it shone the heavenly blue,
And over it the sun was beaming,
Its windows, rich with golden hue,
And snowy pinnacles were gleaming ;
Bright, glistening clouds were o'er it spread,
Like glorious wings uplifted high,
And 'mid the angels raised its head
The spire that melted in the sky.

The bells, of sweetest, soothing tone,
Make holy music in the tower ;
To some celestial wind alone
They swing, unmoved by human power.
A gentle, reverent light is shed
On every saintly nook around ;—
With trembling step and drooping head
I trod upon the holy ground.

Within the venerable shrine
How beautiful the soften'd light !
The windows, many-coloured, shine
With martyr-figures richly dight.
I see, as in a holy dream,
Old, saintly men kneel down to pray,
And consecrated virgins gleam
Along the aisles in white array.

The solemn glory of the shrine,
 As at the altar-steps I kneel'd—
 The sounds of harmony divine
 Can never be in words reveal'd.
 He who would learn these things must go
 Far in the forest lone to pray,
 And follow well the sounds that flow
 From the old church-tower far away.

The following is from Rückert :—

A POET'S UTOPIA.

I long to build a city fair
 Under heaven's serenest air,
 Embosom'd in a blooming wood,
 And laved by some transparent flood ;
 The focus whence life's gladdening beam
 Through all the land should freely stream ;
 Where life, as in a circle flowing,
 From centre to circumference going,
 Thence to the middle-point again
 Should flow as rivers to the main.
 Within the midst a kingly hand
 Should hold in unity the land,
 A king with nobles round him spread,
 Like blossoms round a rose's head ;
 While through the kingdom every soul
 Should share the glory of the whole,
 Contented but a leaf to be
 Upon a healthy, blooming tree.
 From the throne a blessing streaming,
 O'er the land the king's smile beaming,
 Joy to every home is bringing ;
 Labour bears his burden singing ;
 For every one throughout the land
 Gives every one a helping hand.
 Each is happy in his part ;
 The reaper sings with merry heart,
 And from the throne a lustre shines
 Upon the dresser of the vines.
 Then the gentle arts shall come
 And in my city find their home,
 Not dwell in dull seclusion lone,
 But in the streets and round the throne,
 As friends of every one, shall stand
 And throw their magic o'er the land.
 And not to please a pedant's taste
 The artist shall his labour waste,
 But in the people's gladden'd eyes
 Find his labour's richest prize,

There shall music's temple rise,
 And fill with harmony the skies,
 And palaces where art divine
 Makes earth in heavenly colours shine.
 The poets shall not tell their tales
 To moonlit woods like nightingales,
 Nor give the cheerful lyric strain
 To old-world fables dull and vain,
 Of knights and saints in ancient days,
 Nor fill with idle dreams their lays;
 But in the city bards shall dwell,
 By king and people honour'd well,
 And poetry, no idle art,
 Shall cheer the universal heart.
 There one shall shew, with tragic hand,
 The hero's death for Fatherland;
 Another, with a comic grace,
 Will shew the people their own face,
 And lyric poets with the lay
 Shall gladden every festive day.
 And I would wander through the street,
 With songs and sounds of music sweet,
 And sing, in many a chiming line,
 Of spring, youth, roses, love and wine;
 While all the city, gather'd round,
 Should stand enchanted with the sound;
 Thence, like the winds, my songs should go,
 And, gladdening, through the country flow.

In a different style is a poem descriptive of Naples, by Count Platen, (born at Anspach in 1796):—

Come, Stranger, look on Naples! behold it ere you die;
 For there is nothing fairer beneath the Italian sky.
 Come! every thought of sorrow from memory chase away,
 And give your soul to pleasure and to Naples for a day!

Here, in a semicircle, on the margin of the bay,
 Rise masts and stately dwellings, besprinkled with the spray;
 Behind, the rocky fissures are decked with trailing vines
 And, waving in the summer wind, are cypresses and pines.

See, on the hill, the houses down-sloping to the shore—
 Above the level roofs rise vineyards, more and more;
 Below lies, bright as silver, in evening light, the bay—
 Above, behold, VESUVIUS hides its cone in smoky gray.

See five gray castles stationed this pleasant city round—
 That, yonder, is ST. ELMO upon its grassy mound;
 And, yonder, on that island, where the tiny ripples break,
 Is the garden of LUCULLUS, encircled with a lake.

Where shall we wander next till your eye has had its fill?
—Let us hasten to the shore and watch the fisher's skill:
He drags his laden nets from the gently-swelling sea,
With a brawny, naked arm, as he carols in his glee.

Beside him stands a beggar-monk, who, holding out his hand,
Is begging for "one little fish" that glitters on the sand,
The merry wives of fishermen sit spinning by the bay,
Full of gossip and old stories.—Now look another way!

Here a pair begin to dance:—soon a gazing crowd is coming—
Castanets are clinking—one the tambourine is thumbing—
They dance a Tarantella—What springing at the close!
The stripling at his partner flings, playfully, a rose.

Away to the **TOLEDO**—the noisy crowded street—
Look well! at every footstep a picture you may meet.
And hark how every hawker is singing out his tale—
"Fruits!"—"macaroni!"—everything!—the man himself for sale.

Here, in a cabriolet, a fat monk proudly rides—
His leaner, reverend brother a donkey's back bestrides—
And now a beggar stops us, and meekly sues for grace,
But holds a ragged handkerchief to hide his laughing face!

Ha! what a noisy squeak! look yonder! **PUNCHINELLO**
Is lecturing to an audience (immortal, merry fellow!)
Here steaming macaroni perfumes the neighbouring air
Where sailors stand and swallow down, by yards, the smoking fare.

Here sits a money-changer with cash before him laid—
There a barber hangs his apron and shaves beneath the shade—
Here a letter-writer sits, and, while he mends his pen,
A swarthy girl indites—"TO THE CRUELEST OF MEN!"

Now hasten to the **MOLO**, where the lazzaroni lie,
With dusky limbs uncover'd, beneath the sunny sky:
See, yonder gleaming, **CAPRI**, where vessels come and go,
And the merry sailors tacking to the breezes as they blow.

And now a crowd has gather'd upon the sandy shore—
In the centre of a circle stands the Improvisatore—
He sings "**THE SWORD OF ROLAND**," often stopping to explain
Some old romantic story inwoven with his strain.

And now another rosy Italian day is done—
See on the golden billows the glowing setting sun—
Come, step into the shallop—let us sail across the bay—
Balsamic night of **NAPLES**! as lovely as the day!

See, **NAPLES'** lights are shining in many a sparkling row—
With torch light o'er the water the fishing vessels go—
All night we sail in splendour on the phosphorescent bay—
A thousand pleasing visions rise to chase dull sleep away.

And now the day is dawning upon the mountain steep—
 SORRENTO'S orange-fragrance is breathing o'er the deep—
 See, there its roofs are shining within a rocky belt,
 And yonder is the house where TORQUATO TASSO dwelt.

The following pretty ballad is by Lenau, a Hungarian poet:—

THE POSTILLION.

It was a lovely night in May,
 And clouds of silver hue
 Were lightly drawn, in bright array,
 Across the heavenly blue.

The meadows green and woodlands lay
 Their quiet slumbers taking ;
 Along the solitary way
 Only the moon was waking.

With mellow horn my driver broke
 The midnight's dreamy still,
 Or, with his whip, sharp echoes woke
 From valley, wood, and hill.

Beside us, like a transient gleam,
 The landscape seemed to fly ;
 Like fading visions in a dream
 Still hamlets glided by.

Amid the blooming fields enshrined
 A little churchyard lay,
 And called the fleeting traveller's mind
 From earthly thoughts away.

Beside a hill in moonlight fair
 The old, pale walls were leaning,
 And one tall cross was standing there
 With silent, solemn meaning.

Here my postillion checked his pace,
 And held his horses still,
 Then look'd upon the sign of grace
 Below the moonlit hill.

" Sir, here I must a custom keep
 In honour of the bones
 Of a good comrade fast asleep
 Among those old grey stones :

"A true companion ! for his sake
I stay beside the hill ;
He loved its echoes once to wake,
With horn-blast loud and shrill ;

"A mellow horn was his delight,
His notes were clear and strong !
I stay to give him, every night,
His favourite old song."

Then, to the churchyard turn'd, he blew
The notes of some old lay,
In honour of his comrade true
There resting in the clay.

The hill-side echoed back the air
In soften'd tones again,
As if the dead postillion there
Was joining in the strain.

Then o'er the midnight landscape drear
We hasten'd through the still ;
But long was sounding on my ear
That echo from the hill.

Ferdinand Freiligrath is a poet well known in this country. He is especially at home in Eastern scenery. We quote the following "Vision of Travellers in the Desert :"—

VISION OF TRAVELLERS IN THE DESERT.

'Mid the desert in the night we rested on the ground :
Near their unbridled steeds my Bedouins slept around.
On the mountains of the Nile shone the moonlight far away ;
White bones of dromedaries on the sand around us lay.

I lay awake—my saddle for a pillow neath my head,
And a wallet of dry dates, the desert-traveller's bread ;
My caftan well spread out, o'er my feet and o'er my breast,
And near me, firelock, sword, and spear, to guard our nightly rest.

Deep the stillness ! only broken by our fire that smoulder'd low,
Or the screeching of the vulture, the desert's carrion-crow,
Or, anon, a sleeping steed would stamp upon the sand,
Or a Bedouin, in his dream, grasp'd his firelock in his hand.

Suddenly shook the earth—shadows broke the moon's pale light—
The creatures of the desert fled along in wild affright—
Our horses rear'd and snorted—grasp'd his flag our leading-man,
Then dropp'd it, and he mutter'd, "Ha ! the Spirits' Caravan !"

It comes ! before the camels the spectral drivers glide,
Unveil'd, luxurious women in the lofty saddles ride,
Beside walk Arab maidens, pitchers bearing, like Rebecca,
And dark brown chieftains follow—like the wind they sweep to Mecca.

And more and more come on—who can count the endless train ?—
See from the scatter'd bones rise the camels up again ;
From the sand the wind has driven o'er the thirsty desert plains,
The sun-burnt men arise, and seize their camels' reins.

For, lo, it is the night when all this sea of sands
Has ever swallow'd up, and whose dust is on our hands,
Whose skulls our horses' hoofs have daily trodden down,
Arise, and go, in hosts, to pray in the holy town !

And more are coming still—the last have not gone by,
As the first with slacken'd reins, returning, past us fly—
Ere my startled steed could break his cord, they have rush'd on more and
more,
From yon green hills before us, down to Babel-Mandeb's shore.

Every man beside his steed ! and firmly hold your ground,
No trembling like a timid herd when the lion prowls around !
Let their wildly-floating garments fan your faces as they fly ;
Call on ALLAH, as the spectral dromedaries hurry by.

Stand firmly till the morning-wind your turban-feathers waves,
The morning-breath and the morning-glow will warn them to their graves ;
These nightly hosts will all be dust again at break of day—
And my steed already hails the dawn, with a courageous neigh.

“The Revenge of the Flowers” will be known to many of our readers by the beautiful German print of it :—

On her soft and snowy pillow
Lay the maiden wrapt in sleep :
On her glowing cheek her eye-lash
Cast a shade of purple deep.

On a stool of rushes near her
Stood a vase of many hues
Full of glittering flowers, just gather'd
Freshly from the evening dews.

Scented vapours fill'd the chamber
Where the lady fair reposed ;
Warmly glow'd the night of summer—
Doors and windows all were closed.

Deep the stillness—list ! a rustling
Mid the flowers and leaflets fair—
Round the vase of many colours
Whispers fill the scented air.

From the cups of all the flowers,
Tiny, misty, ghost-like, see,—
Fairy forms, with shields and crowns,
Rise, a motley company!

From the purple-bosom'd Rose
Springs a lady slim and fair:
Pearls are glistening, like the dew,
In her long and flowing hair.

From the MONKSHOOD's tiny cap
Towers a knight of fiery mien;
Mid the dark-green leaflets glitter
Sword and helm, with angry sheen.

On his helmet nods a feather
Of the heron, silver-gray.
From the LILY wakes a maiden
Veil'd in gossamer array.

From the AFRIC MARIGOLD
Starts a negro—bright the sheen
Of his tiny, golden crescent,
Glittering on his turban green.

Splendid from the CROWN IMPERIAL
Towers a sceptre-bearing king:—
From the IRIS blue, a huntsman,
Rising, joins the fairy ring.

From the leaves of the NARCISSUS
Steps a youth, with pensive air,
To the bed, and glowing kisses
Presses on the maiden fair.

All the fairy forms together
Crowd, the pillow'd head they cover,—
Singing with a dreamy music,
Round the sleeping maiden hover.

"Maiden, maiden, from the garden
You have cull'd us, cruelly,
In your chalice, many-colour'd,
Here to wither and to die.

"Happily we lived together,
On our mother's kindly breast;
Sunbeams, through the green boughs breaking,
Kiss'd us in our shelter'd nest.

"Breath of spring-time, softly blowing,
Cool'd the noonday's fervid glows;
And, at night, for fairy-pastimes,
From our bloomy cells we rose.

" Gentle dews and rains fell on us—
 Here we fade in sickly air—
 Ere we perish we must be
 Revenged upon thee, lady fair ! "

Ceased the song, and now around her
 Closely all the Spirits press'd
 Clustering, hovering, breathing round her
 While she lay in sultry rest.

What a whispering ! what a rustling !
 How the maiden's cheeks are glowing !
 Scented vapours float around
 The fairies warmly on her blowing.

Till the sun the chamber brightens—
 Fairy-forms and shadows flee—
 On her pillow, still in slumber,
 Cold and pale the maiden see !

Faded, 'mid her faded blossoms,
 —Still her cheek is faintly red—
 Lies the flower-offending maiden,
 In the scented chamber—dead !

The following from Anastasius Grün will form an apt conclusion to our extracts, which we trust will have recommended Mr. Gostick's little work to the notice of our readers:—

THE MUSE CALLED TO JUDGMENT.

Hither, my Muse ! to this wild rocky vale,
 'Mid the old gloomy forest follow me,
 Beneath your ancient oak-tree hear my tale—
 Come—I would speak an earnest word to thee.

Come solemnly, as to a judgment-seat :
 Forget the idle, transitory praise,
 Which friends too mild, or flatterers soft and sweet,
 Have pour'd too plentifully on thy lays.

Come where no human foot has ever been :
 Hark, with sweet voices how these shades resound !
 A thousand birds are singing in the green ;
 But hush ! they hear our steps on mossy ground.

These forest-birds sing not for human ears ;
 None mocks another ; with sweet, natural airs,
 Each the loved neighbourhood around him cheers :—
 Muse ! are your songs as good and true as theirs ?

Here an old oak lies rotting on the ground :
Five hundred springs once cover'd it with leaves ;
Its brother-trees stand flourishing around,
Lusty and green ; none for the fallen grieves !

But flowers bloom round the spot, and, in the night,
Starless and moonless, through the forest-gloom,
From the old trunk gleams out phosphoric light,
Like a soft halo shining o'er a tomb.

Thus, when I rest within the last, cold bed,
And over me funereal branches wave,
Will beams of gentle radiance then be shed,
Muse ! from thy songs around the poet's grave ?

Come further—see ! the fearless streamlet flows
O'er the steep rock and falls in a cascade ;
Upon the billow whirl'd, a lovely rose
Tells of the gardens where that rivulet play'd :

Fearless, it pours its broken waters down,
And brings a beauty to the barren place,
While all around the rocky barriers frown,
The stars of heaven are mirror'd on its face.

Hast thou, O Muse, thus, like a streamlet clear,
Flow'd through the world, upon thy billows bright
Bearing the roses of a happier sphere,
And faithfully reflecting heaven's pure light ?

If not, this is no place for thee—go wait
Beside the margin of this solemn wood,
As once offenders at the churchyard-gate
In penitential clothing meekly stood.

THE MINISTERIAL CRISIS.

IT is not our custom to deliberate upon political subjects, or to make the affairs of nations a prominent feature in our publication, and scarcely or ever have we drawn attention to them, except when any circumstance has forced itself upon us, and has claimed consideration upon religious grounds; but in our reference to such points we have studiously avoided making the occasion an opportunity for embroiling ourselves in the warfare of party strife and confusion. Worldly politics have too much of the elements of nature in them, and savour much too little of that high

and holy cause, for whose advancement it is our object to labour, either to suit our taste, or to demand our care; and their tendency, we have ever felt, has too debasing a character upon the human mind to permit us to be led astray by their mischievous pretensions and subtleties. And, at the present moment, we would gladly avoid interfering with them, did we not feel that our country is placed in a formidable crisis, from having, during the last month, been involved in circumstances of no ordinary character. To pass them by, therefore, without observation might seem to argue a want of power to discriminate on our own part, and an apathy and indifference towards the interests of the community, which would be as unusual as it would be strange in a publication like our own. We intend, therefore, to review the political proceedings of the past month, and to consider the events which have transpired in their probable results.

The changes of the last thirty years have, to a certain extent, unsettled all the existing institutions of the country, and have been of such diversified and variable character, and have ensued so rapidly one upon another, that, altering the phraseology of the poet, we might say with truth—

Alas, poor England ! (it is) almost afraid to know itself.

The prevailing characteristics of the human mind during this period have been unceasing restlessness and change. No sooner has one feature been altered, and the hitherto existing condition of affairs been unsettled, so that its aspect could scarcely any longer be discernable, than revision has been demanded, which, in many instances, being granted, has become much more like revolution than settlement,—confusion than consolidation. The thirty years which had preceded these changes in the British constitution were equally full of confusion, of strife, and peril to the interests of the nation ; but they came from without rather than within, and were confined to distances from our shores, though the means, by which Providence controlled them, rested in our own hands. But war had scarcely terminated, and peace been hailed with gladness and rejoicing, than the fountains of strife were turned into another channel, and intestine commotion took the place which foreign contention and bloodshed had so long occupied, the first movement of which was an attack upon the religion of the country,—upon the bond which holds together the throne and the people, and had made England what she was, “great, glorious, and free !” The restless enemy of truth, by the long-continued continental warfare, was only “scotched, not killed,” and reviving under the warmth of peace, and the carelessness, which fancied security had also unhappily induced, again took the field, and commenced the work, which has agitated our land from one extremity to the

other to the present moment, and seems likely to produce confusion on confusion, and the disjoining of every bond of union and stability, unless the Almighty puts forth his hand and stays in the most signal manner the moral pestilence. The politicians, who had steered the vessel of the state through the shoals and quicksands of those dreadful years, during which the population of the Continent was decimated, and our own land had to lament the shedding of the life-blood of thousands of her people, showed themselves unequal to grapple with the foe, which sprung up against them at the moment in which the vessel had safely reached the peaceful harbour; they shrunk, quailed and intimidated, before her advances. The administration of Lord Liverpool staved off the hour of granting her demands, and resolutely resisted the clamours, which she had essayed to raise.

A change took place in the government of the country; but still her demands were unsuccessful, and human probabilities seemed to point out no prospect of ultimate success. The attempts made to carry Roman Catholic emancipation were signally foiled, and two statesmen, standing in the foremost rank of opposition, succeeded in defeating for a time the assaults of the adversary, and in defying the clamours which her partisans were raising;—one, the greatest warrior England had ever seen,—the other, manifesting hopes of political promise never equalled since “the pilot who had weathered the storm” of foreign conflict and home dissatisfaction had been removed by death from the political helm.

The hopes of Protestant ascendancy were placed in these men; the country looked to them as defenders of the faith, which had been sealed and confirmed by the blood of martyrs. They were placed in them only to be disappointed. They succeeded to power. They succumbed to clamour. They yielded to a partial pressure from without, upon the idea that it was expedient to do so, and anarchy and confusion from that moment have triumphed. But the dealings of Providence are for the most part retributive. The false step taken in 1829 was hailed as the basis from which other and more serious changes were to spring. Clamour and pertinacity had gained a victory; and the advantage must be pushed home. These statesmen resisted the attempt to carry a measure, which was calculated to revolutionise every existing institution of the land; they hesitated to yield any further; they were inclined to think they had given enough; and the violation of their former assertions and their later actions undoubtedly filled them with no pleasing contemplation either of their consistency or of their candour. They had raised the storm, and now they were determined to quell it. They had produced the spirit, and they vainly strove to exorcise it. It became a giant in strength, and hurled them from office, from place, from power, to all

appearance never again to be restored to popular favour, or to the nation's confidence.

The historian has yet to appear, who shall trace the succession of events, the strangest and most extraordinary, which resulted from the confusion which succeeded the carrying of the object the Duke of Wellington and Sir Robert Peel had resisted; but whenever such an one produces in order the detail of those eventful years, he will shew how few were the probabilities of the state again recovering herself, and how small was the hope that the men, whom the populace of England had displaced from power, would ever regain the confidence they had so signally lost.

The violence of the crisis, however, was too extreme to last. Thinking men began to perceive that the downward course, which the reforming ministries were pursuing, must ultimately ruin the commerce of the country, and confirm that stagnation of trade, which their measures were producing. Difficulties met them in the financial arrangements of the national debt and of the taxation of the country. The changes they effected in different departments were so sudden, and so manifestly imprudent, that they became deeper and deeper involved, and fears began to be entertained that national bankruptcy would soon arrive, unless a speedy and permanent change were effected in their counsels.

But beyond this they were maintained in power by Roman Catholic sympathy, and by a Papistical faction. And, in reward for the support they derived from this quarter, and which enabled them to hold on the reins of government, they sacrificed Protestant principle to intolerance, and shewed favour to the ascendancy of those, whose avowed object was the annihilation of Christian truth. The old foe was still busy,—still on the alert. She had aided with all her powers the sudden and revolutionary changes of the times, altering her features to the aspect of affairs; at one part of the world despotic, where she held the power to be so, but here, democratic to advance her purposes, and to succeed in her designs, she never for a moment lost sight of the end in view—entire and unfettered dominion in Church and State.

The country, however, took alarm as well here as at the appearances of a failing currency, a breaking up of commerce, and an increasing debt. Confidence in the policy of the Melbourne ministry gradually waned away, and the very men whom, a few years since, popular indignation had loaded with every species of obloquy, returned to power, as it were, upon the very shoulders of the people. They had stood throughout the struggle firmly and with uncompromising steadiness, resisting and lifting up their voices against the rapid changes, which were recklessly hurried on, and adhering, at least professedly,

to the interests of the Protestant Church, though not repenting of their sin, as having previously betrayed them. The country sighed for a peaceful calm after the long-continued agitation of conflicting elements, and hailed the restoration of these men to office as the sure harbingers of returning prosperity and of future tranquillity. In the first respect their expectations have been realised; in the latter they have as decisively been disappointed. The most rapid alterations have been made in various departments of the state since they returned to office, and their measures have been of as revolutionary a character as many of their predecessors. Popery has gained a step she could never have hoped to obtain from her warmest advocates and supporters. The measure of 1829 has been eclipsed by that of 1845, and the leading policy of the session of the past year has scarcely ever been surpassed either in rashness, or been so obviously maintained against the manifest and avowed disapprobation of the people. The state has taken Popery into pay, has not only looked upon her with a favourable eye, but, under the vain pretence of tranquillising Ireland, has given her so great an increase of power, that the consequences cannot be far distant of her demanding accession of strength, and that demand being granted. But the measures of the session of the year 1845 have brought their own requital; the events, which have transpired during the past month, and to which at the outset we proposed to allude, have been full of reproof to the minister, who has so incautiously shaken the basis of the British constitution. The cause of the premier's resignation of office is known to all our readers, and it would be foreign to our purpose, and beyond the object of our labours, to enter into a discussion upon the reason, and the measures, which induced that resignation; but we cannot but trace the hand of Providence in it, as another evidence that "He taketh the wise in their own craftiness, and bringeth the devices of the foolish to nought." Sir Robert Peel has given up for some years past the idea of governing this country upon Protestant principle. At times we are disposed to doubt whether he ever had the desire to frame his measures with a view to the honour and glory of God,—the only safe rule for the permanent advancement of a nation's prosperity, either present or future. At all events, his evident intention of late years has been to govern upon expediency rather than principle, by doing evil that good may come, rather than by grappling with obstacles upon moral and religious independence. He is reaping the fruits of his sad desertion of the policy of his earlier days; it kept him out of office during the most vigorous period of life, and at this moment is oppressing him with difficulties, against which it is, at the best, but doubtful whether he can struggle. The country, however, is happily for the present saved from that positive con-

fusion, which the return of Lord John Russell and his colleagues to office must have induced. The Church is also safe from the violence of attack, which would most assuredly have followed from this quarter. But still the danger is not altogether removed. The Premier again occupies his seat of office, but the horizon of the future is not consequently cleared of the clouds that obscure it. The next session of Parliament will be one full of many consequences to the country and people. We are on the eve of sudden and most positive changes, the issue of which no one can foresee. But God holds the helm, and turns the devices of the wicked for good, and accomplishes his own purposes in a way we know not.

But we must also view the present aspect of affairs in a light, which never ought to be overlooked, viz. as a retribution for our sins, both national and individual. The governments of our country for many years past have seemed entirely to disregard Divine commands as a special and particular rule for statesmen, and they have appeared resolved to shut Him out generally and altogether from the government of the world. They have read and studied the histories of the past with but little advantage. They have observed the various transitions from adversity to prosperity, and back again from prosperity to adversity, in the affairs of nations, with little benefit; inasmuch as they have failed to trace a superintending hand in every circumstance that has occurred, and have closed their eyes to the great fact that "the Lord reigneth, be the people never so impatient." And this is the chief cause of the almost continual failure of the varied attempts, which from time to time have been made to restore the peace and safety of this country. They seem to despise the truth that God visits for national as well as individual offences; and though He permits them to be for a time triumphant, yet that he never fails to make them reap the reward they merit. Men dare not, however, look this in the face. They cannot but confess that evils exist, but they attribute them to secondary causes rather than to their own sinfulness. It may seem strange to the mind of Sir Robert Peel that his plans are so continually frustrated, that his policy of expediency so constantly recoils upon himself, and that, no sooner has he met one giant difficulty, and apparently quieted it, than it assumes another head, and shews him he has greater and greater obstacles to overcome ere he can effectually silence and allay the commotion it produces. And if it does at times astonish him, we are at a loss to conceive that a mind so gifted as his own undoubtedly is does not at once perceive one chief and manifest cause why he fails to satisfy the clashing interests of the country, and brings himself and his measures into contempt. The fact is, for years past, he and his colleagues in power

have been progressing without any distinctive principle to guide them. Time was when we could understand men by their measures, and arrive at their intentions by their actions ; but that period seems to have passed entirely away, and the fashion is altogether changed. Out of office and in opposition, Sir R. Peel led on an unceasing and persevering attack upon all and each of the measures of the then Government. He was then the active partizan and defender of every existing interest. The Church he strenuously defended from every assault made upon her, and many an attempt to invalidate her influence, and to crush her existence for usefulness, did he nip in the bud by unflinching and uncompromising adhesion to her in her hour of peril. No one could be more loud in his denunciation of the measures, which were introduced to secure the favour of the pro-Popery party, and many craftily concocted schemes to advance their pretensions were put aside simply from the knowledge that he would certainly use every influence and strain every nerve to cut it off in detail, should it be introduced into Parliament, if he perceived himself unequal to annihilate it by one open and decisive onslaught. The promoters of change, and the lovers of discord, alike trembled at his vigour in defence of the existing institutions of the country ; and never had his peculiar talents greater opportunity of display, than when night after night, and session after session, he fought the battle of the opposition on the left hand of the Speaker's chair in the Commons House of Parliament. Not gradually, but with increasing rapidity, the popularity he had lost, by introducing the Roman Catholic Emancipation Bill, and by refusing to proceed in a revolutionary course under the name of reform, returned ; from being, perhaps, the most unpopular man in her Majesty's dominions, if we except the iron Duke, he became the observed of all observers, and instead of meeting with insult from the populace of the metropolis, which he had been accustomed to, upon and for a short time after the passing of the Reform Bill, his presence was hailed on every side with acclamations, both vociferous and hearty. Every class of the people looked to him as the man who should restore the failing commerce of the land ; the monied interests hailed him as the only statesman who could rectify the financial difficulties of his opponents, which every day grew worse and worse ; the clergy, thankful for his zeal in their defence, anticipated from him protection, and security against assault from within and from without. The agriculturists beheld in him an imaginary means of securing their capital and of realising a profit upon their labours, instead of the positive losses they had been year after year incurring. In a word, as the confidence in his opponents declined, so did it increase in him. He was "the man of the people ;" and as such, as a proof of their belief in his integrity of pur-

pose, and of his inclination and desire to prove himself the benefactor of his country, they threw away all suspicion of him; they forgot, or at least pardoned, his former tergiversation; and gave him so overwhelming a majority, as a proof and evidence of their returned conviction that he would not again deceive them, as to render any measure he might bring forward secure from the moment it was proposed, and easy to be carried in detail. In every particular, if we except the financial arrangements of the country, he has signally disappointed the high expectations he had raised. The measures his opponents had introduced, and which he had defeated, now became his own; schemes they shrank from the responsibility of carrying forward, he took in hand, and, with imperious command, demanded the co-operation of his followers, who had adhered to him under the impression that he would clog the wheel of revolutionary motion. At one time threatening them with his resolve to resign office unless they held to him, and to throw the country into confusion by the return to office of a Whig-Radical faction,—at another, casting himself, by the ultraism of his proposed measures, upon the necessary support (for consistency's sake) of his opponents, he has strided on and on, making all things bend before his march, and yielding to his nod of determination. Every session since his accession to power he has more and more shaken off the trammels of the pledges his conduct in opposition had fastened upon him,—but it remained till the last to behold the crowning act of desertion of former principles completed, and it shewed, however much it was supposed he had deplored the fatal step of 1829, the supposition was but ideal,—inasmuch as he resolved to eclipse that undoing of the Protestantism of Great Britain, by a more decisive and vigorous blow against her principles. We were not backward in presenting to our readers and the public how full of danger, how inconsistent with former pledges, how unworthy of a great and powerful statesman, was the conduct of the minister, who passed the Maynooth Endowment Bill with indecent haste through the Houses of the Legislature, refusing to give time for the expression of the sentiments of the people,—whose almost united efforts had placed him on the high position he occupied,—and disregarding the intreaties of the most pious and holy men of the day before he irrevocably committed himself to a measure fraught with such evident consequences of injury to the religion of the country. It will be fresh in our readers' recollection, that we exposed the progress of that measure step by step, and shewed the impolicy, no less than the folly, of attempting to allay the restless agitation, and the increasing ferment of one unhappy portion of the British dominions at the expense of the remainder. But, alike blind to remonstrance on the one hand, and to the

consequence that more would be demanded, where so much had unnecessarily been conceded on the other, the measure passed into law, and a session, the most momentous that has been seen since the years 1832, 1833, and 1834, ended with the triumph of the individual over the manifest feeling and conviction of the injury he had done to the Church and to the people.

It pleased Providence, in his wisdom, during the earlier part of the recess, to visit the land with tempestuous weather, which impeded the gathering in of the harvest, and did much damage to one article, of necessary consumption, of the food of the poor. A clamour had been for several years past excited against the protection the Legislature had afforded to the agricultural interests; and a few discontented individuals had raised a cry against what they termed monopoly and class legislation. Sir Robert Peel had resisted their demand for removal of protection, and had apparently devised a safe means of meeting any exigencies which an unpropitious season might occasion. The present winter, however, from the partial failure of the crops, and from the known continental scarcity, was anticipated as about to be one of extreme suffering to the poorer classes, and therefore offered too good an opportunity to the clamorous for attempting to sweep away the existing corn-laws, and to secure their cherished theory of introducing free trade. Hitherto Sir R. Peel had seemed indifferent to the clamour; perhaps some feelings of compunction moved him for the moment to withstand the pressure made against agriculture by restless agitation, since he could but remember the obligation he was under to the counties of England for the majority they had placed at his command. But distinctive principles have again been given up: theories but a few hours since denounced as visionary and destructive have been yielded to; and the result has been a collision between the premier and several members of his Cabinet so severe and decisive, that he and they tendered their resignation of office, and retired from the helm of government. The last month has been pregnant with eventful circumstances connected with this subject. The ministry, disunited upon this matter, has broken up; Lord John Russell has attempted to form an administration, and has failed. Sir Robert Peel has again resumed the reins of office, with a ministry but slightly modified, and, at the moment of our going to press, the future proceedings, which the country has to anticipate are unknown, and but problematical.

We can only, however, draw suppositions from former occurrences, and speculate upon future probabilities from events which have preceded them. No declaration has, it is true, yet gone forth what the intentions of the new Ministry may be; but if we are to judge upon such

grounds what is to be anticipated, we candidly confess that we expect no safe or good result to any interest from the return of Sir Robert Peel to office. He has annihilated every prospect that distinctive principles will now be carried out by himself and his partisans, by his concessions and by his violation of former expectations that he would govern the country upon the broad and honourable basis of Protestant truth and Christian precept. We have nothing to expect from the man any further. We have seen our best hopes scattered to the winds; our warmest anticipations have been chilled and frozen by discovering that words and actions, promises and dealings, have been as opposite as two extremes can possibly be. We believe that Divine Providence is dealing with us at this moment in the events of the time expressly to shew us that we put our trust in man rather than in Himself,—that we have imagined human help could avail, when it ought to have been remembered that it is his province alone to secure the safety of a nation, and that He has said, “Cursed is man that trusteth in man, and ‘maketh flesh his arm.’” We believe that we are on the eve of decisive changes,—of remarkable occurrences,—of important events. The powers of the earth are being shaken, and the nations of the world are trembling. We hope and pray that the Lord will deliver us out of the dangers with which we are beset, and that He will cause the end to be of permanent advantage to our country. To those who trace his hand in the events of the present times, the assurance cannot fail to be strong that what is being done is for some great, some wise end and purpose. If they will only bring us to repentance, and produce in this land a positive turning to Him with prayer, and sorrow for our national, as well as for our individual sinfulness, we should indeed hail the signs of the times with rejoicing and with hope. But be this as it may, and whatever the womb of time may unfold to us, the conviction of every Christian mind—that nothing which occurs happeneth without the permission of Him who reigneth for ever and ever, will allay each fear, and put all dread to rest. “Duties are ours; events are God’s.” In the struggle that may come,—*which is coming*,—every Christian man must act vigorously and decisively for God and for his cause, leaving the issue to Him, who can, if He will, keep back the ambitious desires, and restrain the evil passions of sinful men, bringing their devices to nought; but whether He does so or not, will certainly “make the wrath of ‘man to praise Him,’” whilst the remainder of wrath He will undoubtedly restrain.

THE APOSTOLICAL CHRISTIANS.

"The Apostolical Christians and Catholics of Germany," a Narrative of the present Movement in the Roman Catholic Church. Second Edition, revised and corrected, by Henry Smith, Esq.; with a recommendatory preface by the Rev. W. Goode, &c. London. B. Wertheim. 1845.

It is with real pleasure we announce the appearance of a second edition of this highly interesting and instructive little volume. If it could claim public attention at its first appearance, it must be more welcome now that it has been revised and corrected by its pious and talented editor, after a journey to and residence in Germany: he expressly undertook to acquaint himself thoroughly with the real state of the movement, and to bring counsel and aid in his own name, and that of some Christian friends in this country, to those small flocks who, in seceding from Rome, have taken, not their common sense, but the word of God for their guide, and have adhered to the faith once delivered to the saints. The present edition contains not only corrections, but also some very valuable additions, of which we would gladly have given some extracts, if the late period when we received the book had allowed us sufficient time to make a careful selection. We cannot, however, forbear extracting the whole of Mr. Goode's supplementary preface. It characterises the movement in a few but significant words, points to the double danger with which the Christian Church is threatened at this moment, and to those parts of Holy Writ which seem to have been expressly penned to sustain the hope, and afford comfort to the heart, of the believer in times of perplexity and trial. Our readers will therefore, we feel assured, thank us for having transferred such salutary words to our pages, especially as they come from one who has, from the beginning, been foremost in fighting the good fight against the Romanisers in our Church, and, with a sagacity not shared by many, has, at the earliest period, seen through and exposed the tendency of the Tractarian writers. We would recommend to all who can procure it to read the whole book, and to encourage its dissemination among their friends. Where facts and experience are wanted to strengthen the voice of Scripture against popery, we know of no more valuable auxiliary than this simple collection of documents.

"The further development of the Anti-Romish movement in Germany," says Mr. Goode, "since the publication of the first edi-

"tion of this work, renders it necessary for me to offer here a few additional remarks. It has now assumed a far more definite character than belonged to it at that time; and, as it originated simultaneously in two different and independent quarters, where it was produced by processes of thought and inquiry of very dissimilar kinds, so it has branched off into two widely different directions, which promise to lead to very opposite results. That portion of the seceders from Rome which is headed by Ronge, and which, it must be confessed, is the most numerous, has taken a decidedly rationalistic direction,—the precise result which a system of gross superstition, seeking to domineer over the souls and bodies of men, is calculated to produce in the natural mind; while Czerski and others, founding their faith upon the revealed word of God, and not seeking to accommodate it to the humours of men, have more and more approached the pure standard of Scriptural truth.

"No one who has marked the difference in the originating cause of the movement in the minds of its two leaders will be surprised at this. Throughout all the statements of Ronge, giving the reasons for his secession, the leading feature is a spirit of righteous indignation at the unwarrantable tyranny and despotism of Rome. We see human reason rising against the gross and ridiculous impostures of a baseless superstition, put forth by a tyrannical priesthood for the purposes of self-aggrandisement, and the consequent struggles of a manly and independent mind shaking off the chains of so degrading a bondage. And we feel the same sympathy as we should for a man struggling for deliverance from the cruelties of a lawless tyrant. But, as we must remind the latter, that there is a worse death to be delivered from, a mightier foe to be overcome, so we must remind the former, that it is one thing to escape from the trammels of an odious and debasing superstition, and another to embrace that true faith which alone will make his previous deliverance of any *permanent* value to him. He will yet be the slave of self, the slave of his own natural mind, until he obtains the liberty wherewith Christ sets us free. He may boast with the Jews of not being in bondage to any man, while he is yet a slave to as hard and severe a task-master as earth can afford him—his own corrupt nature.

"But with Czerski and his party, (and we trust also with many others who have subsequently joined the movement), the grand motive to secession was derived from an humble careful perusal of the Holy Scriptures. 'I studied theology,' says Czerski, 'with great diligence, but I was unable to make up my mind respecting several of the dogmas that were proposed, which led me to compare them with

" ' the Bible. The scales now fell from my eyes.' The Bible (as we
 " find from his narrative) was his constant guide, the man of his coun-
 " sel, his standard and rule of judgment, and the Dagon of Popery fell
 " down before it. (See pp. 68 et seq.)

" We cannot but observe the remarkable difference there is in the
 " narratives of Ronge and Czerski in this respect. In that of the for-
 " mer, it is human reason that holds the reins, and guides the traveller
 " to its own resting-place, rationalism. In that of the latter, it is the
 " word of God, to which the traveller humbly and implicitly commits
 " himself for direction; and which leads him to Christian faith.

" The little company at Schneidemühl who joined Czerski in his seces-
 " sion had been even for a longer period than himself students of the
 " word of God, and in consequence dissidents in heart from the Church
 " of Rome, waiting only for the first favourable opportunity of publicly
 " separating themselves from her communion. ' For several years past,'
 " they say, ' many of the members of the Roman Catholic Church of
 " ' this town have been engaged, *in spite of the prohibition of the priest,*
 " ' in examining the Holy Scriptures in private, and in comparing the
 " ' doctrine of Jesus with that of the Romish priests, by which they have
 " ' become convinced that the teaching of the Romish priests on the most
 " ' important articles of faith does not agree with the clear and pure
 " ' doctrine of Jesus Christ and his Apostles.' (P. 79). They gave
 " honour to God by an humble reception of his word, and were thus
 " enabled not only to break the chains of superstition and despotism by
 " which they were enthralled, but to enjoy the light and breathe the
 " pure air of Gospel truth. What a decisive and triumphant practical
 " answer does this case afford us to the arguments of those who are
 " opposed to the dissemination of the uninterpreted word of God!

" I am anxious to call attention to these facts, because, as it appears
 " to me, they form the foundation upon which our hopes, as it respects
 " the promotion of the cause of genuine religion by the movement, must
 " mainly rest. The course taken by Ronge and his party has *justly*
 " roused the fears and suspicions of those who look at the movement at
 " a distance; fears which have, for obvious reasons, been strengthened
 " and inflamed by the Romanists, who, as usual, have propagated all
 " kinds of misrepresentations on the subject, and made the whole body
 " of seceders from their communion responsible for every error of every
 " individual among them. However much we may rejoice at the eman-
 " cipation of our fellow-men from the bondage of Rome, we could take
 " little interest in a movement tending to the establishment of ration-
 " alism, and certainly render it no assistance. But we are thankful to

“ know that a portion of the seceders are acting with no such views, and
 “ are being led, we trust, by a Divine hand, to the haven of truth. The
 “ additional matter contained in the present volume relates principally
 “ to their proceedings; and in such a movement all those who are sin-
 “ cerely attached to the true principles and doctrines of Christianity,
 “ either in the Church of England or any other Christian communities,
 “ must ever take a lively interest. We can feel no surprise that such a
 “ party should be less numerous than one that appeals to the natural
 “ feelings and passions of mankind, and that its progress should be com-
 “ paratively slow. But there are many favourable symptoms encourag-
 “ ing us to expect from it very important results. And the Christian,
 “ fatherly, and enlightened character of the present sovereign of Prussia
 “ leaves us in no doubt, that, so far as the movement bears the genuine
 “ features of Christianity impressed upon it, so far it will meet with all
 “ the indulgence which his conscientious convictions, and high and sacred
 “ duties to his country and the world, will permit him to afford.

“ With one additional observation, to shew the importance both of
 “ drawing a marked line of distinction between the two sections of the
 “ movement, and of encouraging and aiding that which tends to the
 “ promotion of real religion, I shall conclude.

“ The ultimate tendency of the Romish system is now proved by facts.
 “ There is much in it, no doubt, to hold the mind captive; much to de-
 “ light, much to ensnare; it was framed for that purpose; and hence the
 “ iron grasp with which it still, to a certain extent, retains possession of
 “ its dominion over the minds of men. But, wherever even a moderate
 “ share of learning is prevalent, its ultimate tendency is to produce
 “ rationalism and infidelity. Look at the countries which are under its
 “ yoke, Italy, Spain, France, so far as the latter is under its dominion.
 “ In how many bosoms under nominal Romanism lurks a profound
 “ contempt for all religion, generated by the frauds and mummeries of
 “ the only one with which they are acquainted? In how many more does
 “ a religion of sense, made up of forms and ceremonies, leave its votaries
 “ in a state of practical unbelief and worldly-mindedness? Under the
 “ surface of Popery rationalism and infidelity reign supreme. And in
 “ the judgment of Holy Scripture, rationalism and infidelity are scarcely
 “ more odious in the eyes of God than genuine Popery. He who puts
 “ his trust in the Virgin Mary and the Saints dishonours God as much
 “ as he who rationalises the Scriptures, or altogether disbelieves them.
 “ How long, then, will the power and artifices of the Priesthood, and
 “ the tinsel mummery of a sensualised worship, prevent their emerging
 “ from under the surface, and assuming openly the dominion? It is

"not impossible, indeed, that the gigantic efforts which Popery is now making to regain its lost ascendancy, may be crowned with a temporary triumph, especially in those parts where its true character has been forgotten. But it will be (if we read aright the signs of the times) but a brief one. And it will be succeeded by the reign of Infidelity. The absurdity, the tyranny, the baselessness of the system will again rouse its victims to rebellion, a rebellion which will be assuaged only by its final and complete overthrow, and be itself a scourge upon mankind for having, with the word of God in their hand, followed Popery and its idols. Sin, even that committed in a state of ignorance, is naturally followed by disease and death.

"The conflict of opinions which has already commenced is for the mastery of the world,—*emphatically*, the world and the things of it;—and the grand contest is between Popery and Infidelity, and it is quite possible that Popery may gain a transient victory; while the true flock of Christ, persecuted alike (so far as they have the power) by both systems, must remember the words of its divine Master,—In the 'world ye shall have tribulation; but be of good cheer, I have overcome the world;' a victory, the fruits of which will ultimately be manifested in the state of the Church of Christ even in this world.

"If such is the case, we must expect that the trials and difficulties of the true Church of Christ will be daily multiplied. The impediments which superstition, indifference, and practical unbelief, oppose to the spread of real religion will increase. Popery and practical Infidelity struggling for the mastery will alike harass, allure, tempt, vex, and persecute the true followers of Christ. Moreover, the student of Holy Scripture will not be surprised if 'some of them of understanding shall fall, to try them, and to purge, and to make them white, even to the time of the end.' (See Dan. xi, 35). We know not, in fact, how soon the cause of Christ may be exposed to dangers of no ordinary kind,—how soon the fiery trial reserved for the Church, may be permitted to befall her.

"If ever there was a period, then, in which it was the duty of all true Christians to watch with interest and affection the progress of Christ's kingdom, and forward, by all the means placed in their power—their prayers, labours, and wealth—the interests of that kingdom, the present is emphatically of such a character. And the peculiar difficulties and trials with which the orthodox portion of the late separatists from Rome in Germany have to contend mark them out for an especial share of our sympathy and assistance. " W. G.

"Dec. 3, 1845."

VOICES FROM THE DEAD.

THE FREEDMEN'S ANNIVERSARIES.

British Museum. Room V, Inscription 31.

I.

He waited not till death should make
 Our freedom seem no loss unto his fears,
 But of man's natural rights he spake,
 —Even as he grew to manhood's years.

II.

The day his aged father died,—
 All of his father's or his mother's age—
 All those old slaves his youthful hands untied
 From slavery's grinding vassalage.

Many a dim eye lighten'd free—
 Many a bow'd back grew a moment straight—
 As all look'd up to pray, that he
 Might ne'er know aught but freeman's fate.

III.

His birthday came, and, as he smiled
 To see our cups crown'd to his health and life,
 He freed each mother with her child—
 Each father with his wife.

Oh ! laughing screams of woman's joy !
 Oh ! echoing shouts of manly jubilee !
 My ears still ring—my mind's eye yet can see
 Many an uplifted merry boy
 Clapping his hands to applaud the hand that made him free.

IV.

That day when violets yearly grace
 The wintry tombs of friends with short sweet spring,—
 He freed each maiden in his place
 With one youth of her fancying.

My Lydia, still I see,
 Those looks which told what lips could scarce confess,
 When forth I sprang and ask'd "Is 't me?"
 Blest be the tongue that answer'd "Yes!"

V.

That other feast, when lonely graves
 With thorny roses for a while look gay,—
 His widow'd and his childless slaves
 Look'd up that lovely day.

Sighs turn'd to smiles, and smiles to sighs,—
 Strong, yet sweet, still swift-falling tears,—
 These were his proofs that he is wise
 Who builds no hopes on others' fears.

VI.

That feast, when our departed kin
 And long lost parents in our hearts revive,—
 He made *all* free:—save such of us as Sin
 Hath bound in chains man cannot rive.

Methinks again his eyes I read,
 Where love rewarding his own deed
 Seem'd to his parted parents to say this,
 "As did thy dying-day *begin*,
 "Thy feast-day finishes this work of bliss.
 "Father, what further can I do?
 "Father and mother dear—in memory of you?"

VII.

What would'st thou have done more?—What would'st thou not!
 All that he could
 Gladly he would.
 Nor what thou wouldst—or didst—can be forgot.
 Thy will (to call it *will*) is nothing now;
 For early death hath hidden neath the mould
 Such secrets with thy reliques as the plough
 Shall not reveal, when it turns up the urn
 Within whose ashes such a soul could burn,

VIII.

I knew him from a child. I shared
With him the joy of study and toils of play;
For his good father cared
For slaves,—and had the wine of knowledge pour'd
Into each mind, as each one's gold or clay
Was capable to hold.
And say, in clay or gold—
Bacchus—are thy bright life-drops better stored?
And my fired soul burnt upward with a flame,
Such that, in slavery even, I became
The fellow of my lord.

IX.

We learn'd that ancient truth to own
Gods gladly have their loved ones early home.
There he is gone:
And I alone
Linger along; and sometimes moan,
But oftener joy that I have bondage known,
Out thence through him I loved to come.
Friend, thou art not forgot.
I see thee still—form, face, and free-born spirit—
Invisible, yet visible to me;
Me—born to a far other lot
Than thee, though in one house and on one morn,
And made inherit
A nature that grew lava at fire from thee,
Whom thankfully I mourn.

Yet is his wish or will not wholly hid.
More to have done in life—in death to do
More than he did
Or could have done
For those whom laughing he made free,
With the last gentle or brisk blow,
His hands on rude or tender would bestow,—
Made his own equals, far as that could be.
And hence his latest deed in life,
To free our hearts from future strife,
Binds us in one family:

Far more in one than when we moved
Slaves of a lord, howe'er beloved.

X.

Hence the rich rents of city homes,
Hence heavy crops on yonder level loams,
Hence the green pastures by the rill,
Hence the rich fruits upon this rocky hill,—
All make his will well known ;
For these are ours, because they were his own.

XI.

Rise, then, my boys—strip the old vine !
Sing, my girls, and rise—the grapes receive !
Ye boys and girls of all whom he made free,
Rise with the song of one fond family !
Gently the tendrils soft untwine ;
And gently take, and gently give,
The clusters ripe where pleasures live.

XII.

For these are wealth, and these are power,
To do the will of his last hour,
And grace the place where what he was reposes.
Therefore his birthday holy is.
Therefore the Violet Day and Day of Roses,
And the Parental Day, thus dearer rise.
To name his name ; the tale to tell
To sons or grandsons on our knees,
Why he's remembered when we call them free ;
And why each moon round the long year still sees
At Kalends, Nones, and Ides, two lights alight,—
One for thy Father, one for Thee,
Father of our Liberty !
Farewell ! Farewell ! O gentle spirit, good night !
Still be thy chamber, bed soft, slumber light !
Farewell, though some forget 'tis so.
Some of us fancy, some believe,
And some are taught to know from heaven above,
That souls departed live and love,
Yet never grieve—

Wedding the virtue they but woo'd below.
 Farewell ! Perhaps we re-unite.
 Farewell ! *

* This curious inscription has been here treated in its most obvious light, and as subsequent to the epoch of Christ ; simply, the last will of a pagan Roman, who had given freedom to his men and women slaves, and now bequeaths them rents and lands from which to draw the means of meeting together four times in the year in remembrance of him,—on his birthday, on the feast of departed parents, and on the days of dressing friends' graves with roses and with violets. But, before dismissing it, may we not directly apply the idea of so striking an association in illustration of something higher ? Instead of the view taken of the case in the verses above, it might be a release simply of slaves that had served the Roman long and faithfully. But the glorious liberty wherewith our dying Lord made us free, was a rescue of slaves of Satan that had served long and despitely against the Lord. The Roman's was a release by man, touched with pity for his fellow-men, whom, perhaps, he had found good and honest, and had learned to esteem and think well of; but Christ's was the act of God, who from heaven saw how vile men then were, and how vile we would become generation after generation. So, the Lord came down and took on him the form of the servant, becoming as one of us in all but our moral vileness; touched with the weariness of our weaknesses, bowed under the burden of our sorrows, tormented with the suffering of our death, to take away our guilt and sin, the sting of our death. His testament frees from the evil conscience of the past old sins, weakening daily in their stains by the baptism of the blood of Christ and of the spirit of our God. It frees from the misery of the present the wounds of the fetters of sin daily healing. The iron had entered into the soul; but the anointing enters as deep, and is as balm of Gilead, and makes the heart daily holier and happier. Sin bound life in the fear of death. Every year would have strengthened the bondage,—added torment to the fear. The death-bed would have been strowed with thorns; for, as thorns remain when roses are dead, remorse abides when sinful pleasure is faded. But Christ alone frees thus. The master of the slaves would not have it. The Roman lord was, perhaps, kind and considerate to his slaves while serving him; but the slavery of sin is a heavy, hard, galling yoke, however ornamented. No holiday; no Sabbath. Promised favours are constantly delayed. Any given wages or reward lessen year by year. The world's enjoyments keep growing poorer and more distasteful to those who serve sin for them. The master changes our wages many times. No dependance on him. Youth he offers pleasure—manhood reputation—age, perhaps, money. But when he pays it, it is in bad coin, worth nothing. Now, to those made free in Christ each year brings more rest. In him they are more and more enriched: their revenue steadily increases, for their lives are fallen in the pleasant places of his universe. He who is dead and risen again loves them as his own soul; brings them on in knowledge; makes them strong in faith, cheerful in hope, active in love. If He bids us remember Him, He, and He only, gives us wherewith to remember Him. The Roman left lands and houses, but the Lord of all not only gives the fruits of the earth and fruitful seasons, blesses the basket and store, the field and home, but gives the *spirit* of remembrance, thankfulness, love, obedience, holiness. Thus, He cannot

NOTICES OF NEW PUBLICATIONS.

Stories of the Primitive and Early Church. By Sophia Woodroffe.

Edited, with an Introduction to the Subject, by G. S. Faber, B.D.,
Master of Sherburn Hospital and Prebendary of Salisbury. London :
Seeley. 1845.

It is seldom the case that tales come to us under so safe a warranty as the present. The authoress of "Lethe," and other Poems, has "left behind her," says the Editor, "seven '*Stories of the Primitive and Early Church.*' Her fine taste and her general love of the Belles Lettres did not so far occupy her as to produce a forgetfulness, or a neglect of Christian duties. The instinct of talent compelled her to cultivate the former; but sound religious principles would not suffer her to pre-empt the latter. For the better training of the elder children in her father's Sunday school, she took up the idea of writing stories, which, by proposing the ancient worthies of the Church as examples, might influence the minds and engage the attention of her young catechumens more forcibly than the dryness of didactic precept. Until after her death, I was ignorant that she had written anything of the kind, and had she lived, they would most probably have never travelled beyond the limits of

be forgotten by those whom He redeems; though the Roman might, by his freedmen possibly, but not probably, in the memorial he enjoined. His last will, like that of Jonadab, the son of Rechab, would be obeyed, and was more likely to be so. Yet, if his memorial were neglected, his legatees were still the freedmen of the dead; for he had left them nothing but what they kept. But will Christ's memorial neglected allow us to be considered his redeemed? For we have thrown away his bequest,—the spirit of remembrance. The Roman's memorial feast, though likely to be attended, was likely to be by many, if not most, in a spirit not such as became it. There was something solemn in the occasion; but the merrymaking, doubtless, was not always a sober one. Christ's remembrance was once profaned so. But his spirit was in Paul's hand to rebuke the profanation.

How various are the memorials of the dead! and how does one link with another by contrast or comparison! A great victory, finishing a long and weary war, is remembered by those who fought, meeting together at a feast upon that day. So long as they live, they are not ready to absent themselves. But the very first year they pledge the memory of the dead: and year after year adds the friends of long years to the list of the dead, till scarcely a survivor is left. Does no tear drop into the wine? The gorgeous festival is grown awful. How different an awe from that of the solemn, sober banquet to which the Captain of our salvation invites us,—who is alive for evermore, after shedding his blood to win us an everlasting victory. The mind recurs to Codrus remembered by his countrymen; Zaleucus, by his children's children: and a stone inscribed by a pagan, hundreds of years back, and thousands of miles away, awakes the remembrance of Christ and Him crucified.

her father's parish. I consider them as models of composition in their own peculiar species; though, from the purity and elevation of the style, I do not feel quite certain whether they would not be *rather* above the comprehension of village children, unless the recitation to a class were frequently interrupted by *oral*, or rather *interlocutory* parenthesis. This fault, however, if fault it be, obviously makes them the more suited for publication; and, in fact, they are so beautifully and classically written, that, if I may speak of them as a critic, they are fit to meet even the most fastidious eye. Had it been otherwise, I should not have undertaken their editorship; for, though thoroughly bold narratives are the very best, in point of utility, for a Sunday-school, it does not *quite* follow that they are the very best for publication." The purpose for which Mr. Faber deems them most suitable is as an antidote to the treacherous, or even Popish tales which are in circulation. The dangerous frivolity of some minds exposes them to any attempt upon their imagination, and as the novel reader is a *spectator* in a world of fiction, and, by his continual remembrance of one romance or another, lives *only* as a spectator, without a reality or any practical existence, so have many persons deluged their imaginations with Tractarian romances or historical perversions, until they are constant *spectators* of a romantic scene in which religious characters of olden time are continually passing before them. The consequence is, that they live in romance; their religion lives on fiction, is itself fictitious, lives on the tongue, sports in tales and visions, and will not bear the touch of trial. Mr. Faber would meet this Tractarian system by leading them to histories more solid and Scriptural, and recommends that Miss Woodrooffe's "Stories" be regarded as the first of a series. "And surely some capable persons," says the Editor, "as zealous for the truth as it is in Christ, as the Tractarian biographers are zealous for the propagation of Popish error, might come forward to the rescue, if a well known respectable house would undertake to publish their contributions. Even at my time of life, it is not very humane to sound a trumpet to others and keep back myself. Nobody ought to think the writing of *historic tales* beneath his dignity, when those tales have a good object. For the dissemination of principles, whether sound or unsound, the present, as the Tractarians well know, is eminently a day of small books, not of folios; and, as the proverb runs, 'it is right to learn wisdom from an enemy.' On this ground, I have subjoined three stories of my own to the seven of Miss Woodrooffe." This hint is so important that we determine to lay it before our readers, and we have reason to know, that if the MS. machinery were in preparation, a respectable house would be found for the publication. It is no time for delay, for the Tractarian romances are familiarising people with Romish doctrine, and are poisoning the minds of the young. We need not say that the tales are beautifully told, and with such simplicity, that we are inclined to differ from Mr. Faber in thinking them above a Sunday scholar. The perusal of Scripture elevates the mind and enables it to understand much more than we generally expect, and often have we known the poor biblical student grasp an idea in a sermon which a rich neighbour perfectly lost. They may be bewildered by hard phrases, but still they fix on the essence, the comfort, the meaning, and, indeed, all that is valuable for the practical Christian. We need hardly say that the notes and introduction are very valuable and full; and Mr. Faber's opinion of the Tractarian heresy, and its sophistic learning and tactics, are expressed without reserve or hesitation. They are very valuable as coming from one whose age and character are guarantees that the expression of a severe judgment has been forced upon him by the necessity of the case and the seriousness of the conviction. We say a great deal when we say that the tales are worthy of the authoress of "Læthe," and that the notes are the work of Mr. Faber.

The Good Shepherd and the Chosen Flock—an Exposition of the Twenty-third Psalm. By Thomas Dale, M.A., Canon of St. Paul's, and Vicar of St. Bride's. London: Bowdery & Kerby. 1845.

THE standard excellence of Mr. Dale's productions has been too well tested to render any commendation on our part necessary. The author's connection with the congregation attending the Tuesday Morning Lecture at St. Margaret's, Lothbury, must render the work before us of peculiar interest as designed for them; but, from the simple teaching and purity of style, we feel the utmost confidence in believing that it will be received with no less satisfaction by the Church generally. It is impossible to proceed far in its perusal without admiration of passages like the following:—

“All may say, ‘The Lord is my Shepherd,’ but all cannot go on to say, ‘I shall not want:’ they who CAN say this are evidently those alone for whom a special provision has been made, and hence we must discriminate between the general and the personal or special application. All men are alike the sheep of the Lord by creation, by ownership, and by support or provision: but they may also be divided into

“1. THE SHEEP OF THE WILDERNESS;

“2. THE SHEEP OF THE PASTURE; and,

“3. THE SHEEP OF THE FOLD.

“The wilderness is the world: the pasture may denote the Church in profession, and the fold the Church in truth. The wilderness *must* lack pasture: the pasture itself may be without protection; the fold only is at once adequate and secure. Hence the ultimate prosperity and predominance of the true and spiritual Church is foretold by the Good Shepherd Himself in the emphatic words, ‘Other sheep I have, which are not of this fold: them also I must bring, and they shall hear my voice, and there shall be one fold and one Shepherd.’”

“He leadeth me beside still waters. Now this, in the full sense, could apply to David only in the evening of his days, when God had given him rest from all his enemies on every side, and nothing remained for him upon earth but to rule his people in the fear of the Lord, and to discipline his soul for the mysterious and untried state of being which he was soon about to realise. His earlier course had been chequered and disquieted in no common degree; and though the waters beside which God had led him were full, and fresh, and pure, and copious, they could hardly be said to have been ‘still.’ He looked from a distance, and with intense longing, to the calm, deep, silent ‘river, that maketh glad the city of our God.’ But our lot is cast in better times, and under happier circumstances. Persecution and oppression, for the truth’s sake, are now no more. The meanest peasant, in a land where liberty is the universal birthright, is far better protected by the shield which is thrown over him by the majesty of the laws, than was David, the victor over tens of thousands, by the martial prowess of all his followers, and by the concentrated splendour of all his victories. We take then the expression, ‘still waters,’ to denote the manner in which the influences of the Holy Spirit are imparted to the souls of the Lord’s people; secretly, silently, imperceptibly, in the conveyance; but palpably, visibly, manifestly to all men, in the consequence. They come down upon the heart ‘like the rain upon the mown grass, as the showers that water the earth.’ Or rather they may be compared to the dews that arise, while there is neither the pattering of the rain drop nor the rustling of the leaves: but he who saw at noon the verdure fading and the flowerets drooping beneath the sultry sunbeam, beholds at

morn the one moistened and revived by the sparkling dew drops, and the other erect in recovered stateliness and beauty. So, returning to the imagery of the Psalm, Christ's sheep, in His fold, drink of still waters. None may hear the stream flow past; none may behold the flock in the act or attitude of drinking: not a ripple may be wafted to the brink, nor an undulation perceptible on the surface of the stream; but he who hath heard in his heart, and received into his heart, and treasured up in his heart, the words of eternal life, goes on his way rejoicing; confessing inly of the house of God, 'It is good to be *here*;' or of the secret chamber, wherein God hath talked with him—it may be as a man talketh with his friend,—'It is good to be *there*.' In every instance, the communication of the Spirit, which is here symbolised by drinking the still waters, is to be traced by its effect. The sheep of Christ's flock delights in the pasture; adheres with ever-increasing tenacity to the fold; refuses to venture far from it, even in quest of permitted indulgence; listens for the voice of the Good Shepherd—hears it, follows it, rejoices in it; and the oftener it hears, the more closely it follows, and rejoices in it the more. And thus, as it proceeds along its destined course, ever guided by the Shepherd, and ever sheltered in the fold, 'streams gush out in the wilderness, and waters in the desert.' Wherever the 'Rock' is—which is Christ—there are the still waters, which issue from His riven side, which are the influences of the Spirit of Christ: so that at all times, and in all places, and under all circumstances, it can be truly said by every living member of the Church, as it was said by Paul concerning the Church itself, 'Through Him we both (Jews and Gentiles) have access, by one Spirit, to the Father;' and that, however urgent the necessity, however imminent the peril, succour is speedy and deliverance is sure. Wherever the sheep are, there also is the Shepherd; and green pastures shall spring up to supply their hunger, and still waters gush forth to slake their thirst, until any spot can be found within the circumference of His vast creation which God doth not rule by His Son, and which He doth not pervade by His Spirit, and where any can be found able to pluck out of his hand the sheep which he hath both marked and destined for eternal life."

There is much in this useful volume that will prove consoling and edifying to Christians of every grade, and we should be heartily glad to see it published in a cheaper form, in order that it might obtain a wider circulation; for it is a work remarkably suited to the cottages of the poor, as well as a valuable addition to the libraries of the rich.

Mr. Dale's Pastoral Works cannot fail to impress on the minds of those who read them a consciousness of the author's deep experience, and of the soundness of his theology. This is a third work of Mr. Dale which has come from the publisher, and we are happy to speak highly of its execution. It is in every sense an inviting book, and will, in some sense, serve to oppose the mass of Tractarian errors which issues from their press.

The Self-existence of Jesus. A Sermon preached at Walton-cum-Melton, in the East Riding of Yorkshire, on Sunday, Oct. 20th, 1845. By the Rev. Henry Vallance, M.A., Chaplain of Sir R. Geoffrey's Hospital, Kingsland Road. London: Seeley. Hull: Godard. 1845.

We could have wished another title for this sermon, as it may in some minds be a means of lessening a reverent tone. The circumstances under which this sermon was delivered are peculiarly painful:—

The daughter of the former clergyman of the parish had published and distri-

buted "An address to the Inhabitants of her native village in favour of Socialianism." This circumstance, and the proselyting character of the lady, called forth the sermon before us. There is as much reading exhibited as circumstances would warrant, and the Scripture evidence is admirably brought together and applied; and we heartily recommend it for perusal and distribution by such as are brought in contact with the awful heresy of Socinianism. On p. 14, we think that the derivation of the word "Amen" might have been advantageously introduced and illustrated by passages from Scripture. And again, in p. 18, we cannot discover the reason why St. Paul is said to speak, in his Epistle to Titus, of the great God, *even* our Saviour. To leave the common word for another is by no means necessary, and therefore is wrong, as leading the mind from the real point which that verse proves.

Notes on the New Reformation in Germany, and on National Education and the common Schools of Massachusetts. By George Combe. Edinburgh: Machlachlan. 1845.

THIS pamphlet is merely a reprint of articles originally published in the *Scotsman* newspaper, and therefore has the usual characteristic of such productions, an inimitable vagueness of expression, as well as a tolerable interspersing of strong opinions. Rationalism is "that system of Christian theology which is coincident with natural religion," and Pietism is "that unsocial and intolerant spirit which, in this country, would be regarded as the abuse or extravagance of evangelical religion, mixed with a good deal of hypocrisy." The writer took a tour, and, therefore, doubtless understood it all sooner than he did the localities. It is said that the way in which the censorship of the press is exercised in Germany compels men to turn their pens to religion, because in this they are permitted more scope. If we may judge from the tone of certain articles, it is a very happy thing that Englishmen are not driven to such a painful necessity; for, if a few thoughts put out at intervals denote no slight incompetency, what would become of us if the same pens were always occupied on sacred subjects? Sincerity of convictions and phrenological data would become the criterion of creeds, and the supremacy of truth would be deemed as much a theoretical fiction, as now it appears to be practically discountenanced. We should not, however, act with fairness to this pamphlet unless we allowed that much useful information is found, notwithstanding the miserable latitudinarianism of its tone. This gains the palm for liberality in the present day, but it would be well if a passing thought should whisper that we ought to be liberal with what is our own, not in that which is God's. The truth is ours, to *use*, not to fritter away from the vain fear of being thought uncharitable. The Christian will never be loved by the world, no, not even if the world should last twice its present age. "The spirit of the age," is a criterion of falsity in matters of religion.

An Introduction to Geography and Astronomy, with the Use of the Globes. By E. and J. Bruce (with Additions). London: Simpkin & Marshall. 1846.

A *FRANÇOIS* edition of this valuable work has not done much to diminish our regret that its contents are so full. We fear the young scholars will never master its contents, or obtain even a slight acquaintance with its multifarious sciences. It is, however, very valuable to the teacher and every one who wishes to know somewhat more

than a mere meagre outline can supply. The epitome of ancient geography is useful, but more might reasonably have been said of British geography, as well as of some other places; but on the whole it seems well done. To our view, that part which concerns the stars is best done, and is most useful. Though we might object in theory to the masses of so many subjects in one book, we presume that it will meet the views of such as, from experience in teaching, have learned the evil of a multiplicity of books.

Ecclesiastical History Society.

We beg to draw the attention of our subscribers to this Society, a prospectus of which appears in our Advertising Sheet, and we hope it will supply a want felt by many who have not the means of purchasing, in their original form, the valuable Church Histories of former days, which, in many instances, are little known, from their having become very scarce. We have pleasure in hearing that many influential persons have already given their adhesion to the proposition, and warmly approve of the design.

THE

CHRISTIAN'S MONTHLY MAGAZINE.

SECESSION TO THE ROMISH CHURCH.

LETTER IV.

To the Editor of the "Christian's Monthly Magazine."

SIR,

The disciples of Mr. Newman appear to have adopted the Pythagorean Maxim, *The Master hath said it*, as quite sufficient to justify their submission to any *dictum* of that gentleman without further examination. At least, I am led to this supposition by a circumstance which happened to myself. A young, certainly a *very* young, theologian of my acquaintance roundly asserted, that the doctrine of Justification, as held alike by the Church of England and all the other Reformed Churches, was *invented* by Luther. Not unnaturally, I requested the PROOF of his assertion, as I myself was not aware of the alleged fact. His only reply was: that *Mr. Newman had told him so*. Apparently, Mr. Ward's authority for the *same* assertion is the *same* Mr. Newman. At least, he has not chosen to give us any PROOF of an assertion which is heightened in flavour, under *his* culinary management, by the allegation, that the doctrine in question is the worst heresy that ever was excogitated, even Atheism itself being the best of two very bad things.

Now I am far from denying, that this system of uninquiring submission *has* its convenience. To the obsequious disciple, much trouble, no doubt, is saved: but, what is gained in convenience, is lost, I fear, in security. To erect *any* uninspired man into an Oracle seems to be dangerous. At all events, since such has been the elevation of Mr. Newman, it may not be altogether useless to inquire how far the Oracle may be *safely* trusted. I do not expect, that the inquiry will ever be perused by his docile followers: for, with *them* the dogma of the Master being proof as strong as Holy Writ, they obviously, on the plea of dis-

liking controversy, sedulously avoid reading on the opposite side of the question. But, perhaps, through God's blessing, it may put others upon their guard: and, by inspiring them with a wholesome distrust of the Oracle, may stay the moral pestilence which now walketh at noon-day.

About a year or two ago (I forget the precise time) a very singular paper was put forth and circulated in Oxford. It had no signature: but it was generally supposed to be the performance of Mr. Newman; and, if my memory fail not, his friends unreservedly gave it out to be *his*. WHY it was printed without a name, I shall not pretend to determine: but the circumstance *had* the effect on myself and probably on many others also of compelling us to remain silent. For, had we rashly taken it up as inculcating Mr. Newman, the gentleman would have had it in his power to say; that *he* was not answerable for an anonymous paper, and that it would have been better to ascertain his *right* of authorship before any censure was passed upon him.

This difficulty is now removed by himself: for, in an advertisement prefixed to his recent Theory of Developments, he has given the paper in full, thus formally acknowledging it to be his own. Hence it may be safely used for my present purpose: *that*, I mean, of throwing some light upon his value as an Oracle.

I. The various strong censures of Popery, which, at different times, he has published *as strictly his own*, he has collected together in this remarkable Document: *not*, however, as a plain man would have anticipated, for the purpose of stating that he *once* held, honestly and sincerely, those distinctly expressed opinions respecting the Church of Rome, though he *since* had seen his error and wished openly to retract it; but, for the extraordinary and unexpected purpose of declaring, that *he himself* never held the opinions in question, that he would not be responsible for them, that he was not speaking his own words, that he "was but following almost a *consensus* of the Divines of his (then) Church," that he "wished to throw himself into their system," and that, "while he said what they say, he was safe."

1. It appears, then, from this *his own* statement (for *Non meus hic sermo est*): that the Oracle has uttered a worse than uncertain response; that, in plain English, it has *confessedly* uttered a direct falsehood. Had he told his readers, *at the time*, that, *whenever* he put forth vituperations of Popery, he was merely repeating the *consensus* of English Divines, and that he in no wise pledged *his own assent*: he would, on the score of honesty, have stood exculpated. But *this* he did not do. The vituperations, without the slightest notice to the contrary effect, were given as *bond fide* HIS OWN. Not a syllable was *then* said of the *Consensus*. But, *afterward*, when it was found convenient to

disown the vituperations, his obedient pupils in particular, and the wondering Public in general, are told: that, what had been given as *his own* opinions, were NOT *his own* opinions; for they were to be viewed, though not a word had he *originally* said about the matter, purely as exhibiting a *consensus* of English Divines, to which *he*, an admirer of "a communion so ancient, so wide-spreading, so fruitful in saints," as the Roman, was in no wise to be deemed a subscriber.

2. We naturally ask, what could be the *reason* of such conduct?

Mr. Newman himself furnishes the answer.

"Such views, too," says he, "are necessary for our position."

By *such views*, can only be meant the plan, which he states himself to have adopted: and that plan, by his own shewing, is; to deliver, in his own words and as his own sentiments, the *consensus* of English Divines, when yet, all the while, he himself totally disbelieved what he thus delivered.

The process, however, was "necessary for our position:" and the *necessity*, as he tells us immediately afterward, consisted in "a hope of approving himself to persons he respected and a wish to repel the charge of Romanism."

We should, I suppose, obviously enough, have *conjectured*, that, in this precise matter, consisted the *necessity*: but Mr. Newman has changed our probable conjecture into absolute certainty; for he tells us, that the reason of his delivering the *consensus* of the English Divines as his own opinion, when all the while it was *not* his own opinion, was, that it was "necessary for our position;" and the position, for which it was necessary, was "a wish to repel the charge of Romanism" and thence "a hope of approving himself to persons he respected."

The whole project is now, on that very best authority, *the gentleman's own explanation*, perfectly intelligible. When he was *apparently* and in *all seeming good faith* occupied in repeatedly vituperating Romanism, he, nevertheless, was delivering sentiments the *very opposite* to those which he *really* entertained: and the *necessity* of such conduct to himself and his party lay in the circumstance of its being *then* "necessary for their position," that he should *appear* to the world as a veritable protestor against Rome, and should thus "repel the charge of Romanism" which had begun to be brought against him.

3. Mr. Newman has, by his followers, been so completely erected into an Oracle, that nothing, I apprehend, will prevent *their* believing whatever doctrines he may be pleased to advance: but, to all persons capable of ordinary reasoning, his full acknowledgment of the originally anonymous paper now before us will appear, as perhaps the most extraordinary case upon record of a deliberate act of moral suicide.

He has stated his principle of action to be this: that, when it is "necessary for our position" (as he expresses himself), he does not scruple to publish, *as his own*, opinions which are *not his own*.

Hence it follows: that, whatever doctrines or opinions he may oracularly deliver to his followers, those followers, unless they be of the fully initiated few, can never tell, whether he is *really* delivering *his own* sentiments, or whether he is putting forth what *he himself* thoroughly disbelieves purely because "such views are necessary for our position."

4. In the open confession of this his principle, we may almost imagine him to have acted under a judicial infatuation. Respecting God it is written: *He taketh the wise in their own craftiness*. And certainly it seems to have been mercifully ordered by the good Providence of an insulted Deity, that the great oracle of Tractarianism should thus openly proclaim to the whole world, that no dependence can be placed upon anything that he says; inasmuch as his avowed principle is, to put forth what he himself deems untruths, whenever falsehood may be thought "necessary" for his existing position and purposes.

II. The key, with which he has gratuitously though suidically furnished us, may at once unlock the intricate purpose of his perpetual mutations, and teach us the true value of each response so far as the sincerity of the propounder is concerned.

1. He, with his associated conspirators, (as Mr. Froude called the party), commenced his operations by enforcing an appeal to the doctors of the Primitive Church whom we may broadly distinguish by the character of the Antenicene writers.

Now, provided their direct *personal authority* was denied, nothing could be more reasonable than a calling them forth as *honest witnesses* to the sense of Holy Scripture as received by those primeval Christians who had been instructed by the Apostles themselves.

To this effect, spoke both Mr. Newman and Dr. Pusey, if we may judge from their initials suffixed to the Prefaces of the two first volumes of the Library of the Fathers.

For instance: "The appeal of our Church," say they as enforcing "and assenting to it, "is not to the Fathers *individually* or *as individuals*, but *AS WITNESSES*." And again, "The works, to be translated, have been viewed, simply and plainly, in the light of *WITNESSES TO AN HISTORICAL FACT*."

2. But it was soon found, that such an appeal answered not the since avowed object of Mr. Newman and his initiated allies: the object, namely, *to unprotestantise England and bring her over to Rome*.

The Primitive Documents of the Church were well nigh as obstinate as Scripture. They *would not* say, what Mr. Newman *wished* them to

say. Hence it became "necessary for our position," that we should descend to the more accommodating writers of the fourth and fifth centuries.

Here, as might be anticipated from the circumstance that our great writers Mr. Mede and Sir Isaac Newton agree in placing the commencement of the predicted Demonolatrous Apostasy in the latter half of the fourth age: *here*, an abundant harvest was easily reaped.

The *rationale* of the appeal in its present form was well explained, either by Mr. Newman himself or by one of his Party, in a letter addressed to one of the tractarian organs; the *British Magazine*, to wit, then, I believe, under the editorship of Mr. Maitland.

The Christian Religion was left by the Apostles in such a lamentably ill-formed and defective condition, that three hundred years or more were requisite for its licking into a tolerably decent and produceable shape by the Basils and Gregories, who had the great advantage of living more than three centuries after the first preaching of the Gospel.

With such promising materials in their hands, Mr. Froude's tractarian editors could not hesitate to point out the astounding difference between the fourth century and the sixteenth so far as the Reformation was concerned. "It is impossible," they justly remark, "for the same mind to sympathise with *both*. You must choose *between* the two lines. They are not only divergent, but contrary." Of course, the intended moral is, that the fourth is the *more authoritative*, and ought *therefore* to be preferred.

This change of ground, however "necessary to our position," drew after it, nevertheless, an inconvenience, which was immediately felt and which must be remedied: otherwise, some of the less docile *following* might unwholesomely distrust the new response of the Oracle.

If the doctrines and practices of the now lauded fourth and fifth centuries, when Christianity had at length been tardily licked into shape, ought to be received as undoubted verities: how happens it, that no trace of them can be found either in Scripture or in the writings of the primitive doctors?

To meet this difficulty, Mr. Newman invented the theory of what he called *Development*. I say *invented*: for, to the best of my knowledge, the praise of the *invention* is his alone. At least, my two old popish antagonists before the rise of Tractarianism, Trevern, and Husenbeth, seem, by their not employing it even when sorely pinched, to have been totally ignorant of its existence.

The theory in question is a modification of the *Quidlibet ex quolibet*. Mr. Newman professes to discern, in Scripture and the Primitive Ecclesiastical Writers, certain hints altogether invisible to less acute optics:

and these hints are to be viewed as the *germs* of doctrines and practices in a continued state of increasing *development* from the fourth century down to the Council of Trent in the sixteenth.

Hence it follows: that, the further we are removed from the apostolic age, the more sound and complete and essentially scriptural will be our faith and practice; because the process of development, under the auspices of the Priesthood, will have been successively going on, without stint or stay, century after century.

4. Thus spoke the Oracle: and, as in fealty bound, the response was implicitly received by the *Homage*. Still, however, there was a mis-giving, either on the part of the Oracle itself, or on the part of some less dutiful and troublesomely inquiring proselyte. For sundry matters, even the clear-sighted ingenuity of Mr. Newman could discover no germ: and, therefore, *à fortiori*, none of his disciples could. Yet, sure enough, with or without development, *there* the matters stood. To deny the fact of their *existence* was impossible. What, then, was to be done?

The remedy is propounded even in the midst of the *Treatise on Development*: and thus, by the very circumstance of its propoundment, affords a tacit acknowledgement, that the *theory of Development* is defective and insufficient.

For *some* matters, *no* germ can be discovered: but still they must not be given up. Another project, therefore, has become "necessary to our position."

According to the views of the Reformers both British and Continental, the Bible is an inspired and sufficient guide to all necessary truth both doctrinal and practical. But Mr. Newman pronounces these views to be altogether erroneous: and declares, that, when we so use the Bible, "it is used for a purpose for which it was not given."

With respect to his own experience of Scripture, he distinctly tells us, even in so many words: "We have TRIED it; and it DISAPPOINTS."

Here the natural question arises: In *what way*, and with *what object*, did Mr. Newman TRY Scripture? Did he come to it with a meek and teachable spirit, prepared to learn from it that *wisdom unto salvation*, which, the Apostle assures us (2 Tim. iii, 15), it is both able and designed of God to communicate? Or did he come to it in the unhumiliated spirit of a modern Socinian, not for the purpose of learning its blessed truths, but for the widely different purpose of labouring to extract from it some confirmation of those opinions which he had persuaded himself it *ought* to propound?

If the *former*: his DISAPPOINTMENT contradicts, not only the happy experience of myriads of devout and teachable believers, but likewise

(as we have just seen) the express declaration of the great Apostle to his spiritual son Timothy. If the *latter*: we cannot marvel at his DISAPPOINTMENT, while yet we can easily account for it. He TRIED to *discover* in the Bible, what, of course, could not be *found* in it: his own vain imaginations, to wit; which he has now formally identified with those of the apostate Church of Rome. To employ his own language, he "used the Bible for a purpose for which it was not given." He used it, to *discover* therein, and (with whatever fanciful process of development) to *establish* thereby, his own unauthorised vagaries: no wonder, therefore, that it DISAPPOINTED him on the TRIAL. He *might* have used, or rather *did* use, the primitive ecclesiastical writers in the same way: and the DISAPPOINTMENT was still the same. Neither the Bible, nor the Early Church would support his popish speculations. Nay, his very *confession* of DISAPPOINTMENT after the TRIAL had been made, is a *palpable acknowledgment*, that these idle fancies, some of which might doubtless be discovered in the degenerate writers of the fourth and fifth centuries, have no existence either in the page of Scripture or in the remains of the really Primitive Church.

(1). Now, under such circumstances, how would any honest and sober-minded man have acted?

Why, plainly, he would have *given up* the cherished fancies: BECAUSE, as they *confessedly* rested upon no evidence either scriptural or primitive, they must needs have been mere impertinent human inventions.

(2). But not so acted Mr. Newman. The Bible having DISAPPOINTED him in his voyage of theological discovery, he turned incontinently to the Bishop and Church of Rome, in order that *they* might happily supply the *Bible's* lack of service: and, here, I do suppose, he was *not* disappointed. Let us note, however, in all fairness, his own account of the matter.

Having mentioned the Bible as being erroneously deemed by ignorant mortals "a guide" to all truth, under the aspects of "a message and a lesson speaking to this man and that," he proceeds: "In proportion as we find, in matter of fact, that the inspired Volume is not *calculated* or *intended* to subserve that purpose, we are FORCED to revert to that LIVING AND PRESENT GUIDE, which, at the era of her rejection, had been so long recognised, as the dispenser of Scripture according to times and circumstances, and THE ARBITER OF ALL TRUE DOCTRINE AND HOLY PRACTICE, to her children. We feel a need: and she ALONE, of all things under heaven, supplies it. We are told, that God has spoken. Where? In a Book. We have TRIED it: and it DISAPPOINTS. It disappoints, that most holy and blessed gift, not from any fault of its own, but because it is used for a purpose for which it was not given."—*Essay on Development*, pp. 125, 126.

So far as I can understand the drift of this passage, all the true doctrine and holy practice, which Mr. Newman *tried* to discover in the Bible and was *disappointed*, he at length found in that living and present guide, the Bishop and Church of Rome, acting in the long recognised capacity of the arbiter of such true doctrine and holy practice.

The statement, no doubt, is perfectly correct. A large mass of what Mr. Newman deems true doctrine and holy practice *may* certainly be found within the precincts of the Church of Rome, which, no less certainly, *cannot* be found in the page of Scripture: and I most readily admit, that, if, for *such* true doctrine and *such* holy practice, we search the volume of Scripture, it will sorely disappoint us, because, sure enough, in *that* case, it is used for a purpose for which it was not given.

In his search, then, for what he calls *true doctrine*, and *holy practice*, that is to say, I conclude, the *doctrine* contained in the twelve articles suffixed by Pope Pius IV to the old orthodox Niceno-Constantinopolitan Creed, and the *practice* of worshipping saints and images and relics and morsels of consecrated wheaten bread and the like: in his search for *such* matters doctrinal and practical, Scripture *disappoints* Mr. Newman; but the living and present guide *does not disappoint* him. Hence, the now existent phasis of his never ceasing mutability is an implicit submission to all the *dicta* of that "living and present guide," whose special office and privilege is to be "the arbiter of all true doctrine and "holy practice."

I am not *now* discussing the merits of the *Theory of Development*: but, certainly, Mr. Newman's present position looks very like an acknowledgment, that he has tried it and it has disappointed him. No developing process, it seems, can extract, from the stubbornness of Scripture, certain *doctrines* which he has determined to be true, and certain *practices* which he has determined to be holy: and equally ineffacious, to all appearance, has been found its application to the existent Writings of the Primitive Church. The result of this double disappointment has been his adoption of the wholesome principle of good Cornelius Mussus, some time Bishop of Bitonto.

"O Rome," saith the ingenious and ingenuous Prelate: "O Rome, "to whom shall we go for divine counsels, unless to those persons to "whose trust the dispensation of the divine mystery has been committed? "We are, therefore, to hear *him*, who is to us *instead of God*, in things "that concern God, *as God himself*. Certainly, for my own part (to "speak my mind freely), in things that belong to the Mysteries of Faith, "I had rather believe one single Pope than a thousand Augustines, "Jeromes, or Gregories. For I believe and know, that the Pope cannot "err in matters of Faith: because the authority and right of determining "all such things as are points of Faith, reside in the Pope."

Cornelius never troubled his head about either Scripture or Fathers or Development. He fully acquiesced in the comfortable plan now patronised and adopted by Mr. Newman, that we should "revert to that living" and present guide, which has been so long recognised, as the *dispenser* "of Scripture according to times and circumstances, and as the *arbiter* "of all true doctrine and holy practice." The plan, no doubt, is admirable: but I see not, in that case, why Mr. Newman should have troubled himself to write a portly volume on the *Theory of Development*. His own act and deed have forbidden us to view it in any other light than that of a meritorious work of supererogation.

III. We must now revert to a very serious question, closely connected with Mr. Newman's wonderful mutability of opinion, and, with any reasonable being (if such a prodigy there be among his devoted followers), greatly affecting his character of *an Oracle from which there lies no appeal*.

How are we to know, that, in any one of his several changes, from the first to the present, Mr. Newman has sincerely delivered his own veritable opinion?

1. With an interesting particularity of date, he has told us: that, from the year 1833, that very year which gave birth to the Tractarian Conspiracy, a real Papist lay concealed beneath an outwardly professing and Rome-vituperating Anglican; the avowed reason for such *repeated* and *strenuous* vituperation of Rome being, that it was "necessary for our position," and that it was put forth in "a hope of approving myself to persons I respect and a wish to repel the charge of Romanism."

The charge, it seems, was *made*: but, though the charge was *perfectly true*, to repel it was *then* "necessary to our position;" and the mode of repelling it was, a strong vituperation of Popery, in the several years 1833, 1834, and 1837, in which last year the volume of *Lectures on Romanism and Popular Protestantism* was published; the vituperation running strictly *in his own person*, and as expressing *his own sentiments*, though he has AFTERWARD chosen to represent it, *not as his own*, but only as an expression of the *consensus* of the Divines of the English Church.

2. His present *profession* is that of an Ultramontane Papist: but how are we to know that such is his *real belief*?

He has *himself* told us: that, for some dozen years in continuity, from the year 1833 to the year 1845, he was a concealed Papist lurking under the disguise of an Anglican: BECAUSE it was *then* "necessary for our position."

How, then, are we to be *certified*: that *now* he is *not* a concealed Infidel lurking under the disguise of an Ultramontane Papist: BECAUSE, peradventure, it may be "necessary for our position," *at present*?

Assuredly, I do not say, that it *is* so, for the very best reason in the world ; to wit: my total ignorance of his *real* opinion ; an ignorance, furthermore, which can never be removed even by Mr. Newman himself. He has utterly destroyed, by a suicidal act, the entire credibility of his own testimony. He has told us, that his repeated vituperation of Popery was altogether insincere: he has informed us, that he himself, all the while, believed not a syllable of the censures which he propounded : and, as the reason of this procedure, he has stated, that it was "necessary to our position." Now, if this dissimulation was necessary to his *then* position: how know we, that a similar dissimulation is not equally necessary to his *present* position ? He has openly confessed : that, when he deems a direct falsehood "necessary to his position," he scruples not to employ it. We have, therefore, *by his own shewing*, no security, that his recent *professed* reverting to "the living and present arbiter of all "true doctrine and holy practice," is not altogether deceptive: because, "for aught we know to the contrary, it may be "necessary to his present "position." He *may*, at length, speak the truth in all sincerity ; but *this* is impossible for us to *know*, because he has told us ; that, whenever it serves his purpose, he systematically acts on the principle of deliberate insincerity. I *hope*, that, in all existing honesty, he is a veritable Ultramontane Papist : for, though no admirer of Popery, I am ready to allow, that Christianity, even in its worst form of debasement, is better than stark Infidelity. But, still, I cannot be said to *know* it with any moral certainty: for, after Mr. Newman's *own* exposition of his *own* principle of action, I am *abstractedly* constrained to say of him, in the words of Mosheim ; Ego, huic testi, etiamsi jurato, qui tam manifesto fumos vendit, me non crediturum esse confirmo.

From that unhappy man, Blanco White, we learn the great prevalence of Infidelity among the more intellectual of the Romish Clergy : and, as nobody, I suppose, will deny to Mr. Newman the gift of intellectuality, however awfully perverted and perverting ; so nobody, at the present moment, can certainly determine, from any professions of his own, whether he has, or *has not*, been taken in that last snare of the evil one.

I *wish* to believe, that his attempt to place the Athanasian Creed and the modern supposititious Creed of Pope Pius IV upon the same footing of credibility and authority, so that, if we disbelieve the doctrines of the latter, we stand pledged to disbelieve also the doctrines of the former : I *wish* to believe, that this absurdity is nothing more than a pregnant specimen of his inveterate sophistical love of quibbling. But, still, I cannot disguise to myself, that, with or without intention, such arguments in favour of Popery, too often (I admit in all candour to Mr. Newman) brought forward unscrupulously by the Romish Priesthood, have a direct tendency to advance the cause of Infidelity. Google

IV. The most tremendously fearful part of the very awful character now before us is : that he has not only *himself* turned aside from the way of truth, but that, under the masque of an English Clergyman, while really, as he now confesses, a concealed Papist, he has been, for years, the specious tool employed in the perversion of *others*. What a load of responsibility must sit heavy on the soul of that unhappy man ! “ The time will come,” it is written, “ when they will not endure sound doctrine ; but, after their own lusts, shall they heap up to themselves “ TEACHERS, having itching ears : and they shall turn away their ears “ FROM THE TRUTH, and shall be turned UNTO FABLES.”

The strong delusion, the actively operative *energy of error* (as the original more strongly runs), that they should believe THE LYE, which characterises the proselytes of Mr. Newman, is, doubtless, save by the special grace of a merciful God, unconquerable. Through all the mutations of that unstable man, “ to one thing constant never,” they have perseveringly erected him into an Oracle : and, for the adoption of any idle vagary, such, for instance, as Luther’s *invention* of the scriptural and ancient and true doctrine of Justification, it has been deemed quite sufficient, without any further examination, to say, *Mr. Newman told me so*. Yet, should this paper fall into the hands of any of those misguided and partially read young men, it may peradventure lead them to consider, what, by his own shewing, their Oracle really is. If they can give any heed to a man, who *himself* has publicly told them that he is not to be depended upon, inasmuch as he is ready at any time to publish what he believes to be untrue, should he deem it “ necessary to our position :” their infatuation is indeed most hopeless. Had Mr. Newman, in his retraction, merely stated ; that, in the years 1833, 1834, and 1837, he had *honestly* vituperated Popery as *verily believing* what he wrote ; but that he afterward, on more mature inquiry, saw reason to *change* his opinion : no moral charge could have been brought against him. But this, unhappily, was *not* the case. I would leave it, therefore, impressed upon the ears of my readers : that Mr. Newman, from the year 1833 onward, continued, again and again, to vituperate Popery, when, all the while, by his own confession, he believed not a single syllable of what he wrote ; his sole reason for putting forth such vituperations being, as he fully acknowledges, that they were “ necessary for our position,” and that he published them in “ a hope of approving myself to persons I respect ” and in “ a wish to repel the charge of Romanism.”

G. S. FABER.

Sherburn House, January 10th, 1846.

AN HISTORICAL INQUIRY INTO THE TRUE INTERPRETATION OF THE RUBRICS.

"An Historical Inquiry into the true Interpretation of the Rubrics in the Book of Common Prayer, respecting the Sermon and the Communion Service." By the Rev. Benjamin Harrison, M.A., Student of Christ Church; Domestic Chaplain to His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury. 8vo. London: 1845.

THE Author of the "Historical Inquiry into the true Interpretation of the Rubrics" has justly observed with regard to the diversities in practice now maintained among the Clergy in "that which is the principal Sunday service of the Church," that it is "especially desirable to ascertain whether the Church has really given a direction, and if so, what that direction is." (P. 3). For however much we must lament that things so little important in themselves should have been ever made the subject of serious debate and strife, it is impossible to deny that they have become "matters of grave concern, from party-feeling having been so mixed up with them as to give them an unnatural importance." (P. 2). And it may well be doubted whether peace can be again restored in the Church, until an authoritative decision has been pronounced upon the questions which have so much engaged the public mind of late.

Mr. Harrison, therefore, would have done good service to the Church, if he could have accomplished the task which he proposed to himself, in such a way as to entitle him to the confidence of reasonable persons. We are bound to say, however, that he has signally failed in his purpose. His book contains much that will be useful to one who would set himself to work out these questions *de novo* for himself—but it is impossible for any one at all acquainted with the subjects which he discusses, not to take the impression, that he had espoused a side before he weighed the evidence, and that in his zeal to support the view which had been already taken, his judgment is warped, and his candour damaged (we doubt not, unperceived by himself) to such an extent, as to destroy entirely the prospect of any immediate usefulness.

Before entering upon an examination of Mr. Harrison's work, it will be desirable to take a short review of the progress of the questions which it discusses, up to the time at which he wrote. And we shall not be far wrong in saying, that these questions, if they are not all natur-

ally connected with each other, at least would not have created the contention which has arisen, excepting for that one which relates to the Offertory.

It is now several years, since one or two earnest Clergymen attempted to promote a spirit of almsgiving in their parishes, by reviving (as it seemed to them) the practice of the weekly offertory. The attempt was received by their congregations, as such men had a right to expect, without offence. Their parishioners acknowledged the duty of more extended charity, and being disposed to yield it, they saw nothing objectionable in the method by which it was proposed to collect their bounty—but on the contrary, much that seemed appropriate and conducive to right feeling. Gratified by their success—for large sums were collected in these parishes, and applied to purposes hitherto unknown in the distribution of the offertorial alms—these Clergymen published the result of their efforts, as an inducement to others to adopt a plan, which would enable them to offer an effectual aid to the great Missionary Societies, then calling for the increased exertions of the Church. Similar attempts were made elsewhere with the same results. Encouraged by this approval, the first originators of the plan became more earnest in their appeals to their brethren in general in behalf of it, urging it upon their consciences, as a matter of duty enjoined on them by Scripture and their ordination vows*. This view of the matter was supported by the Bishop of London in his charge of 1842; and again by the Bishops of Chichester and Exeter in 1843;—the former of these two speaking of the custom as one which had been “negligently and “culpably dropped;” the latter applying to it the well-known text 1 Cor. xvi, 1, 2, as “a precept of universal and perpetual obligation.”

We shall always be of opinion that the evil consequences of this step on the part of the Bishops before mentioned might have been foreseen and avoided. We will not question the feelings and motives which induced them to deliver an opinion publicly which had not been formally demanded of them—we believe them to have originated in kindness—but they had a higher duty to perform towards the Church in the maintenance of Uniformity in Public Worship, the very end and object for which the Book of Common Prayer was framed. They lent the

* One writer spoke of it as “a method which God had ordained, and which his Church therefore has provided,” (Eden’s “Why not try the Weekly Offertory?” p. 5); and another declared that “a minister and congregation are no more justified in leaving out the Offertory, than in leaving out the Lessons from Scripture, or the Psalms.”—GAXLEY, Sermon preached at Lichfield Cathedral, Jan. 22, 1843.

authority of their names to break down an Uniformity which had prescription in its favour, if not the letter of the Rubric; and which, a very slight acquaintance with human nature should have reminded them, would not be so easily renounced by many of those whose position ought to entitle their opinion to equal weight with their own. They acted as though it would be of slight importance if every Diocese in the land became an independent communion. We have before alluded to this error*—and it cannot be too frequently repeated. Let any one read Bishop Mant's "*Horæ Liturgicæ*," and see whether his Lordship's efforts tend to promote the object they profess, "*Liturgical Harmony*" in the Church of Ireland. If all the Clergy of his Diocese were to adopt the suggestions and opinion of their Diocesan, the only effect would be to make the Diocese of Down and Connor and Drommore more decidedly at variance with some, and perhaps all others. The fact seems to be, that that provision of the Church contained in the Preface of the Book of Common Prayer, so often quoted by Bishop Mant, is in spirit decidedly against the course which he has adopted and urged upon his Clergy. True it is, that parties doubting about the "use and practice" of the said book are required to "resort to the Bishop of the Diocese," and he "by his discretion shall take order for quieting and appeasing of "the same." But the same instrument requires, that, "if the Bishop "be in doubt, then he may send for the resolution thereof to the Arch- "bishop." And though, unquestionably, any Bishop, according to the letter of these instructions may say, "I have no doubts;" yet surely, if he acts upon their spirit and intention, so plainly indicated in the declaration, that "now from henceforth all the whole realm shall have but "one use," he may fairly look around him to learn what are the sentiments of his Episcopal brethren before he decides authoritatively on any disputed point. Surely he ought to decline a responsibility, the exercise of which would defeat the very purpose for which the rule in question was framed. The Bishop of Exeter is very indignant because some of his clergy have ventured to tell him, "that they would defer "the consideration of his orders, till other bishops and other dioceses "should have deliberated on the same matters." (*Charge for 1845*, p. 11). But without entering into the question, whether the orders themselves were wise or unwise, right or wrong, these clergymen did but act upon the very principle, which would be appealed to, to justify a bishop who, amidst a great diversity of opinion, should publish a decision on his own individual judgment, without taking counsel with his Episcopal Brethren, or the

* See No. 14, for February, 1845.

Archbishop. And surely, if the letter of the instructions of the Church in the aforementioned preface is to be adhered to, then every clergyman, who is bold enough to rely exclusively on his own interpretation of the Rubrics, however little he may be qualified to decide upon them, may affirm, that "no doubts have arisen" in his mind respecting them, and therefore, that he is not bound to "resort to the Bishop of the Diocese," who can never, he may argue, absolve him from the guilt of acting against his conscience, when the way seems clear before him.

And this is the spirit which has actuated, not only those of the Clergy in the Diocese of Exeter who have refused to change, at the dictation of their Diocesan, the customs which have been so long held without rebuke generally in the Church of England—but those also with whom these questions originated, and in whose behalf, so to speak, the Episcopal decisions before alluded to have been made. The assertion has been put forth and believed, that certain practices are the ordinance of God and of his Church, and that the Clergy have no choice, but to conform to them, in obedience to their ordination vows. Men, therefore, have refused to listen to all appeals to modesty, or charity, or authority. They read their directions, differently perhaps from the great mass of their brethren, but, as they think, clearly—and they determine to act, at all risks, upon the very letter of the instructions to which they have promised obedience. Now, whoever may be disposed to blame a course of this kind, no matter by what person or by what party followed, at least the Bishops of Exeter, and of Down and Connor and Dromore have no reason to complain.

We have been led to preface our remarks on Mr. Harrison's work with these observations, partly because we feel that the claim put forth by these authorities is dangerous to the Church itself, but more because we desired to shew, that any attempt to allay the disputes which have arisen on certain points in our Communion service, must be futile, unless it be addressed directly and solely to the question of the real intention of the Rubric. And in estimating the value of any book published with a view to direct the public mind on these subjects, the opinions and recommendations of the writer must be wholly put out of the account; excepting so far as they may be supported by the evidence of design on the part of the authors or revisers of the Common Prayer.

Here, then, is our first objection to Mr. Harrison's work. To two at least of the four questions of which he has treated, he has appended conclusions at variance with the evidence which he has adduced. Many, it is true—and ourselves among the number—will be indisposed to quarrel with these conclusions. *We* are quite ready to admit, that, if the Preacher was accustomed to wear his gown when his office was distinct

from that of the Parochial Minister, the latter may be allowed to do so without any violation of the Church's rule, even though it should appear from the evidence more probable that, in those ancient days, the *Parochial Minister, when acting alone*, continued his ministrations to the end of the service in one and the same dress. And again, although it appears clearly from the Canons and ancient custom, as shewn by Mr. Harrison, that the method which the Church took in former days to restrain "extemporary and private prayers" in the pulpit, was by dictating a bidding prayer in a *peculiar* form before the sermon, we are satisfied with Mr. Harrison's opinion, that the same custom has been "as advantageously, though quietly superseded by the now general use of a Collect from the Liturgy followed by the Lord's Prayer." And, to take another instance, if we were disposed to allow, which we are not, that the Church has provided in the Offertory for a weekly *general* contribution of alms, we should, again, readily accept Mr. Harrison's suggestion, that "the intent of the Church would most certainly be contravened, if it were suffered to become the occasion of strife and irritation." But it was not to meet difficulties raised by such readers, that Mr. H. undertook the Historical Inquiry into the Rubrics, but for those who overrule all pleas of usage, or expediency, or charity, with a simple reference to the letter of the law, and to the vow which they have made to observe it. He himself informs us that "the consideration which weighed most with him in entering on the inquiry" was the probability that the resolution of doubts on the subjects of which he treats will be referred to the Archbishop of the Province; and the task which he set himself was, to "collect together what might possibly be serviceable as a digest of the evidence on which, if occasion should arise, such doubts might be resolvable."

It is to the strictly "Historical" part of the "Inquiry" then—to the evidence itself—that those will look, who are seeking to learn their duty, or to justify their practice, in the spirit and on the principle to which we have alluded: and already has a writer in a contemporary publication, the organ of the party with whom these questions have originated, denied "the dependency of Mr. Harrison's suggestions upon his facts," and thanked him for the latter, while he has repudiated the former.

But it will be our business to shew that reliance cannot be placed on Mr. Harrison's "facts"—that the evidence is frequently misstated—sometimes incorrect—and that the inferences to be drawn from them, when true, are often directly opposite to those which he has deduced from them.

Mr. H. has discussed, 1st, the dress of the Preacher: 2nd, the Prayer before Sermon: 3rd, the Prayer for the Church Militant: and 4th,

the Offertory. With his decision on the two first of these questions, as we have already hinted, we are quite satisfied, although, perhaps, not on the same grounds; and we pass them over the more readily, because we are convinced, that no authoritative decision is likely, in the present state of public opinion, to attempt to reverse the judgment which he has delivered. We will only pause to express our sorrow, that the Clergy of a great Diocese should have been told *ex cathedra*, that that "yell of popular and vulgar fury" with which certain Episcopal orders, thus seen to be fairly disputable, if not certainly wrong, were met, "the populace and the vulgar have of themselves too much good feeling to exhibit, till they are *duped* and *corrupted* by those who call themselves their superiors*."

Mr. Harrison has commenced his third inquiry by giving from Bishop Beveridge a lucid and most convincing argument, that the Rubric "testifies most plainly to the Church's intention and earnest desire," that "the Holy Communion should be constantly celebrated in every parish Church in England every Sunday and holyday throughout the year." We would add, that this view of the Rubric was taken as well by Sparrow, Nicholl, and Wheatley.

Mr. H. quotes, *inter alia*, from Beveridge, the following:—

"The main reason why so much of the Communion Service is ordered to be read on Sundays and other Holydays, notwithstanding that there is no Communion, seems to be this, that the Church may shew her readiness to administer it upon these days, and so that it is not her's, nor the Minister's, but the people's fault, if there be no Communion. For the minister, by her order, goes up to the Lord's Table, and there begins the service appointed for the Communion, and goes on as far as he can, till he come to the actual celebration of it: and if he stops there, it is only because there are none, or not a sufficient number, to communicate with him: for if there were, he was bound, *and is ready*, to consecrate and administer it to them. And therefore, if there be no Communion upon any Sunday or Holyday in the year, the people only are to be blamed, and must answer for it another day. The Church hath done her part in ordering it, and the Minister his in observing that order; and if the people would do theirs, the Holy Communion would be constantly celebrated in every parish Church in England every Sunday and Holyday throughout the year. Neither can they plead ignorance in the case, or say, they did not think it to be their duty to communicate so often; for every time they see the Minister

* Bishop of Exeter's Charge, 1845, p. 9.

"go up to the Communion Table, and there read part of the Service appointed for the Holy Communion, they are put in mind of their duty, and upbraided with their neglect of it." (P. 245).

Mr. H. adds,—*"Considering the time when Bishop Beveridge lived, he must be regarded as a competent witness as to the intentions of the Commissioners in 1661."* (P. 217). And a little further on:—

"Nor was it, with him, a mere theoretic view of the rubrical law of the Church; he had consistently carried it out into practice. In the Church of St. Peter's, Cornhill, to which he had been presented in 1672, he had established the celebration of the Communion every Sunday: and in this and other respects, as he himself was justly called 'the great Reviver and Restorer of primitive piety,' so his parish was deservedly proposed as the best model and pattern for the rest of his neighbours to copy after." (P. 284).

Now one really would have thought that any man who considered Bishop Beveridge's view the right one, as stated in the preceding paragraphs, would have found nothing more to write, excepting to draw his conclusion in something like the following terms:—

The Order for the Holy Communion was intended simply for the Administration of the Lord's Supper; and though it contemplates the possible occurrence of hindrances to the actual celebration, it supposes those hindrances to arise, not from the deliberate withholding of the Communion from the congregation, but from certain cases specified in the Rubrics themselves. A compliance, then, with both the letter and the spirit of the Rubric will be, not the use of the Prayer for the Church Militant after the sermon—not the establishment of the weekly offertory—but a return to the weekly administration of the Holy Communion. They who would deserve the name of "Restorers and Revivers of primitive piety," must imitate Bishop Beveridge's own example in conformity with the argument so clearly established.

But no such thing. We have looked backwards and forwards through this part of Mr. Harrison's work, and are utterly unable to comprehend the process of his reasoning—and we are almost disposed to conjecture that a page or two of his manuscript must have been mislaid, and the two heads of his argument made to adhere, as well as might be, by the ingenuity of the compositor.

The reader will bear in mind the above quoted eulogium upon Bishop Beveridge and his method of "Restoring primitive Piety." Mr. H. proceeds to say,—

"But we have yet more distinct evidence of the intention of the Reviewers of 1661, and of the feeling under which they acted."

Then follows an objection made by the Puritans, to the minister re-

hearing any part of the Liturgy at the Communion Table, when the Lord's Supper is not administered; and the evasive answer of the Bishops, "that the minister should not read the *Communion Service at the Communion Table* is not reasonable to demand."

And then adding,—

"And the conclusion thus derived" [what conclusion but that which is derived from Bishop Beveridge's example, confirmed by what was said in answer to the Puritans?] "will be materially strengthened by the examination of some of the services first drawn up at the period in question;"—to our infinite astonishment he proceeds to give us a series of statements, which, if they were correct, would prove that Bishop Beveridge was wrong; and that the ordinary service for Sundays and other Holydays was intended to be, not what he wrote to prove to his Parishioners, but just that which has been contended for of late—the Offertory and Prayer for the Church Militant, following the sermon, "although," to use Mr. Harrison's own words, "the celebration of the Communion was *not contemplated or provided for*." (P. 249).

To us this is utterly inexplicable. Can it be that the Author, with his mind full of the discussions of the present time, has not really comprehended the drift of Beveridge's argument*? He does not seem to perceive that the real question is not whether the Offertory and the

* Mr. H. does indeed refer in a note to Mr. Robertson's observation on this view of Bishop Beveridge, that it is rather the imagination of a good man, zealous for frequency of communion, than an argument capable of being supported by facts; and that it is inconsistent with that other Rubric which requires that persons wishing to communicate shall give previous notice of intention. "I do not find in Bishop Beveridge's statement of his own view of the matter any such inconsistency," says Mr. H.; "the testimony which he conceives the Church, by her appointed order, intended to bear to the duty of constant communion, does not at all require that the minister should be supposed to be in doubt, to the last moment, whether there will be a sufficient number to communicate or not: his being at the Communion Table is the act of witness to the Church's desire for the administration of the Communion, if there were those present who were prepared and desirous to receive it." (P. 246).

Mr. H. might have more justly answered, that the Rubric orders a previous notice of administration, implying an intention, on the minister's part, of celebrating. Neither Mr. Robertson nor Mr. Harrison seem to be aware, that Wheatley not only has adopted Bishop Beveridge's view, but his account almost verbatim, as Mr. H. has quoted him; and he has added this remark to it: "But though this" [viz., that if the people would do their part, the Communion would be celebrated in every parish church in England every Sunday and Holyday throughout the year] "may hold in some places, yet I cannot say it will in all; especially in populous towns and cities; where my charity obliges me to believe, that, if the ministers would but make the experiment, they would find that they should never want a sufficient number of communicants, whenever they themselves should be ready to administer

Prayer for the Church Militant ought, in strictness, to be read, when there is no Communion—on this point the Rubric is sufficiently plain—but whether the addition of these to the present unrubrical practice of omitting the celebration of the Communion would fulfil the directions of the Church. He seems to have read Bishop Beveridge's work, forgetful altogether of its title, "*The Necessity and Advantage of frequent Communion*," and that it was no part of its object to uphold a practice, which would not tend to produce a more constant celebration of the Lord's Supper, which he believed to be the end and meaning of the Rubric. And hence our author has seized only those parts of his argument, which seemed to refute those adversaries who have rashly denied the literal meaning of the Rubrics.

The point, however, to which Mr. Harrison's argument has now shifted, is to shew that the reviewers of 1661 were not averse to such a practice as certain parties in the present day have sought to revive. The evidence which he adduces is taken, he says, from "some of the services first drawn up at the period in question."

In order to shew the exceeding confusion, to say the least, of the statements and remarks on these services, it will be necessary to quote from the "Inquiry" at some length.

"In the account given us of the proceedings of the Commissioners we are told—'They began with the office for the King's Birth and Return, which was brought in on the 16th of May, being their second session.' The first Rubric prefixed to this office was as follows:—'The service shall be the same with the usual office for Holydays in all things; except where it is hereafter otherwise appointed*.' In this service was a Collect, to be used after the Prayer for the whole state of Christ's Church, &c.

"So also in the Form for the 30th of January, drawn up at the same time—and likewise in the 'Forms of Prayer to be used upon the 2nd

"the Sacrament. And even in other places it were to be wished, that the elements were placed ready upon the table, on all Sundays and Holydays; for then the people could not help being put in mind of what the Church looks upon as their duty at those times: and I persuade myself that the minister would generally find a number sufficient, ready to communicate with him."—Wheatley on the Common Prayer, vi, 30, § 1.

Wheatley saw that the minister standing at the table, when not prepared to administer the Communion, could never put the people in the wrong; who could not accept that which was not offered.

* It will appear in the course of Mr. Harrison's argument, that he desires to interpret "the usual office for Holydays" by these special services, instead of the special services by the office for Holydays.

" 'of September, for the dreadful Fire of London,' (1666) drawn up a few years later, and printed with the other Services in the Common Prayer Books. [By what authority?] In this last mentioned Form there is a Collect to be used 'after the Prayer for the whole state of Christ's Church' &c. and after that Collect is the following Rubric:—
 " 'Here may be added the Collects for the 2nd and 4th Sundays in Lent, one or both together, with the Collect (Almighty God who has promised &c.) at the end of the Communion Service, and then the Priest shall let them depart with this Blessing—The Peace of God,' &c.

" It will be observed that it is here distinctly ordered that the Prayer for the Church Militant, &c. be read, although the celebration of the Communion was *not* contemplated or provided for; which had not been expressed in the other instances*.

" It is still more clear in the Form for the Accession, in which 'after the Prayer for the whole state of Christ's Church, &c., these Collects following shall be used;' viz. the 'Prayer for Unity,' and the three which are subjoined; with the Blessing concluding the whole; these last-mentioned Collects, as well as the Blessing, being printed at full length. In this, then, the latest of our services in order of time, and which does not provide for the administration of the Communion, the stronger evidence is supplied of the still recognised order of the Church's Service for Sundays and Holydays; viz. the ending with the Prayer for the Church Militant, &c: and this with a 'sermon' expressly ordered to be preached. And whenever the Accession, or the 5th of November, or the 29th of May, falls on a Sunday, it is obviously necessary, if the services are to be performed in their integrity, that that which is, as we have seen, the recognised order of the Church for morning service on Sundays and Holydays, be, for the day at least, observed." (Pp. 248—250).

In this passage Mr. H. has brought together as illustrating the intentions of the Reviewers of 1661, and as "*Services first drawn up at the period in question*," 1, The Service for the 29th of May, and that for the 30th of January truly of that date, and having nearly the same authority as the Book of Common Prayer; 2, A Form drawn up a few years later than 1666, and of no authority whatever; and 3rd, The Form for the Accession, prepared, in the shape in which he refers to it,

* Mr. H. would of course wish us to think that it had been *implied* in those "*other instances*," and consequently in the "*usual office for Holydays*," to which, according to the Rubric above quoted, the service for the 29th of May was to be assimilated.

in 1703!! Of these the first two, which could alone be appealed to as the production of the same judgment as the Book of Common Prayer, *do not contain one word* confirmatory of the Author's position. There is in each, as he states, "a Collect to be used after the Prayer for the " Church Militant;" but the Rubric which orders this is the only one after the Gospel, and the Minister can only complete the Service by having recourse to the ordinary Communion Service. We are referring to the original form of 1662, which of course is the only authority; and in that it will be seen that nothing more is printed than the usual appropriate *variations* from the Sunday Service.

We are sure that we shall be considered to have applied a very mild term to the errors of this passage; and the following is something worse. The author is combating an argument, which, we confess, we should not have thought worth notice, but to which he has devoted some twenty pages, "that this lengthened prayer for the Church Militant was not " designed to be used, when the three services, performed in full with a " sermon, were taken together, as one whole, excepting for the special " service of the Holy Communion." (P. 253).

The Author answers,—“But the best evidence as to the intentions of “ the revisers of 1661 is to be found in their *acts*. One of the first “ things they did, as we have seen, was to prepare a form for the 29th “ of May yearly. But, indeed, it should be stated that there had already, “ in the year before, been put forth ‘A Form of Prayer with Thanks- “ ‘giving, to be used &c., the 28th of June, 1660, for his Majesty’s “ ‘happy return to his kingdoms, set forth by authority.’ It consists “ first, of an order for morning prayer, Then the second “ service, i. e. the Communion Service, with three Collects for the day, “ the sentence for the Offertory, ‘Let your light’ &c., the Prayer for the “ Church Militant, another prayer, the Collect, ‘Almighty God which “ ‘hast promised to hear,’ &c., and the final Blessing. This was evidently “ considered the full and established form of Morning Prayer. *The “ Form was very nearly the same when put forth in the following year “ for the 29th of May, &c.* In the Form as thus ordered, instead of the “ ‘Second Service,’ it is called the ‘Communion Service.’” (P. 253).

Would it have been believed, we ask, that the difference between these two forms consists in the omission from that one which is to shew us the intention of the revisers of 1661, not only of those concluding Collects and Blessing, but also, as we have before shewn, of all rubrics and every insertion which would render it a *complete* form without recurrence to the ordinary service of the Common Prayer Book?

But this is not the worst.

"So also in the Form of Prayer for the 30th of January, as drawn up at the same period, we find four Psalms at Morning Prayer. . . . Then the 'latter service,' as it is here intitled, a sentence for the Offertory, as before, 'Let your light' &c., the Prayer for the Church Militant, and seven Prayers and Collects following before the final Blessing." (P. 254).

We will only repeat that in the Form published with the Common Prayer, in 1662, there is not one word of what is here stated respecting the "latter service;" and we would fain have persuaded ourselves, that the Author was referring, as before, to some edition unknown to us, but in the next paragraph he speaks of a Form of Prayer issued in the same year, and specifies 1661-2. (P. 254).

We might multiply quotations from this part of the work, which would infallibly mislead any general reader, not well acquainted with the subject previously, and which, with a real desire to remove unpleasant impressions, we are utterly unable to explain.

We will now state the real case as regards these Special Services, the history of which does indeed throw much light upon the intention of the Reviewers of 1661.

It is well known that of the four Services appended to the Book of Common Prayer, those for the 5th of November, the 30th of January, and the 29th of May alone passed through the hands of the Reviewers*.

In drawing up these Services, the Revisers had before them "an unbroken series of occasional Forms of Prayer from the times of Elizabeth and James 1st." (Inquiry, p. 251); and amongst them one for the 5th of November and one for the 29th of May, in all of which, according to Mr. H.† the Prayer for the Church Militant, with some Collects and

* At that time, of course, the form for the 29th of May rendered a service for the Accession unnecessary. For this occasion, however, a service had been in use in the previous reign, and approved in convocation in 1640, and if Mr. Harrison is correct in his statement of the rubrical directions of other early forms, it is singular that this appears to give no more warrant for the omission of the Communion, than it does for that of the Nicene Creed or Sermon, or Prayer for the Church Militant.

† The only means which we possess of testing the accuracy of this statement, lead us to doubt it, as regards the forms of early date. In all those which we have seen of a later date than 1600, it is as Mr. H. describes; but there is in the British Museum, "A Fourme to be used in Common Prayer twice a weeke, and also an order of publique fasts to be used every Wednesday, during the time of Mortalitie, &c. Set forth by the Queene's Majestie's especial commandment," dated 1563. In the "order for the Wednesdays," after the Litany, the direction is; "Then shall followe the ministration of the Communion, so oft as a just number of communicants shall

the Blessing, are printed with such directions, as lead to the conclusion, that the celebration of the Communion, if permitted, at least was not contemplated; in fact, such an arrangement as would prove beyond question, that what we have seen in use in our Cathedrals and College Chapels, when there is no communion, was recognised by those who put forth these forms. What, then, did the Revisers do? They not only did not draw up the new Service for the 30th of January, according to these precedents, but deliberately rejected the arrangement which they found ready to their hand in the old form for the 5th of November, and in that which had been drawn up only the year before, for the 29th of May:—and in the latter moreover they substituted the words “the Communion Service” for “the Second Service,” as it had been before printed. When we recollect, that the Puritans had just before objected to the reading any part of the Liturgy at the Communion Table, when the Communion was not administered; and they had been answered, “That the Minister should not read the *Communion Service* at the *Communion Table*, is not reasonable to demand. The Priest standing at the Communion Table seemeth to give us an invitation to the Holy Sacrament, and minds us of our duty, viz. to receive the *Holy Communion*, some at least, every Sunday;” there can be no doubt that the Revisers refused to recognise any form, but that which is emphatically styled, “The Administration of the Lord’s Supper, or the Holy Communion.”

It must be admitted, then, that the modern usage does not accord with the directions of the Common Prayer Book. But, if Beveridge was right, its main fault consists in dropping all intention of celebrating the Lord’s Supper at the appointed times, and not in not rehearsing that portion of the service, which was ordered to be used, as a testimony against the unwillingness of the Congregation to communicate. If it is thought justifiable to omit the actual celebration of the Lord’s Supper, it must be positively right to omit that part of the service which is designed to remind the people that “neither the Minister, nor the Church, is to be blamed, if the Holy Sacrament be not administered.” To read the Offertory sentences and the Prayer for the Church Militant, as is done in many a Cathedral and College Chapel, merely as a termination to a service, not even pretending to be “the administration of the Lord’s

“be thereto disposed, with a Sermon, if it can be,” &c. Here we would observe that at this period, “when there is no Communion” meant, as in the First Book, “so oft as a just number of communicants shall *not* be thereto disposed.” All the later Forms in the 17th century, which we have seen, supersede the necessity of any reference whatever to the Book of Common Prayer, being complete from beginning to end.

"Supper," not only is not, according to this view, a compliance with Rubrical directions, as regards those congregations, but would be, if imitated in parish churches, the adoption of a corrupt practice which the Church has deliberately discountenanced. We cannot but think that if Bishop Beveridge could be now asked whether the modern practice, or that contended for, were in his judgment most against the spirit of the Rubric, he would pronounce against those, who would seem to make that (by rule) a *complete* service, which the Compilers and Reviewers of our Liturgy intended to be *significantly incomplete*.

The question has often occurred to us, why it is that so much effort has been made to effect a compliance with a comparatively small point of order in the Communion Service, while so little has been attempted towards procuring a weekly administration of the Lord's Supper. We are persuaded that many would have been found to hail with thankfulness such a return to primitive usages, in those very parishes where most resistance has been made to the introduction of the weekly Offertory. And again we cannot help asking the question, was it really zeal for Rubrical conformity, and tenderness of conscience, which prompted the movement, in which these discussions originated?

The remaining portion of Mr. Harrison's work is devoted to the "Offertory."

We should have thought, that if, as Mr. H. has ruled, the Rubric requires the reading of the sentences and the Prayer for the Church Militant, when there is no Communion, there is no need of further argument. Whatever doubt might exist in any man's mind, as to the meaning of the term, "when there is no Communion," there could be none, one would suppose, as to the Rubric after the sentences, which directs that "*whilst these sentences are in reading*, the Deacons, Churchwardens, or other fit person appointed for that purpose, shall receive the alms for the Poor," &c.

But Mr. H. has thought it necessary to occupy nearly one-third of his large volume professedly with the inquiry, "whether the sentences for the Offertory should be read with a view to the collection of the alms for the poor, on other occasions than when the Communion is administered."

We say "professedly," for really there are but a very few pages out of the whole section, which deal with the question at all. There is much said on the subject of alms-giving in the primitive Church. There are many extracts from authors recommending alms as inseparable from the Eucharist. The names of Andrewes, Buckeridge, Hammond, Sparrow, and L'Estrange, are cited, with passages from their writings which have

no bearing whatever upon the inquiry beyond this. But there is not the slightest tittle of evidence, to shew that the collection of alms in the Offertory was ever made in England, independently of Communion. Nor, we will fearlessly assert, in spite of Mr. Harrison's quotations, has he named any writer who has *seriously* recommended such a practice.

In tracing the History of the Offertory, Mr. H. is very anxious to prove, that the provision for the Poor, which entered so observably into the arrangement of the Communion Service in Edward VI's First Book, did not proceed from the State, but from the Church; and that though it became afterwards necessary for the Legislature to compel such a provision, yet the Church never lost sight of the principle, that alms-giving was a part of religious worship, nor ceased to enforce it. He says,—

"The spiritual heads of the Church, in their zeal for her reformation, looking back to the practice of primitive and apostolic times, and desiring to revive again the abundant bountifulness which distinguished the early Christians, were intent upon again making her the source of blessing to the needy, the almoner to her poorer members, and the witness thereby to the presence of the spirit of Christ within her: and the Legislature was accordingly moved to lend a helping hand by civil enactment." (P. 301).

This may be perfectly true. We doubt not that to a certain extent it is so; but the method by which Mr. H. proceeds to prove it is somewhat forced and singular. He admits the correspondence of the design of the Rubric with that of the Act of 1 Edward VI, c. 3, for the relief of the Poor, and with that of Edward's Injunctions, both dated 1547; but he contends that the provisions of both these documents had their "real source and origin" in a work called the "Consultation," &c. of Herman, Archbishop of Cologne, introduced into this country, as Strype says, "by means of Cranmer and probably of the Protector." The date of the translation is 1547—that of the original is, we believe, 1543. "In this book," says Mr. H., "in the chapter on the Lord's Supper, will be found an order of service with which that in the First Book of Edward corresponds very closely, and which furnishes in fact a running commentary upon it." He then quotes the following passage from that work:—

"After the Collect there shall follow, according to the custom, a lesson of an epistle, which shall be read in such a place (the reader turning his face to the people) that it may be heard and understood of the whole congregation. Wherefore it shall be also read in douche [in German] because that lesson pertaineth to the instruction and admonition of the people.

" After the epistle, where clarks be, let alleluia be sung in Latin, or
 " a graile, or some sequence, if they have any pure, and some douch
 " song. Then let the Gospel be read in douch to the people, which
 " readinge, an interpretation and ordinary sermon shall folow forth-
 " with, and after the sermon, a prayer for all states of men and necessi-
 " ties of the congregation after this sort * * *

" And after this solemn prayer let the whole congregation sing the
 " Crede. For this confession of our faith, when the Gospel is heard
 " and declared, ought to be done of all men commonly, as all equally
 " heard the Gospel and the declaration thereof.

" And because no man can hear the Gospel with faith, and know, and
 " consider out of the same, how great love and gentleness God hath
 " shewed towards us in that, that he gave his Son, and all things with Him,
 " which shall not out of this faith wholly give over and bind himself to
 " our Lord Jesus Christ, this thing followeth also out of the nature of true
 " faith, that the faithful study to declare this binding of themselves to
 " the obedience of Christ, and thankfulness of their minds for so great
 " goodness of God towards themselves, which at that time they more
 " earnestly remember, with holy oblations for Christ being needy in his
 " little ones. Therefore *while the Creed is in singing*, let the faithful
 " offer their free oblations, every man according to the blessing which
 " he hath received of the liberal and bounteous hand of God. To which
 " office of faith and godliness, the pastors and teachers shall diligently
 " exhort the people, teaching them that these oblations ought to follow
 " the confession of faith and prayer, even by the very nature of true re-
 " ligion, neither can be absent from the same when we want not where-
 " with to declare this liberality. And that this work of religion may be
 " conveniently done, and rightly commended to the faithful, we will that
 " there be some notable place appointed in every temple, not far from
 " the altar, which every man may comely go to, and where the faithful
 " may offer their oblations openly before the whole congregation. Which,
 " after the Sacrament is ended, the officers of the holy treasury shall
 " gather together, and shall lock the sum up in the treasury, the con-
 " gregation looking upon them." (P. 294).

" It will be observed," adds Mr. H., "how very closely the order of
 " service of the Prayer Book of 1549 followed that of Herman's Consul-
 " tation, except only in the relative position of the Creed, and the Ser-
 " mon, and the place for the Prayer for the Church Militant." We
 " must add, however, to these "exceptions" the place of the Offertory,
 " which in the Consultation is ordered, while the Creed is in singing,"
 " and the introduction of an "alleluia, or graile, or sequence, and some
 " douch song" between the Epistle and Gospel.

Now we must confess, that we do not see how any two arrangements of such a service could well be more widely different. Let us place their main points side by side:—

<i>Consultation.</i>	<i>Prayer Book, 1549.</i>
1. The Collect	1. The Collect
2. Epistle Singing	2. Epistle No Singing
3. The Gospel	3. The Gospel
4. Sermon	4. Creed
5. The Prayer for all states of men	5. Sermon
6. Creed	6. Offertory, while Sentences are Reading
7. Offerings, while the Creed is in singing.	7. Prayer for Church Militant, far advanced in the Communion Service, immediately before the prayer of consecration.

There is much, as any one will allow who has read the Consultation, that is common to that work and the Book of Common Prayer, but it is strange that Mr. Harrison did not see that in this arrangement, at least, both the Consultation and the Common Prayer had one common origin—viz. the ancient Liturgies—and that the compilers of the Book of Common Prayer deviated much less, than the authors of the Consultation, from the order of the ancient Missal of Sarum.

With the same simplicity, Mr. H. has given us an extract from another Chapter of the Consultation on "Common Alms," which, he intends to shew, is the source from which Edward's Injunctions were drawn.

But if any one will be at the pains to compare the two, it will be found that there is even a more marked resemblance between the Consultation and the Act 27 Hen. VIII, the date of which is 1535—seven years earlier than that of the Consultation in its original form. No one can read this Act together with the Consultation, without being convinced, that those who drew up the latter had the former before them at the time. We admit that there are suggestions of the Consultation embodied in the Injunctions, and in the First Book of Common Prayer, which seem to connect these latter with that work. But the Consultation itself was no less manifestly indebted to the same mind which had dictated the Act of 1535. And indeed, considering the influence of Churchmen in state affairs, and the constant correspondence of the Reformers with Bucer, Melancthon, and the Abp. of Cologne, beside other divines on the Continent engaged heart and soul in the same cause, it would be strange if

the documents which are traceable to any of them had not shewn signs of this interchange of sentiment.

Neither is it at all material whether the movement proceeded from the Church or from the Legislature. We have never understood that the arguments on this head, as used by those who have really studied the subject, were intended to shew anything more, than that the provision for the poor made at this time by the Church was suggested by the *same feeling* which rendered such a provision an object of solicitude to the State. Whether solicited or unsolicited by the Church herself, it is quite clear that the Legislature had constituted the Church the medium for relieving a pressure which had been under the notice of Parliament from time to time, since the close of the 14th century. The inference that has been drawn from this fact, is, that when the Legislature found it necessary, on the failure of the Church's arrangements, to enact a compulsory maintenance of the poor, it was likely that the Church would herself become less solicitous to maintain arrangements, which were dictated with a view to an end which she found otherwise answered.

Mr. Harrison denies that this was the end proposed by the Church. He says,—“It would seem to have been with a view rather to the ‘cultivation of Christian charity as a principle, than to the mere relief of actual pressing want that could not otherwise be provided for, that this system was established.” (P. 291). And yet the Act of 1 Edward VI—that result of what Mr. H. calls “the Church moving the Legislature to lend a helping hand by civil enactment”—is grounded on the existence of such “pressing want.” “Forasmuch,” it states in the 9th clause, “as there is many maimed and otherwise lamed, sore, aged, and impotent persons, which resorteth to the City of London, and to other cities, towns, and villages, on begging, whose coming together and making a number doth fill the streets,” &c. (P. 301). An extract from the Preface to Bucer's “*Censura*,” likewise, given by Mr. Harrison, (who reminds us that it was by the Author's “influence, that the Rubrics respecting attendance at Communion were altered”), shews that he was chiefly moved to write the “Order of the Provision for the Poor” by the consideration that “in these days many lusty and sturdy persons be suffered to beg,” &c. (P. 316). Mr. Harrison also truly states that the Act of 1535, of which that of the 1st of Edward VI was an extension, “established the Church treasury as the channel for receiving and distributing of charitable alms, and with certain exemptions, *inhibited and made penal other modes of giving relief.*” (P. 306).

To proceed, however,—there can be no doubt that “under the First

"Book of Edward, the whole congregation were invited to offer," every time of assembling for public worship—because provision was made for constant Communion—"while in practice, probably, the offerings were "virtually those of the Communicants;" (p. 308); and we may, suppose, therefore, that when there was no Communion actually administered, there were no offerings.

Under the Second Book, it appears that greater care was taken to secure the presence of non-communicants at the time of the Collection in the Offertory. (P. 313). But it must be borne in mind that *the Offertory sentences were not to be read, excepting when there was a Communion.*

Here we are at issue with Mr. H. He writes, respecting the First Book,—

"If there were no Communion on Wednesdays and Fridays, and other *prayer days*, the Priest, after the Offertory, was to add one or two of the Collects, and then dismiss the people with the accustomed blessing. This then was the order of the First Book: it made no provision for the case of the Communion not being celebrated on a Sunday or Holyday."

But this was not so. The Rubric said not, "*other Prayer days*," but "ALL OTHER DAYS WHENSOEVER the people are customably assembled to pray in the Church;" which Beveridge interprets, "on what day soever the people come to Church"—including, of course, Sundays and Holydays.

The Rubric was altered in 1552 to this form:—"Upon the Holydays, if there be no Communion, shall be said all that is appointed at the Communion, *until the end of the Homily*, concluding with the general prayer for the whole state of Christ's Church," &c.

"Upon these days," says Mr. H., "it would seem, the Offertory was omitted." (P. 242). "As regarded the *Sundays* meanwhile, no provision was made, in the Second Book of Edward, for the contingency of there being no celebration of the Communion." (P. 243).

But in the Notes attributed to Bishop Overall, a different view is taken. He writes, "Under Holydays, Sundays are comprehended, for certainly *Sundays* are Holydays; and therefore it is but a foolish cavil of the Puritans to ask by what warrant men read the Second Service on *Sundays*." (Nicholl's Add. not. p. 53). And this not only expresses an individual opinion, but gives a clue to the alteration at the last Review, which made the Rubric, as it now runs, "Upon the *Sundays* and *other Holydays*." In confirmation of this opinion, we may refer to an observation of Bishop Burnet, on the use of the word "holyday" in Ed-

ward VI's Injunctions, from which it appears, that the question in those days, was not whether "holydays" included "Sundays," but whether it did not mean Sunday to the exclusion of the "festival days *."

And this is not a captious criticism on Mr. Harrison's remarks. The correct statement of this point is very important, because it identifies the Rubric of the last revision, in which the words "when there is no Communion" occur, with that of the Second Book, and that of the Second Book with that of the First, in which edition of the Common Prayer, the term "no Communion" is identical with "none disposed to communicate with the Priest," clearly shewing, that, in its original intention, the Rubric which has occasioned so much dispute had reference solely to those occasions when the celebration of the Lord's Supper was contemplated, but prevented by the absence of a congregation.

Under the Second Book, then, we maintain, that the Offertory was omitted when there was no Communion. But the dismissal of non-communicants, on Communion days, was intended to take place *after* the Offertory.

At this time, without doubt, it was *intended*, that the celebration of the communion every Sunday and holyday should be the professed rule of the Church. But, not only did the exceptions soon become more numerous, than the occasions of observance, but, even on Communion days, it gradually became customary for non-communicants to depart before the Offertory. This is stated by Bishop Cosins, as a reason for altering the position of the exhortations to Communion, which, in the Second Book, were read after the Prayer for the Church Militant; and accordingly it was altered at the last review; and thus a tacit sanction was given to the practice which has continued universally in the Church of England to the present time.

On this point, then, is brought to bear the argument of those, who have laid much stress on the apparent connexion between the ceasing of a general collection of alms in the Offertory, and the enactment of the legal provision for the poor. The provisions made in the two first Books to secure the attendance of non-communicants at the collection, whenever the Sentences were read, as all agree, failed, and the heads of the

* Hist. Ref., ii, p. 55. In Queen Elizabeth's Injunctions, it is ordered "that there be no *other* holydays observed besides the Sundays, but only" &c.—Doc. Ann., i, 238. It may also be observed, that, in the Special Services at the end of the Prayer Book, the First Rubric directs, that "the Service shall be the same with the usual office for *Holydays*," &c., in which the word, of course, includes Sundays.

Church were not anxious to restore them*. The question, then, seems to have much reason in it;—Did the Reviewers in 1661 shew the same earnestness in maintaining an arrangement, which brought the whole congregation within reach of the Offertory, as had been shewn by the compilers of the first and second Books? Did they take any pains to revive or reassert the duty of a weekly collection from non-communicants, when they well knew that it had been wholly neglected from the first? Those who put this question answer, No. And again they ask, Why this relaxation? At least, Why this silence? Not because (as Mr. H. would say that this hypothesis implies) the Reviewers thought less of almsgiving as a part of Christian duty, but because they felt the Church rather relieved than injured by the removal of any pressing necessity for confounding *alms*, in the common acceptation of the term, with *offerings*, as implying a solemn devotion of goods to the Lord.

Mr. H. has very needlessly written much, and quoted largely from other writers, to prove, that “it has been the universal custom of Christians, since the apostolic ages, to offer alms and oblations to the glory of God.” (Palmer, quoted p. 281). But not one word has he written, or will he find written, of primitive usages, which does not connect these offerings with the solemn assembling “to break bread.”

And it is curious, and very much to the point, to trace, how, together with every step on the part of the Legislature, towards a compulsory support of the poor, a corresponding liberty of reviving primitive principles in this matter was felt on the part of the English Church, and acted upon.

So long as it seemed necessary to invite all to contribute to the only existing public fund for the maintenance of the indigent, the “poor man’s box” was placed indeed “nigh unto the high altar,” and the offerings were made in the time appointed for the Communion;—but these were not to be presented on the altar, or even commended to God in prayer.

One of the most remarkable of the alterations which were made in the Communion service, in 1552, was the omission of the Offertory sentences, when there was no Communion,—the practical effect of which was, as we know, to make the offerings in reality those of communicants only; and at the same time, the introduction of the words, “to receive “these our alms,” into the Prayer for the Church Militant. And in

* Mr. H. has a peculiar mode of expressing his view of this matter. He says, “The character of a *voluntary* offering, every Sunday and holyday, by the congregation assembled in the Church, being lost only from the necessity of more “*stringent enforcement* than the Church could supply.” (P. 329).

this same year was passed the first act approaching a compulsory assessment to the poor.

The legislation on this subject was completed before the next indication of the Church's feeling was given, in the publication of the Canons of 1604; and, in them the "poor man's box" is called "a chest for "alms," to be set, not as ordered by Edward's Injunctions, "nigh unto "the high altar," but in "*the most convenient place;*" and what had been described in the injunctions, as "oblations and alms," are called simply the "*alms and devotions of the people;*"—thus continuing the invitation to charity, but divesting it of that peculiar solemnity which, from the earliest ages, attached to the offerings at the Communion *?

And lastly, at the final revision in 1661, when the term "offertory" was restored to the Liturgy—when the alms for the poor and other devotions" were ordered to be "brought to the priest," and by him "humbly presented and placed upon the holy table"—and when the word "oblations," to which so much importance has been attached by some, was added to the Prayer for the Church Militant, all mention of the "poor man's box," was expunged from the Prayer Book, and the alms collected in the Offertory were directed to be applied "to such pious and "charitable uses as the minister and churchwardens shall think fit."

There is one more passage in the "Inquiry," which contains so much that is plausible mixed up with what is unfair—so characteristic, we might really say, of the whole work—that we must extract it.

"That the use of it [the Offertory] was contemplated even though "the Communion were not administered, would seem to be the natural "inference from the arrangements adopted, by which, *after* the Rubric directing the collection of the offerings, and the presentation, and placing "them upon the holy table, is the direction in the following Rubric, that " "*when there is a communion*, the priest shall then place upon the table " "so much bread and wine as he shall think sufficient. After which " "done the priest shall say,' &c.

"And that this was indeed the intention, appears further from the "occasional form already referred to, in which, though the administra-

* Mr. H. says that "the canons of 1603 re-established, *almost verbatim*, the injunctions of 1547." (P. 331). It will be seen that this "almost" is intended to exempt expressions which entirely alter the character of the order. It is manifest that the almsgiving provided by the 84th canon was no longer "offertorial." Even the collection made in the Offertory at communion, according to Bishop Cosins, was seldom, in his day, deposited in the poor man's box, and, in accordance with his suggestion, the rubric was altered to its present state.

"tion of the communion was not contemplated or provided for, it was nevertheless supposed that there might be alms. This applies particularly to days of public fasts, on which almsgiving might especially be looked for, as the fitting accompaniment of prayer and fasting. It may have been, possibly, for this reason, if it were not a casual omission, that in the form of thanksgiving for the King's Restoration appointed for June 28, 1660, there is no clause within brackets, nor any marginal note, in the Prayer for the Church Militant, whereas, in the form for the 30th of January, 1661, there is the clause within brackets (to accept our alms), and the note in the margin (if there be no alms, &c.) And so in the forms of prayer," &c., &c. (Pp. 350, 351).

Now with respect to the Rubric alluded to in the first paragraph, it must be, remembered, that, previous to 1662, there were no directions for the time of placing the elements on the table—while there were full directions as to when there should be "no Communion." The introduction of the words in this place in 1662, therefore, was merely to prevent the offering of the elements when there were "none to communicate with the priest." The inference which Mr. H. draws from the word "after," is no better than that drawn by a recent writer from the last words of the same Rubric, "after which *done*"—from which *he* concluded that, if there were no Communion, the Prayer for the Church Militant ought not to be read.

But here again, in the second paragraph, to prove "that this was indeed the intention of *those who revised* the Common Prayer in 1661," a reference is made to forms, before, and after, and indeed close upon their time, but which any inquirer seeking simple truth, rather than the maintenance of an opinion, must have seen at once to be no evidence at all. We have already shewn that these forms—as many of them as came under the notice of the revisers, were deliberately altered by them in those very particulars which Mr. H. brings forward to prove his point. And why, we ask, does he again refer to this form for the 30th of January dated 1661? We know not what it is. If it be the *date* of the review, it is not that form which was adopted by the Reviewers, and we cannot conceive how it could ever have been mistaken for it.

We have said, not only, that Mr. H. has adduced no evidence that the sentences for the Offertory were at any time used in the English Church "with a view to the collection of alms" excepting at times of communion; but also that he has named no writer who has seriously recommended it. We had not forgotten the use which Mr. H. has made of the name of Comber, as a witness "to the intention of the Church to invite the offerings of her children at her weekly assemblies for worship, even though the communion were not, as he desired to see it, ce-

‘lebrated weekly.’ (P. 361). Comber, as has been observed in the pamphlet to which Mr. Harrison’s quotation is intended to reply, “ought to have complained of the discontinuance of the weekly communion, rather than of that which, in the primitive Church, had never been disconnected from it *;” or rather—for the author has shewn in a subsequent pamphlet†, that he would have guarded this expression—he ought to have complained of the discontinuance, on the part of the ministers of the Church, of offering the opportunity of weekly communion to their congregations. But what, we would ask, has Comber, after all, said, on this subject, beyond what the Rubric plainly prescribes, that “the invitation to alms is directed to be made, whether there be communion or no ‡?” And if he had said more than this, unless he had given us the example of his own practice, or that of some ruler in Israel, we confess, we should have mistrusted the judgment of one who would prove the Apostolicity of the direction by 1 Cor. xvi, 1, and its agreement with the practice of the ancient Church by a passage from Tertullian speaking of *monthly* collections—nay, who accepts, Matt. v, 23, 24, as a direction for gifts “upon the Christian altar,” and Heb. xiii, 15, 16, as evidence that “St. Paul had joined the sacrifice of alms to that of the Eucharist!” The fact seems to be, that Comber was dealing in exaggeration; and those who do so are apt to be themselves satisfied in the first instance with most insufficient evidence, and then almost to expect that their readers will be content to take their word, without examining the documents for themselves. Nay, they may safely expect it; and this is one main ground of our protest against Mr. H. being received as an authority on the subjects on which he writes. When, for example, he gives a closely printed page, as he has done, immediately after the above notice of Comber, from the same work, not one word of which was intended to apply to anything but the Lord’s Supper, and adds, “In this passage Comber very plainly and undoubtingly expresses what, in his view, was the intention of the Church in regard to the Offertory,” (p. 363), he might as safely have reckoned upon the great mass of his readers contenting themselves with his commentary alone, as if he had barely asserted that Dean Comber had said so and so, without quoting from his work.

* Is the Offertory without Communion required by the Church? By the Rev. R. Wickham.

† The Rubrics of the Communion Service examined with a view to Communion.

‡ We must remember that, in the days of Comber, and of Nelson, who adopts his language on this subject, the collection in the Offertory had been almost “generally omitted and wholly laid aside,” even in the administration of the communion. See *Life of Bull*.

And we might bring forward fifty of such instances from the "Inquiry." The very next page contains one—a quotation from Bishop Nicholson, introduced with a parade of dates, "carrying us back immediately to the time of the last review." Mr. Harrison writes,—
 "Under the head of the *duties of the Sabbath*, he specifies the doing
 "all acts of charity, one of which is to give alms, which he connects
 "more immediately with public worship; for he says, among those who
 "sin against the fourth commandment are,

"They who, under pretence of sermonizing, have cast off God's solemn
 "worship on this day; such as is solemn reading of the Old and New
 "Testament, Common Prayer, supplication, giving of thanks, singing of
 "psalms and hymns, administrations of sacraments, exercise of Church
 "censures, collections for the poor, ordination—all which were the
 "offices and actions, which were performed in the common assemblies
 "in the primitive Church on this day." "At the same time," continues
 Mr. H. apparently under a twinge of conscience, "he connected this
 "giving of alms specially with the celebration of the communion. He
 "says, the charity required of them who come to the Lord's Supper
 "will be conspicuous,

"1. In giving to and relieving the necessities of our poorer brethren.
 "Hard is it for any man to shew that, in the primitive Church, the sacra-
 "ment was administered without an offertory. Mention is made of the
 "liberality and charity expressed at their breaking of bread. And a
 "command there is, that upon the first day of the week; (a day appointed
 "for the sacrifice), every man should set apart somewhat for the use of
 "the poor. All liturgies of the Church record it, and *sursummodo* it, and
 "speaks for it in those sentences that persuade to it, and in the subse-
 "quent prayer, where we desire of God to accept our alms. The
 "view here taken by Bishop Nicholson," continues Mr. H., "seems
 "entirely to agree with Dean Comber: he considers the 'collections for
 "the poor' to have been established by apostolic precept, and received
 "by our Church as a part of God's solemn worship, in which every man
 "should take part every Sunday!" (Pp. 264, 265).

Does not Bishop Nicholson, we would ask, just as much teach that
 "ordination" also ought to be performed, and every man should take
 part in it, *every Sunday*? Mr. H. will perhaps answer, that he is ap-

* We have not space to do more than call attention to the mode in which Sparrow's words are diverted from their original purpose, as if "offerings not restricted to the
 "times of receiving the Holy Communion" (p. 345) must necessarily mean what Mr.
 H. wants to prove. We might notice also the manner in which Bishop Bull's name is
 connected with that of Nelson, p. 366, and with Comber's, p. 368; and the authority

plying Nicholson's view to the corroboration of Comber's, simply in that to which the second paragraph of the latter refers—the almsgiving in the Eucharist. His readers, however, will not readily perceive this. And if this is his object, how needless a trouble!—to prove what nobody in these days questions—what no clergyman, we should suppose, in England fails to practise*.

Why, then, it must be asked again, are such citations made? We hope that nothing which we have written will be construed to express an opinion that Mr. H. has *deliberately* relied upon a probability, such as that to which we have before alluded, that his readers will take on credit the innumerable references to books and documents which few are able to consult, or will read the meaning of long extracts in the comments of the reciter only. And yet he ought to be aware that this will very often be the case; and that, in proportion as the position and character of an author are high in men's estimation, and his opportunities of obtaining sound information are greater than those which most men can enjoy, in the same proportion ought he to be careful lest, even by accident, he abuse the confidence to which such advantages entitle him. The author of the "Historical Inquiry into the Rubrics of the Communion Service" has truly said, that "the weight to be attached to the conclusions which may be drawn from the data which his pages supply, must depend upon the care and impartiality with which the investigation has been conducted." (Dedication, p. iv). Judged by this standard, the work before us is grievously wanting. If Mr. H. is a careful investigator, he is not an impartial reasoner. And however moderate and conciliatory may be his views and language, we must pronounce his book incapable of answering, in any sufficient degree, the purpose for which it professes to have been written.

of Ball's practice overthrown by insinuations respecting Nelson, his biographer, p. 367. In the latter instance Mr. H. has fallen into an extraordinary contradiction of himself. He forces Nelson's words into the expression of an opinion that the Offertory is "distinct from, and preceding the beginning of the Communion Service;" and observes that "we may take as a faithful expositor of Bishop Ball's opinions in this matter, his attached and faithful friend." Presently, however, he quotes from Nelson a passage to prove another point, which unfortunately commences with these words, "The Communion Service begins with some sentences collected out of the Holy Scriptures," &c.

* The same observation will apply to a quotation from L'Estrange, p. 346, cited as corroborating Sparrow's view, "not restricting offerings to the times of Communion;" but really applying only to Communion.

THE INDUSTRIOUS CLASSES AND COTTAGE IMPROVEMENT.

The Second Annual Report of the Committee of the Cottage Improvement Society for Northumberland. 1843. London: Whittaker and Co. Alawick: Smith.

The Third Report of the Committee of the Cottage Improvement Society for Northumberland. 1845. London: Whittaker. Alawick: Smith.

It is very gratifying to fall on something practical and actually executed in these days, when *vocal* philanthropy pays well its professors. For some years men have laboured in the hard field of actual philanthropy without a smile from those, whom they have sought to benefit, and with many a frown from those, who were asked to relax their rigid rule. Wilberforce was powerful when his life was well nigh spent. Sadler died in one long struggle for his fellow men. These were men, who stemmed the tide of unpopularity, and, having truth on their side, or rather as their basis, they were not afraid, even, when hope seemed most distant. Their mantle has fallen on others, and a multitude of fresh labours presses harder now than at any previous time. They are unpopular also with a class. Working men are never popular with mere empirics. They, who bear the fore-front of the battle, are ever hated by the pretenders to bravery. Conscious inferiority causes narrow minds to carp at and detract from such as are by one and all proclaimed as the superior. The truly clever and the really earnest man cannot only bear, but rejoice in, a superior labourer in the same great cause. He is conscious of his own weakness, and, through ardent love of the truth, exults when its defence is in abler hands than his own. The mere pretender fears lest his pretence should be exposed by the success of his superior; and, as his own name is his sole object, sacrifices all, even the final success of his pretended aim, for the mere chance of enlarging his period of deceit. We are not about to defend individuals whose character raises them above every charge, but are reminding our readers, that, in every camp, there are what are called "followers," who, in the first place, are drawn by the hope of booty, and, in the issue, are the first to promulgate every check, and harp on every manœuvre which, in the narrowness of their judgment, they deem an error. Unhappily these "followers" increase just in proportion as the hope of victory rises. They are not able to wait, but want

to feed; and they prefer a rash onset to a sure, though slow, conquest. How painfully is this truth illustrated by the multitudinous writers and declaimers for the rights of the poor. Every one, who can write, will touch on the crowded state of houses and the delay of justice, the inefficiency of private means and the vacillations of leaders. They are subalterns, who have not learned to obey, and, without one particle of information, which can guide or mature their judgment, they wield the pen, while they are far from touching the reins. Of course, it would in a very small degree interest us what line of conduct scribes of such a class might pursue, unless they were a real injury to the great cause. They throw back the good cause of the humbler classes by their unhappy advocacy, and create prejudices where reason would otherwise have had its sway; and, by every delay, not only is human suffering prolonged, but the whole fabric of society is endangered. This is no day for delay or hesitation; but the times call for action, energy, and self-denying perseverance. But we will venture to lay down a test by which *vocal* philanthropists may be tried. Whenever a book or an article issues from the press with well-strung periods about disease and suffering, the question arises, what has the writer done to alleviate it? The days in which we live are days of words, and we are all aware that suffering is extreme, and temptation over-powerful; but there are many ways in which these evils can be lessened. There are societies, which, each in their place, strive to remedy existing evils. Let men, who will write, also try their success in *acts*. This is an ordeal by which talkers are terribly alarmed. We hesitate not to affirm that *many* writers and talkers never spend one voluntary penny in any practical attempt to ameliorate the condition of the lower orders. It is true that such of them, as are happy enough to possess a house, pay their quota to the poor-rates; but what is this when compared with their duty in the sight of God and man? It will be time enough for men when they labour, when they know by visits to the hovels, and by seeing suffering, then to speak; for then they will do more than write; and the timely fruits of experience shall be exhibited in a more mild and wise tone than unhappily is common among us. It is a fashionable thing to advocate the cause, but it is not yet fashionable to act in its behalf. How common is it to hear objections against every means of doing good, which are in themselves perfectly frivolous! For instance, wash-houses and baths by some are declared of no use, because the people have to walk to them,—as if the Society ought to provide conveyances; or, again, lay-agency is assailed on the ground that clerical agency is better. These are absurd objections, but are no unfair specimens of popular excuses and apologies for inactivity.

There is also another party, who call themselves Young England, and certainly the puerility of their theories goes far to settle the name upon them. It is the magic word "Church" which is to create virtue and absorb vice, sweep away suffering and lay the spirit of crime. This is an influence which is to exhibit the wonderful effect of men bowing down to an authority, which they do not acknowledge. Saints' days, because they are days in which holy men are commemorated; are to make men holy; and sports, under their sanctified guidance, are to elevate the mind and exalt the tone of the labourer. We are confident that this class of men in general know nothing more of cottages than the outside, or of men's nature than a theory. They must have some practical knowledge before they can touch a practical evil. The most excellent theory needs adjustment and common sense in its application. We cannot do better than quote a passage from the report which heads this article, and we believe that such considerations will find a reception with every thoughtful person:

"Some of the most valuable and amiable traits in the English character have their origin in home; the inhabitants of other countries seem to seek their main enjoyments abroad; they reserve their smiles and kindest feelings for their out-door enjoyments; and have less to spare in consequence for their own hearths and firesides. English travellers are very apt to be captivated with the appearance of hilarity which the surface of Continental society exhibits, and, on their return home, in their published journals endeavour to put their fellow countrymen out of conceit with old English ways, which, in the fever and fervor of the high spirits engendered by their tour, they denounce as gloomy and puritanical. Those who have money to spare have, of course, the liberty, if they choose, of spending it where they will, but it is mischievous to attempt to graft upon one nation the supposed light-heartedness of another. Make an Englishman's home commodious and comfortable, give him in the first place room to store his goods, a chimney through which the smoke can find its way, a roof ordinarily impervious to the weather, and a garden to cultivate, and he will seek, and (unless the subject of some particular perversity) will find, in the bosom of his family a rest from the toils of his daily labours. May God's good Providence avert the day, when the Government of this country, as is now the case with that of France, must be at the expense and the drudgery of finding out-door amusements for its populace, whereby men's minds are withdrawn from the pure and hallowed scenes of homely pleasures! These reflections are suggested by the perusal of a pamphlet published within the last few months by Lord J. Manners, M.P., entitled a 'Plea for National Ho-

“ ‘*holidays*.’ Every, even the faintest, attempt aimed in the direction of
 “ the cottager’s benefit is entitled, especially in these days, to consider-
 “ ation: it is gratifying to notice one of his lordship’s station employed
 “ in such a praiseworthy occupation: that his lordship’s motives are
 “ kind and humane, no one can question; but the prudence and policy
 “ of his propositions are open to very serious doubt. The ‘duly hon-
 “ ouring of the Church’s holidays’ has a fair sound; but it is necessary
 “ to assure his lordship, that, as far as this country is concerned, the
 “ matter has been tried and has proved a lamentable failure. If his
 “ lordship will direct his librarian to reach down Bourne’s ‘*Antiquitates*
 “ ‘*Vulgaræ*’ from the shelf of his library, he will see, on perusing chap-
 “ ter xxx, how customs unexceptionable in their character, and even
 “ praiseworthy, originally, are liable to degeneracy. After describing
 “ the origin of country wakes, or the Feasts of the *Dedication of our*
 “ *Churches*, Mr. Bourne adds,—‘They continued not in their original
 “ purity: for feasting and sporting got the ascendant of religion, and
 “ so the Feast of Dedication degenerated into drunkenness and luxury.
 “ At present there is nothing left but the very refuse and dregs of it;
 “ religion not having the least share of it, which till these later ages
 “ always had some. . . Rioting and feasting are now (1725) all that
 “ remain, a scandal to the feast in particular and to Christianity in
 “ general.’

“ So spake the honest curate of ‘All Saints, Newcastle,’ more than
 “ 100 years ago: and his lordship may be assured, partly on the writer’s
 “ own knowledge and chiefly on the traditionary statements of the
 “ ‘oldest inhabitants,’ that the romping style and character of the
 “ nightly orgies would compel the most charitably-disposed observer
 “ to apply similar language to these Church holy days as conducted in
 “ many places at the present time. We have no desire to enter into
 “ details; but the opportunity is too tempting to avoid hazarding a re-
 “ mark or two, as it is a topic in which is bound up the welfare of
 “ the Northumbrian cottager. All are agreed that it would be desirable
 “ to increase the comforts of the industrious classes; but, on the matter
 “ of recreations, much mistake is afloat. So far as *agricultural* la-
 “ bours are concerned, after their hard work out of doors, *rest* is re-
 “ creation;

“ With joy the hind, his daily labour done,

“ Sees the broad shadows and the setting sun.

“ With those engaged in manufactories, and who all day long are
 “ crribbed and cabined in mephitic *Mills*, the case is different; for them,
 “ and especially for the overworked and pallid infants, air and exercise
 “ are essential;

" But, whatever may be determined on in the way of recreations, let them be carried on *in open day* ; if in a park (an indulgence which the Duke of Northumberland concedes) or private enclosure, so much the better, as *there* it is less likely that the publican and the beer-shop-keeper will turn the proceedings to their peculiar benefit, and thus render them positively injurious.

" It is a matter of course, that a certain degree of jealousy should exist at any apparent attempt to restrict the recreations of the labouring classes ; but, in spite of the misconceptions of some, and the misinterpretations of others, the time cannot, we would think, be very far distant, when the impropriety of the female bondager, or indeed of any young female, without parent or protector, dancing all night in a public-house, into which any son of Belial has free admission, must be self-evident. What concord has this practice with the lessons of the Sunday-school which they have just left ? or with those vows which they are preparing to renew, or have recently renewed ? In the rank of persons but a little raised above them, the impropriety of such unrestricted proceedings is seen at a glance : elevate their thoughts at home by raising the character of that home, and they will soon instinctively see the unsuitableness and inconsistency of holding a nightly saturnalia abroad in honour of the several Saints in succession to which their churches and chapels have been dedicated. And when the county shall have been furnished with church accommodation for the remaining four-fifths of its population, additional improvement may be expected from those who now duly observe the orgies on the Saint's day, although the chapel dedicated to him* has long been a complete ruin. But our business is with cottages and not with churches ; but any one who really loves his Church must feel the dishonour hereby done to it ; and, if those good men of old be cognizant of human affairs, the sight of such proceedings must grieve them too ; and therefore his lordship is implored not to attempt to re-adjust this millstone about the neck of the Church of England. It is not in these so-called holy-days that the ' glimpses of heaven ' (to which his lordship beautifully alludes) are caught ; if they are to be found anywhere in this sin-stricken world, they are to be seen in the ' Cottager's Saturday Night,' and its hallowed accompaniments. There, the Christian religion is felt to be what its Divine Author intended—an all-pervading

* By the way, the dedication of a church to any *Saint* at all, is styled, in the Church "Book of Homilies," an abuse. (See Third Part of Sermon on Peril of Idolatry).

"principle to leaven every family in every land, preparatory to their forming a 'family in heaven.' Let us strive to make the homes of England happy, and the 'holydays' may be safely left to take care of themselves."—Pp. 30—35.

The experience of every one who has had opportunities of observing will more than bear out these remarks, and it is highly gratifying that they find utterance in the report of a society, whose aim is the benefit of the poor. The existence of fairs, races, and such *recreations* is the bane of the neighbouring population, and as such it is felt by the clergy. In London no one knows how fearful are the nightly orgies which go on unrebuked and unchecked, even where there are no fairs; but, alas! where these greater assemblies take place, a curse seems to brood over the neighbourhood, and many a thoughtless sinner's happiness is blasted for ever. Cultivate the mind, and bring up children with a sense of decency, and then some liberty may be given for amusements; but allow not an unbridled, untought, unrefined populace to mix in the delirium of the fair and the stupefaction of the alehouse. Few of our readers are aware of the awful increase of the gatherings in London among the lower orders. There is scarcely a street in several of the poorer parishes in London which has not one or more public rooms, in which men and women meet for dances, drinking, and nightly orgies. We are not speaking at random when we say that nearly all the labouring population of the metropolis earn wages enough to live in comparative comfort, but their improvidence is fearful, and the amount laid out in drink is almost past credence. *The London labourer has no home.* Ask not where are his children—his sons and his daughters—for you must not unveil the fault of the past in the sin of the present. In the first place, the Bible has not been taught them, for they have not been compelled to come in by the persuasion of kindness, and the voice of the minister. They have grown up as comparative heathens. In the next place, they have not been taught *natural religion*, for in what place could they learn it? Is it in their habitation, where a family lives in a room? Is it in the streets, where Satan holds his seat? Is it in assemblies of older persons who are advanced in crime and sin of every description? It is true that "some of the most valuable and amiable traits of the English character have their origin in *home*;" and, we say, give the poor the possibility of a home. They are at man's mercy, and at the mercy of circumstances, in the present state of things. Let us imagine, for a moment, a *family* of five, or seven, or ten, or more, in one room, and in this space every operation of domestic life must be performed; and there are thousands and thousands of families in this position. How-

ever, seldom, yet sometimes, clothes must be washed, and there is no escape for the steam and damp and misery. One of our clerical friends mentioned to us a case in which he visited a poor girl in a consumption, and found her in a room of this character, while the mother was washing the family change. The steam and the cough, the wasting misery, and the hastened death, will draw from every one a deep sigh, and surely call from every Christian a prayer and *deeds*. Or, again, we mention no romance of suffering when we refer to cases in which the living are in the same bed with the dead, or the healthy with those dying of contagious disease. It cannot be otherwise in the present cost of house-room. But a few days since, we were in a cottage which had a roof—and such a roof!—and it had four walls, but neither the one nor the other were wind and water-tight. There is a shed at the back in which utensils may be put. The *house* itself is about eighteen feet by six. Its height certainly did allow a man to stand upright, and that was all. The rent of this hovel is three shillings a week, and no repairs are done. It might be thought that the situation was the cause of this rent, but the fact is, that the situation is bad in every respect. It is very near vitriol factories and the factories of manufacturing chemists, and at times the stench is suffocating. It is distant at least a mile from any place where general employment is at all likely. It has all these evils, although it is within view of St. Paul's, that is, about three miles in a straight line; and, what renders it more melancholy, is the fact, that respectable eight and nine-roomed houses are within a mile of this hovel, of which the rent is under or about forty pounds per annum, so that the poor pay more than the rich for the miserable huts which they inhabit. Indeed, we can shew, by figures, that most houses would bring in more rent, if they were let out in single rooms to the poor than they now produce in the occupation of the rich. By a comparison of different localities in the metropolis, we find that small rooms average a rent of two and three shillings a week; and houses of four rooms average, at the lowest, a rent of about twenty pounds per annum. We unhesitatingly assert that no landed property or house property is comparable for productiveness to the dwellings of the poor; and, so profitable are these tenements, that, in many instances, they are hired for the purpose of under-letting; and unhappily we have heard of instances of such hiring being effected by some whose office* has for one of its duties to teach men not to oppress the poor. The name of these

* It is scarcely necessary to observe, that clergymen of the Church of England are not alluded to in the text.

associated rooms is commonly called a "rookery" which appellation we quote as painfully expressive of the nature of these miserable yet *costly* abodes. We can point out instances in which larger houses have been pulled down and smaller erected in their place, because more return is made upon money invested in such tenements; but, in almost every case, the mere poor suffer, because their position prevents them from offering terms, and compels them to lay out their little capital as they *can*. In this respect houses come under the general principle. Of course, as *credit* is a kind of capital, when a man buys on credit he enlarges the capital on which he has to pay interest; and few of the poor escape the penalty of paying for credit. To expect morality, where decency is impossible, is a dream and a delusion; to expect honesty and decency, where every hindrance presents itself, is visionary. The toilworn labourer is driven from home, because it is not a *home*; and, besides all this, religion, which alone could make such evils endurable, is not taught even in name. It is true, there are churches, but in most parts there is no superintendence of the poor; and how should there be, when in three adjoining parishes, which are now in our minds, there is a population of 80,000, and only five churches are in existence within their limits? One year and a half since, the clergy in these parishes were increased by *two*, and the total now is made up to the large number of nine, so that every clergyman, under a numerical division, would have nearly 10,000 souls under his care. But, even if there were an abundance of clergymen, it is not reasonable to expect that men will enter churches who live in such hovels. The change is too great, and it will never be found that the miserable inmates of such rooms betake themselves elsewhere than to the no less dirty and wretched taps, which abound most where there is most poverty. In parts of London where this filth and wretchedness prevails, the poor look with jealousy and dislike on any one who ventures Sunday by Sunday to church. Their herds are gathered at the broken windows, and the scoff and taunt accompany the worshippers as they wend their way to the house of their God; and shall we wonder, if the mass of the poor in the *great* metropolis enter no houses of God, claim no share in Christian privileges, and are utterly ignorant of spiritual blessings? It is not the want of church-room which keeps them from the house of prayer, it is not the height of the pews which imposes a barrier, it is not a false shame which shuts men from Christian communion. The instances, in which a large attendance of the poor is obtained, shew that all these barriers are surmountable. We never knew one man refuse to come because of pews, for their existence is rather an inducement, as many a sinner will come and hide himself in the corner of a high pew, rather than expose himself to the gaze of an assembly with whom he

has no feelings in common. The assiduity of parochial ministry, the labour which appears not to men, this it is which impels men to hear more of that truth which has vitality and bears its own credentials in the self-denying lives of its professors. But, alas! the great barrier which excludes men from outward privileges, is the inward consciousness which Ahab had in regard to Micajah. Their consciences tell them of the issue which awaits sinful lives, but they have no home which can teach them better things. The lesson which they learn of sin in their daily intercourse is kept in their memory by their chambers. There is every impediment against a poor man's Christianity. We suppose it will now be granted that education must progress, that the present demand must be supplied, and we would say, in solemn earnestness, that, unless means are taken, and that soon, to raise the standard of dwellings for the poor, some great revolution will result. It may be regarded as an axiom, that *an educated people can never lie passive in misery and suffering*. Either the suffering must cease, or the pent-up passions will exhibit themselves in ferocity, rendered more ferocious by the very power which education gives. Filthy and confined dwellings destroy life, undermine even the natural powers of opposing vice, and increase every kind of misery and suffering. There is no imaginable suffering which would be greater for an educated and accomplished person than a compulsory residence in one half the dwellings of the poorest of London. How long could refinement or delicacy resist such constant assaults? and let us suppose such an one hearing two sermons every seventh day, what are they compared to the speechless sounds which every surrounding circumstance gives out? The theory would draw one way, while the whole life bent the other. The whole character must alter, and, in self-defence, the mind must brutalise under the effects of that second nature which we call custom. It is true, that this is an improbable, nay, an impossible instance; but it shews in a strong light the tendency of associations, for, if they affect persons educated against them, and fortified against them by feeling and by nature, how infinitely more powerful are such associations when no obstacle resists, no barrier is raised against them, but when the whole education consists of such debasing circumstances! The material binds down the spiritual, and sensuality has its full sway, until it produces a more sensual offspring.

But, while we are writing of towns, it will not be right to pass over the country. Here is a sphere of purity, if we are to believe the poets or enthusiasts. The village, with its sweet lanes and its umbrageous foliage, and the church, with its spire pointing heavenwards, and the graves of the dead, the still and silent voice which tells us that we must

fall under the same curse, or which whispers of a quiet resting-place from cares, and a glorious resurrection; these are the topics of men who are sometimes apt to look from man to nature. Alas! rustic purity is a dream—guileless simplicity is a delusion. Statistics deny it. Mere worldly men, with their figures and calculations and comparisons, are compelled to give an unwilling testimony to the fall of man. Where shall we find virtue and purity, or even decency and shame? Our inquiries have been widely extended, and everywhere the plague-spot of immorality is seen. In most places it has lately been increasing, and in some we find it progressing in a fearful ratio.

"The evils glanced at are not such as appear in the Calendar of the Assize, nor (since the passing of the New Poor Law *) at the Sessions; but they are not the less evils on that account.

"The moral health of a nation is very much in the keeping of the women†; in the high and middle ranks of this country, this truth is fully admitted and acted on; but a language is occasionally employed, when the labouring classes in a neglected district are alluded to, as if the evils were past remedy, and as if, in the social chain, the lowest links must of necessity be trailed in the mud and mire of immorality.

"On this subject we shall only further remark, that, the more distinct the lodging apartment is in every cottage, the less liability is there of any irregular intrusion upon it. Where the sleeping apartments are above stairs, proprieties are held in greater estimation, and the facilities for outraging them are diminished."—Pp. 24, 25.

To talk of the purity of the rustics is worse than folly. If an inquiry is made, evidence is overwhelming. Facts are striking and incontrovertible; and therefore, instead of disputing facts, let us examine into causes. The Second Northumberland Report quotes, from Sir F. H. Doyle's (the Poor Law Assistant Commissioner's) Report, the following, which, from

* "No reflection on the New Poor Law is intended; the abuses in the Old Poor Law on the points here alluded to were frightful."

† "Mr. Swinburne, in his work on 'The Courts of Europe at the close of the last 'Cen'tury,' states that there was a foundation at Le Meril (near Paris) of 18 livres per annum to be given to the married woman of the village, whose first child was born at a reputable time after marriage. The curé told Mr. Swinburne, that there had not been above six claimants in twenty-one years. (Vol. ii, page 29). This was previous to the first French Revolution, which was preceded by a general relaxation of morals, and in the horrors of which, without incurring the charge of superstition, we may notice the proceedings of a chastising Providence.—Morality went out first, and order remained not long behind. This appears the established process; and he is the best friend to his country who supports in its purity that Christian faith which is the foundation of morality."

from its moderation and good sense, is worth every one's consideration:—

“In Northumberland, the ordinary cottages contain but one room, —perhaps 17 by 15 feet; in point of construction and ventilation there is nothing to be said for them; but, as the Northumbrians are, in spite of every thing, a healthy and vigorous race of men, such inconveniences do not amount to a crying evil; but when we find that a whole family, father and mother and children, of both sexes and of all ages, live together and have to sleep together in one and the same room, *any degree of indelicacy and unchastity ceases to surprise, and the only wonder is, that the women should behave as well as they do.*

“What I saw of the northern peasantry impressed me very strongly in their favour; they are very intelligent, sober and courteous in their manners; their courtesy, however, is not cringing, but coupled with a manly independence of demeanour; added to this, crime, as I was told, and as, indeed, from the annals of the Northern Circuit, I was previously aware, is all but unknown in Agricultural Northumberland; but, in spite of this, it was not denied, *that breaches of female chastity were somewhat common,—more common, for instance, than in Agricultural Yorkshire, though in general moral habits the Northumberland people have the advantage.* This, though it has escaped the farmers, may be in part attributable to the common employment of young unmarried women in field work, a thing, as I have stated, unusual in Yorkshire, and which, I understand, is elsewhere thought to demoralise; *but still more, I think, must the cottages in question be in fault.*”—Report on the Employment of Women and Children in Agriculture, 1843, pp. 289, 299. “I hope, however, and believe, that the landowners of Northumberland—and not of Northumberland alone—are becoming every day more deeply impressed with the feeling, that some sacrifice of time and thought, and even of amusement, in order to promote the general well-being of their dependents, is not a charity, but a duty,—the moral rent-charge attached to their properties, by the state from which they were derived. It is to the spread of this feeling, which, from its present activity, I cannot but confidently anticipate, that we must look for, among other advantages, a *complete re-organisation of Cottage Economy in Northumberland.*”—Pp. 299, 300. “The people are well off, *the cottages are improving,* though there is still much to be done. I went into several of them; they are well furnished. Many of them have a good deal of furniture, and the box-beds are gradually disappearing, which is in itself an improvement, and, besides, foretells the downfall of the single room cottage.”—P. 374.

"All that is wanting is, that they should be better housed. The Northumberland cottages are a drawback upon all other advantages they possess, and the cause, I doubt not, of great relaxation in morals."—P. 175.

The above is quoted by Dr. Gilly, whose labours have beneficially been employed on cottage improvement; and it is gratifying to learn that an improved habitation, including an oven, boiler, and grate, with two iron bedsteads, cost him only 57*l.* 15*s.* 7*d.*, so that even the selfish may be enticed to follow the example of the benevolent. To return, however, to the causes of immorality and vice, where shall we find a more naturally fertile source than in these one-roomed houses? Here mother and father, sisters and brothers, and sometimes even grandchildren, are huddled together. We will extract two examples:—

"A family of nine persons reside in a one-roomed cottage, erected just previously to the establishment of this Society; the daughter entered the married state; (not according to the old custom, and so far indicating a desire to conform to better and more Christian ways); her husband, being unexpectedly thrown out of work (as a mason), the scheme of hiring a separate cottage was postponed, and they remained some months with the parents of the bride in the above-mentioned one-roomed cottage; in due time she was in the same room delivered of an infant; so that in two box-beds, and a shake-down on the floor, were laid (including the infant) not fewer than eleven persons. Now, the most objectionable portion of this scene might have been obviated by an additional room; any outlet, whether on the same floor or above, might have remedied this evil.

"We must give one more instance, brought accidentally under the writer's notice about ten months ago. He entered a cottage (on business connected with professional duties) consisting of one room only, the floor of which, from the box-beds to the fire-place, measured eight feet, and from ten to twelve feet from the foot of the pink to the dresser. In this room were two box-beds; and the wife complained (without any remark from her visitor leading to such complaint) that in these two box-beds ten persons slept every night; their ages were from ten to thirty, to say nothing of an infant in the cradle on the floor, who, however, was but a temporary inmate." Pp. 26, 27.

The cause is not confined to towns, and the evils are not confined to towns. Everywhere man is the same, and, if temptation is set in his way, and no principle is engrafted, the harvest of evil shews itself prematurely. "Rough touches of ancient manners," says Mr. Fielde, the writer of the report, "may suit the admirers of the sentimental and picturesque, but those who are entrusted with responsibilities are

“ bound to consider *effects* and tendencies, instead of *effect* simply, the “ ‘all in all’ of the dreamy novelist and poet.” We must not shut our eyes to evils because we do not like to hear of them or see them ; and, if facts assure us of the existence and growth of a giant evil, we must confront it, find from whence it originates, what are the motive principles which cause its impetus, and by what means it may be checked.

• It is of no avail to regret and sympathise unless we act, and, if we are convinced that the separation of the sexes tends to promote virtue, it can no longer be a question whether anything shall be done, but the question must come home with a pungency, what is *at once* to be done ? It would be an insult to common sense to argue against a confusion so prevalent, a mixture so painful. Every one will admit that its effects are fatal to delicacy, to decency, or any true virtuous modesty. And when it is considered, that, in the lower orders, vice is not hindered by the knowledge that caste and station will thereby be lost, as it is overlooked, if not in some instances rewarded, who will not pity the tempted, and pray for the untaught or ill-taught ? Daily habits are far more powerful instructors than National School-masters, or Sunday-school teachers ; and, though sin in every sense is exceeding sinful, and we will not even seem to palliate it, yet there are many reasons why we should pity the transgressors. But we neither are able, nor ought we, to overlook the responsibility of those who have a knowledge of the debasing consequences of hovels, both as regards moral and physical depravity. Souls are hurried to death by the very circumstances, which have made them more unfit to meet the king of terrors. The young and old are familiarised with death, and no solemnity permitted, scarcely any external regard paid,—these are signs of the future which are lowering and portentous. But, when we write of responsibility, why should it be limited ? It rests on every one who has a tongue, a pen, and, above all, on such as are ambassadors of Christ. The rich will, nay, must do their duty, if the Church does its own, and we shall look in vain for a faithful clergy with a faithless laity. Both are under the same blight, or are shewing the same fruit. When Latimer preaches, Edward listens ; and when faithful boldness, albeit sometimes too impetuous, is heard in courts and in the halls of the rich, He who has given the faithfulness gives its effects. It is towards the clergy and the country gentlemen that we look for an example, and humanity as well as religion has a right to expect that no minister of the Word will cease his labour until every one-roomed house shall cease to be inhabited. If a man is married and has no children, he can afford to pay for two rooms, and, if he has children, it is indecent that all should eat, drink, and sleep in the same apartment. What we lack in England is heroism of every

kind. When once a danger is seen, it makes us hesitate and *calculate* its extent, whereas it is our duty to provide diligently the means of overcoming it. And so, also, the greatness of a work and its difficulties are the features which mainly present themselves to our view. Difficulties are more gratifying to our placidity than the triumph of labour to our vanity; and this quality, while it preserves us from many a failure, also spoils us of many a victory. Few men are conscious of their own real power for evil or for good, and certainly our Church is in entire ignorance of the immensity of good which its ministers might accomplish by firmness, and by a practical acquaintance with practical matters. At present, those of them who theorise and try to put in execution their views are met at every step by the general opinion that clergymen know nothing but Latin and Greek, and that, accordingly, their advice is unnecessary. It costs but trifling labour to produce a far different result, and yet no toil would be thrown away on such an attainment. Contrast the scholar and theologian in a country parish, and the practical scholar, who knows men and their pursuits, whose learning is brought to bear on every subject, and produces from his perpetual store-house things new and old. A man of one pursuit is thrown away where his flock are of many and diverse followings. It is not that such an one is deficient in real talent; but the truth is, that we estimate others by what we know, and can admit that a man is superior in every point when he outstrips us in all or most of our own studies or practices. These remarks are not by way of blame but of suggestion, and perchance, like the whetstone, we can sharpen though we cannot cut. We beg our readers to remember, however, that each of them, as an Englishman, must avoid his country's fault, and not fall back in despair when the difficulty challenges and ought to tempt him to the struggle. It is the best way to prove our strength by trying it, and, by a painful labour, to shew how much may be done even by the weakest; for, surely, the weaker men are, so much the more energy is required before any great thing can be done. And we confess, that it is a great thing which our country demands of us, which our religion bids, and our nature yearns after. It is a great demand which is now made upon the clergy by the perils of their Church and country; but, surely, if there is faith enough for the cure of souls, there must be *energy* sufficient for the care of temporal interests. We may all become learners at the feet of the Northumbrian gentlemen. They make no large professions, much less do they satisfy their consciences by finding fault with their neighbours. A public meeting was held at Alnwick, in October, 1841, at which Lord Ossulston, M. P., and Mr. Cresswell, M. P., fifteen lay gentlemen, and seven clergymen attended. It was at first intended to confine the society to the northern division of

the county, but in October, 1844, it was made to embrace the whole shire. In the rules we find the following plain enunciation of their policy. They do not invite complaints, but ask for information of every improvement, that ambition may be roused, and inactivity called into activity.

3. "That the practical objects of the Society be to invite communications from landowners, or their agents, from occupiers of land, as to any remarkable improvements in cottages and cottage gardens, which they have effected or promoted, and especially all particulars regarding the plans adopted and the outlay incurred."

This rule was enlarged and explained at the meeting of 1844; but, as the principle is maintained still, we have given the old rule as the basis of the Society. In this unostentatious way, the Third Report records numerous instances of improvement, commencing with the Duke of Northumberland's cottages, to each of which there is a dairy and porch, and some of these have byres at the end. Without the byre, each cottage need only cost £72, and, with it, £81. The Duke has built eleven of this description since 1842, and five more were in progress in June of last year. At Denwick, the Duke has also built two excellent cottages, in which there is considerable accommodation, for a total of 162*l.* 10*s.* 4*d.*

The second case is of three cottages built for Mr. Tewart, at Swinhoe; and here we observe, with great pleasure, that each of these has a garden of 370 square yards. Would that this plan were more common! With the exception of lime and carriage, each of these costs not quite £48, although they have two rooms, besides a pantry and coal-house. In the same place the same gentleman has built six more cottages of two stories, which, like the rest, have piggeries, and ashpits, and gardens, but of 70 square yards. To these cottages are added a cow-house and separate inclosed stackyard for their hayricks. But what is our astonishment to find that the cost of each of these, with the same exception as in the previous case, is under £44.

In another case we cannot refrain from quoting part of a letter from Mr. Silvertop, of Ministeracres:—"I have built several cottages on this estate, and, independent of gardens, many of them have the enjoyment of small pieces of ground; and I hope next year that every cottager will have the enjoyment of both." Some of the cottages referred to are upon a very excellent scale, but each of these costs under £100, and one room in these is usually let to a miner.

The recommendation of Mr. Jobling, under certain circumstances, is also useful; and, as he has practised his remedy, he has a claim to be heard. The plan is, when three cottages stand together, to divide the centre one between the two extremes.

We were exceedingly tempted to transfer verbatim to our pages a very useful and brief account of some garden allotments at Swalwell, but must reserve them for a future article on the allotment system. Each subject deserves a separate consideration. In taking our leave of the "Reports," we cordially recommend every county to follow so good an example. Dorsetshire needs an instructor in cottage comfort, and it may look northwards. Devonshire and Kent may learn, and the east, with its agricultural Norfolk and Suffolk, no less than the rest. If there are still some persons who disregard cottage improvement, let them study these "Reports," and the plans annexed, and we are sure that, on moral and even on economical grounds, they will be converts. The neat cottage, with its unaffected simplicity, is one of the prettiest sights which our country can exhibit. And we know no evidence more tangible of the landlord's thoughtful kindness than where he places his dependents in comfortable habitations. Few can pass by such sights without inquiring their history; but we hope their frequency will soon afford more occupation to inquirers. We remember not many years since, at all events, before we had many grey hairs, to have been highly gratified with a sight like this. Some six or seven miles from Worksop, in Nottinghamshire, at a village called Buddby, Lord Manvers has some twelve or more pretty white cottages, on which the roses and jasmine are trailed, and about them there is an indescribable charm which speaks of quiet, peacefulness, and happiness. Each has its neat garden, and the whole front the road, across which there is what, in our feelings of admiration, we would call a pretty meandering rivulet, and beyond this is a grove of shady trees. In the rear is an extensive park. Some envious persons might easily, we confess, denominate the rivulet a ditch, and the grove an alder car, and our lowland a swamp, or might affirm that a row of paling intercepted the cottages from the park; nevertheless, we adhere to our description; and, that we may not give the semblance of yielding, we will add to the general picture the outline of a school, and whisper that at it titled dames teach without calling themselves "sisters of charity," and that active benevolence finds abundant scope in providing for the girls in after-life. The very atmosphere is delightful, and the malicious slanderer there sinks back into his natural character of the spiteful envier. And many are the similar scenes in happy England; therefore let us give the absent and the far distant great credit for some of that benevolence, which men would fain monopolise to themselves. Believe no ill until it is shewn; and where men see unexpectedly some great good, they would do well to remember that there may be many of a similar character in parts unknown. It is true, men are not as they *ought* to be; cottages are not what they *might* be, as

we have attempted to shew by this casual glance towards them ; but, when each of us has done all he can in behalf of the poor, then may he sweepingly condemn his superiors in society. When our teachers have a self-denying life and holy boldness, others are compelled to learn in spite of themselves ; and, unless we learn our dangers, inevitably danger shall become destruction ; nor shall we have the merit of complacently perishing in the dark, or suddenly, but our ruin will be illumined by the light which the bitterness of neglected experience shall cast around us. Somewhat has been done in the north of England, and somewhat has been effected in London ; but miserably little in comparison with the crying nature of the evil. In truth, Christian England is not acquainted with the nature of the duty and its facility, or at once would she have spoken, and not allowed her toil-worn sons to dwell in houses and with comforts far inferior to those of the inmates of many a union-house. We speak advisedly when we thus contrast them ; and, while many declaim against oppression of the pauper, our energies ought to be employed in behalf of the producers of our wealth and comforts. We will not think so ill of our country as to believe it reckless of the comforts of the lower orders ; and, though patience is required of all who labour in this cause, yet there is no excuse for being fainthearted. We would remind the country landlord of his happy superiority over the mill-owner, for he has a population attached to his land, and it is his own fault if they are discontented and quarrelsome. Their requirements are small, and perhaps less than they ought to be. Their ideas are in many instances a positive hindrance in the way of improvement, though in this we are far superior to our sister Ireland. These difficulties are but incentives to energy and caution, and then shall we retain a bold and hardy race, not nurture a sensual horde who endanger every position of society. Education on Christian principles will adapt them for further enjoyments, and we shall, with God's blessing, have, what we now have not, a virtuous peasantry, a blessing to themselves, and an honour to their country. Our humble classes ought to be the bulwarks of the crown, and the unpaid protectors of a wise and benevolent aristocracy. It would be beyond the power of agitators to sow seeds of discord, if the rich remembered their responsibility, and bound to themselves by the silken yet indissoluble fetters of gratitude the poor, who surround them. In towns it is a privilege which none can enjoy ; but, in the country, all who are anxious to merit their country's praise will make strong that loyal love by which the inferior order looks up to its superior for comfort and support. These are days in which no wise man will neglect any influence, for he may soon be called on to exercise every nerve in behalf of his fatherland and its institutions.

PAROCHIAL SERMONS: HASTINGS AND BLENCOWE.

"Parochial Sermons, from Advent to Trinity Sunday." By HENRY JAMES HASTINGS, M.A., Rector of Areley Kings. London: Hatchards, 1845.

"Plain Sermons, addressed to a Country Congregation." By the late REV. EDWARD BLENCOWE, M.A., Curate of Teveral, Nottinghamshire, and formerly Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford. London: G. Bell, 1845.

THAT day in the year on which a new volume of sermons does not issue from the press must, we could almost think, be remarkable in the booksellers' calendar at the present era. New names meet our eye in all directions; interspersed, at modest intervals, with the re-appearance of old friends and acquaintances. And it is worthy of remark, that, although, from among the varied group of homilists, a large number might be dismissed as below criticism, yet a numerous selection might quickly be made of works possessing very considerable value. Many such works in the present day fail of attaining the notice they merit, and are confined to the perusal of subscribers and friends, in consequence of a sort of bewilderment produced in the mind of the public by the unconscious competition of pious, earnest, and learned writers. Had either of the publications named at the head of this article appeared twenty or thirty years ago, it would have gone far towards establishing the permanent fame and influence of its author. They are, however, among the best of modern times in their own peculiar style and scope, namely, as a series of plain and practical addresses; not so much calculated to teach scientific divinity, or to delight the intellect or imagination, as to create a lasting impression on the simple-minded, and, by a faithful use of the humble doctrines of the Gospel, to convert sinners, and to edify believers. These sermons are adapted to the most ordinary understanding, having been prepared in each case for the instruction of a country congregation; while, at the same time, they possess an elegance which simplicity does not exclude. It seems as though their authors had laboured to attain the difficult art of writing acceptably and yet plainly; and we are sure that the most refined will derive as much pleasure and profit from their perusal, as the less educated classes, for whose benefit they were originally designed.

It is a mistake, which is too often committed, and which we have

noticed in the case of some recent works, to seek to attain simplicity and perspicuity by homely, coarse, or too familiar writing. We do not think we shall lessen their merit, if we say that the reverse is the case in the compositions now before us. We think it, however, worth while calling the attention of the clergy and others for a moment to this subject. Some judgment is required not only in preparing for pulpit ministrations, but in making selections from printed discourses, where such responsibility exists, for the instruction of dependants, cottage readings, and similar purposes. We believe that the lower orders understand good language to a much greater extent than they have generally credit for doing. And there is a peculiar sensitiveness among them, which rebels against a style that bears the stamp of *condescension*. It may even happen, we think, that a composition ranging in many parts above their comprehension will affect them more than a plainer address, which might, from too great homeliness, become cold and repulsive. But, however this may be, there can be no doubt that he will bear the palm, who, while he makes himself clearly understood, applies the graces of art, without ostentation, to the addresses which he prepares. Both Mr. Hastings and the lamented Mr. Blencowe deserve this praise. We trust that these forcible exhibitions of Gospel truth will attract the attention they deserve, and become, as they are calculated to be, extensively useful.

The following passage from Mr. Hastings's Sermon for Good Friday (on the text 1 John iv. 10) is an instance of his usual clearness in the statement of truth :—

“This personal application of the blood of Christ to the conscience can alone give it peace. There is no exclusion to any member of Christ's visible body, who draws nigh in a proper spirit. We are baptised in the name of the Lord Jesus, and in that holy covenant all these blessed privileges arising out of the death of Christ have been made over to us on our repentance and faith. No person received into the communion of Christ's Church must deem himself excluded. The baptised, indeed, no less than the unbaptised, must repent and be converted that their sins may be blotted out. Every soul, in order to its cleansing, must take of the blood, and sprinkle it by faith upon the conscience. To such there is ‘redemption through the blood of ‘Christ, even the forgiveness of sins*.’ Nor is guilt alone done away;

* Eph. i, 7.

"the 'conscience is purged from dead works to serve the living God*.'
 "Sin is dethroned from its empire within. The evil one is cast out from
 "his stronghold. The heart acquiesces in the Divine holiness, as well
 "as in the Divine love. The will of God becomes the pardoned sin-
 "ner's law. His heart—his life—his soul—his all are consecrated to
 "'Him that loved us, and washed us from our sins in his own blood†.'
 "We discern the manifold wisdom of God in this mysterious cross.
 "When it is applied to the sinner's heart by faith, it not only takes
 "away his guilt, but it gives him active motives—fresh powers—re-
 "newed strength—an enlarged heart, to run the way of God's com-
 "mandments. It is a most fearful abuse of the passion, and a most
 "dangerous downfall for the soul, to suppose that it reconciles God to
 "sin, or renders Him favourable to those who remain under its power.
 "It enables Him to pardon it consistently with his truth. It furnishes
 "the pardoned sinner with the means of sanctification. The propitia-
 "tion, in order to its being individually efficient for justification or re-
 "mission of sin, must be efficient also for the cleansing of the heart,
 "and the purification of the life. To continue in sin, in order that the
 "grace of God may abound, is to deceive our souls, and to nullify and
 "counteract all the remedial virtues of the great propitiation. They who
 "set in this spirit are as much enemies to the cross of Christ as those
 "who deny its atoning virtue."—Pp. 310—312.

Affectionate earnestness in the application of Christian doctrine is no
 less conspicuous in Mr. Hastings than clearness in its enunciation.
 There is a spirit of fervent pastoral love, an anxious watching for souls,
 always apparent in his discourses. Perhaps there is no subject on
 which a faithful minister feels more deeply interested than on the atten-
 tion paid by the members of his flock to the Sacrament of the Lord's
 Supper. It pains him to see negligence or dereliction of duty in this
 important matter; and if, as is too generally the case, he has reason to
 believe that such dereliction arises from superstition or unbelief, (it is
 often hard to say which—they are so nearly akin to one another), he
 cannot rest until he has, by all means in his power, offered such in-
 struction, as may, under God's blessing, form a remedy for the evil.
 In a valuable Sermon on the Lord's Supper, (on Matt. xxvi, 26—28),
 Mr. H. has the following, among his concluding exhortations:—

"But there are those who recognise this duty—who are not alto-
 "gether careless and negligent, but who are procrastinators—who delay

* Heb. ix, 14.

† Rev. i, v.

“from time to time the great work of their salvation, who hope to be
 “religious by and by; who say within themselves, that they will come
 “to the Lord’s table at some future day,—that they will attend to the
 “things that make for peace with God, and the soul’s salvation, at
 “some other opportunity. My brethren, bear in mind, that time does
 “not stand still, while you are putting off repentance from day to day.
 “You do not know how near you may be to judgment at this present
 “moment, how close you may be standing to the borders of eternity;
 “you do not know how soon an un-looked-for accident, as it is termed,
 “or a violent disease, a burning fever, or an acute inflammation, might
 “remove you from life, and from all the means of salvation. If you
 “acknowledge that you *ought* to serve God, if you mean to do it at
 “some future time, why not do it *now*? There is such a thing as the
 “force of habit, and there is no habit more enthralling—none more
 “dangerous—more insidious—more certainly fatal in its operations,
 “than the habit of delay. If you delay doing any thing at the time
 “at which you ought to do it, you will be still more inclined to delay
 “doing it the next time that the same thing ought to be done; and so
 “on successively, till you will begin to think the business done because
 “it has been delayed. Thus will it be in respect of the salvation of
 “your soul. It will recede from before your eyes till they close in
 “death—till you hear the sound reverberating in your ears, too late!
 “too late!”—Pp. 288, 289.

Again, addressing the superstitiously fearful:—

“Your fear is, that you possibly may commit some sin afterwards
 “which would increase your guilt. But a sin after prayer, a sin after
 “the ordinances of religion in the house of God, might as well drive
 “you from the use of these means, as the possibility of a sin after the
 “Lord’s Supper keep you from kneeling at that holy table. Remember
 “that this is a means of grace appointed by Christ Himself, a channel
 “for conveying his blessing to your soul. On your part it is an act of
 “faith in Christ, as our only Lord and Saviour. It is an act by which
 “each one feeds upon Him spiritually, by which each one applies to
 “himself the body and blood of Christ for his soul’s salvation. It is
 “an act of self-condemnation for sin, an act of stedfast determination
 “against it. In doing an act of this kind, we draw nigh to God in
 “Christ. We come to Him as penitent sinners—we approach Him as
 “believers in the Lord. It is surely good for us to do this, if we do it
 “honestly—if we do it with good intent, in simplicity of heart, without
 “hypocrisy, without any reserve, without partiality and love for our
 “sins. There are some persons, of whom one cannot but think that
 “they hope to be saved by Jesus Christ, who still refuse to communicate.

"How such persons can think themselves guiltless in omitting to do this in remembrance of Him who shed his blood on the cross for them I cannot think; but, my brethren, a proper fear is one thing, an over-scrupulous dread is another. If you are intending to sin on, you have reason to be afraid. But if you desire to serve God in the Gospel of his Son, if your desire is towards Him and the remembrance of his Name, then draw near with faith, and take this holy sacrament to your comfort."—Pp. 292, 293.

There are some who affirm that Evangelical preaching is deficient in moral sanctions: and that the doctrine of judgment is neglected, and the sanctifying power of the cross forgotten, by those with whom the stonement of Christ, and justification by faith in him, are the prominent topics of discourse. Perhaps few of our readers labour under such an erroneous impression; but let the following extract bear witness against the slanderers of Gospel preaching:—

"As some presume unwarrantably upon mercy, so others are beguiled into disbelief of judgment. They do not credit it, that God will execute the sentence which He has pronounced against sin. They may admit, perchance, that the Bible is true in the gross, but they will deny in detail many of the statements of the Bible. Such persons cannot believe that their offences deserve the punishment which God has threatened against sin. They cannot even be assured that sin is in itself so heinous and hateful to God as his word represents, and as his servants would have them to believe. They parry off the direct and plain declarations of Holy Writ; they are quick to discover some mode of escape for themselves, while the record which God has given of his Son, as 'the way, the truth, and the life*', is frittered away into barren generalities. They dream of security in the ways of sin till they are brought almost to believe their own lie, and to remove hell and judgment altogether out of sight. The cross of Christ is set before us in the word as the power of God unto salvation—as the means by which the principalities and powers of darkness are spoiled—as the instrument by which sin is at once pardoned and conquered. But Satan amuses his victims, by exhibiting to their view other objects of trust, while he pours contempt on the revealed Saviour, and keeps out of sight the love and power and energy of his cross. Are there not those here present who can testify, that, by some such process as this, their minds are kept from resting in simple faith upon Jesus as their Lord and their God? While you profess to be followers of the

* John, xiv, 6.

“ ‘Lamb of God, who taketh away the sin of the world*,’ are you not conscious to yourselves that you possess little comfort from any communion with Him? If your hearts could be now brought to give a faithful answer, would not that answer be this, that you have hitherto felt little compunction and sorrow for sin—that you have not found the burden of it so intolerable to you as to be constrained to lay it down at the foot of the cross, and to repose all your hope for salvation upon Him who came down from heaven to stand in your stead, and to endure for you the curse of a broken law?”—Pp. 166, 168.

The following is the conclusion of an impressive Sermon on Isaiah xlv, 20:—

“ Again, do we think that our course of life is respectable and moral, —very different from the multitude, who walk according to their own hearts’ lust, in open profligacy, in riotous and licentious living, in dishonest and fraudulent courses? Does any say within himself, ‘I am not as other men are, extortioners, unjust, adulterers,’ and therefore I need be under no apprehension? Take care that such confidence be not likewise mistaken. Take care lest, being weighed in the balance, you be found wanting: Not by works of righteousness which we have done did God save us at the first, but of his own mercy, by the washing of regeneration, and the renewing of the Holy Ghost. Not by works of righteousness which we have done will God save us at the last, but, being justified by his grace, we shall be made heirs according to the hope of everlasting life. To do righteously, to love mercy, to walk humbly with God,—this must be the great business, effort, labour, desire of the true Christian. But, after all that we have done or can do, we are unprofitable servants. Every thing else will prove a lie in our right hand, so far as our justification is concerned, save Jesus Christ as the hope of glory: ‘whom God hath set forth to be a propitiation through faith in his blood, to declare his righteousness for the remission of sins that are past, through the forbearance of God. To declare, I say at this time, his righteousness, that He might be just, and the justifier of him that believeth in Jesus†.’ ”

“ Once more; let us inquire whether there be in us a bare and naked confidence in Scriptural knowledge, or in the profession of certain doctrines contained in Scripture, and justly deemed of vital importance! Do we in fact take our stand upon a form of profession, as some take their stand upon a form of ceremonies? My brethren, you may rest assured that the one, as well as the other, will prove as the lie in

“our right hand; will disappoint our expectation; will belie our trust; and, at the great and coming day which shall try every man’s work of what sort it is, will fail us in our greatest hour of need. Christ must be enthroned in our hearts. The hand of our soul must take a firm hold of Him. We must put on the Lord Jesus. We must be clothed with Him for wisdom, righteousness, sanctification, and redemption. In the hour of death *He* alone can be to us a strong tower; in the day of judgment *He* alone can deliver us. Repair to Him now as the Prophet, Priest, and King of his Church; and in passing onward through this new period of life upon which we have entered, let Him be your stay, your guide, your confidence. Feed not on ashes; let not a deceived heart turn you aside; look for deliverance from above. Let there be no lie in your right hand; but let your soul firmly rest on Christ as the rock of your salvation.”—Pp. 141—143.

We shall offer a few extracts from the other valuable collection of discourses, to which we have already referred in our introductory remarks; though there is, perhaps, less occasion for doing so, as the volume has already received favourable notice in many other quarters. There is a great similarity of design, as well as unity of doctrine in both the works under our notice; though there are minor differences of style and manner, which we shall leave our readers to remark for themselves. A frequent reference to the text of Scripture is perhaps one of the most striking features of Mr. Hastings’s Sermons, and his language is generally careful and well rounded. The art of making a practical and personal application of the various subjects treated of has, we think, been most successfully attained by Mr. Blencowe; whose addresses could not fail to be impressive, from the pointed way in which they are directed to the lively sympathies and affections of his hearers. They are of that class of compositions which, though they please much when read, leave an idea that they would be much more effective when spoken either by the writer himself, or by some one who should imbibe his spirit, and could call to his aid an appropriate delivery. The following is the commencement of a Sermon on 1 Cor. iii, 9:—

“The harvest is passed; the summer is ended; the year has almost run its round. Your corn is safely housed; the reaper’s sickle is put by; shouts of joy have welcomed the harvest home. Is the farmer’s labour done? No, the plough is even now at work again; the ground must be prepared; the seed must soon be sown for next year’s crops; the sower treads close on the reaper’s heels. So continual is the round; so sure the word of God, that seed-time and harvest shall not cease, and that man shall eat his bread in the sweat of his brow. But, as

"the seasons pass by us, as the work of husbandry goes on, as the plough and the harrow, the hoe and the reaping-hook, are one after another called into use,—is there no lesson to us in these things? Is there no spiritual teaching, no voice from God? Yea, surely, my brethren, all nature speaks to us, if we would hear, and the words of the text call us to listen to its voice. 'Ye are God's husbandry,' says the Apostle, addressing all baptised Christians. Ye yourselves are the field of God which He has enclosed and hedged in; which He has purchased to be His own possession; on which He has bestowed His care; and on which He comes to look, expecting to find some produce, some growth, some return answerable to the management bestowed.

"I shall endeavour, then, by God's help, from these words to offer some thoughts to you, which, through His blessing, may go with you to the farm and to the field; may occur to you at the plough; may rise to your mind in your morning or your evening walk, and may win you, perhaps, for a while from the care of earthly and passing things, to meditate on those that are of eternal importance. May God's Holy Spirit vouchsafe his presence!" Pp. 339, 340.

In the discourses we are now speaking of there is a sort of patriarchal spirit, which enters warmly into the private interests and local concerns of the parties addressed; and must be calculated to give additional influence to the lessons sought to be conveyed. We need not cite any special instances of this, which will be found to exist throughout. On the pastoral relations of minister and people the author speaks in a solemn and striking manner in a Sermon on Heb. xiii. 17, where he pleads strongly for the authority of those who have received a commission to bear spiritual rule from the hands of a Bishop in a full assembly of the Church. It is possible, however, to forget, or to lead others to forget, that the true commission of the Christian minister is from Christ himself. This is not forgotten by Mr. Blencowe; but there is danger, especially at the present day, of representing the clergy as the emissaries of the Church, in such a way as to obscure the more important truth that they are ambassadors of Christ. Our readers will have pleasure in comparing the Third Sermon in Mr. Hastings' volume, who dwells much on the responsibility of ministers in the latter point of view.

The views of Mr. Blencowe on "The New Creature," will be interesting to our readers, (Text, 2 Cor. v. 17):—

"St. Paul, who wrote these words, gives us in his own example—in the history of his own conversion—the best comment upon them. Read what he was while yet in his sins, while yet alienated from the life of God through the ignorance that was in him; and, then, reflect on what he became, after that the grace of God had arrested him, and

"laid him low before the feet of Jesus, and you will see that he truly
 "described his own case when he said, 'If any man be in Christ, he is
 "a new creature: old things are past away; behold, all things are be-
 "come new.' In St. Paul's case this was a sudden—an almost instan-
 "taneous change. One moment he is on his way to Damascus, breath-
 "ing out threatenings and slaughter against the disciples of the Lord,
 "persecuting unto death all those who called upon the name of Jesus;
 "the next moment, a great light from heaven shines around him; he is
 "struck to the ground; the voice of his injured Saviour sounds in his
 "ears; and trembling and astonished he asks, 'Lord, what wilt thou
 "have me to do?' Blinded by that unearthly light, he remained three
 "days in darkness—days doubtless of inward agony of mind, of deep
 "sorrow for sin, of searching self-inquiry, of earnest prayer. So wrapt
 "up in fear and awe had the voice from heaven left him, that for these
 "three days and nights he neither ate nor drank. One burning thought
 "was upon his mind,—that he had been a persecutor and blasphemer of
 "Him who was his Lord and God; one hope for the future—that He,
 "whom he was learning thus late to own as his Lord, had yet something
 "in store for him to do. Then came the voice of comfort; 'Brother
 "'Saul,' said Ananias unto him, 'the Lord (even Jesus that appeared
 "'unto thee in the way as thou earnest) hath sent me, that thou mightest
 "'receive thy sight, and be filled with the Holy Ghost. And imme-
 "'diately there fell from his eyes as it had been scales; and he received
 "'sight forthwith, and arose, and was baptised.' (Acts, ix, 17, 18).
 "Thus were his sins washed away, and the blessed hope of eternal life
 "was given him through faith in Christ Jesus. 'And straightway he
 "preached Christ in the synagogues, that He is the Son of God.' St.
 "Paul was now in Christ, united to Him by faith in baptism, grafted
 "into his body, made a partaker of his death and of his resurrection,
 "sealed and sanctified by his Spirit, filled and animated by his love.
 "From that time forth he was a new creature, new-born, new-created
 "by the wonder-working grace of God. Old things had passed away;
 "former sins were blotted out and forgiven; old thoughts, old habits,
 "old desires were gone, like the phantoms of a dark and guilty dream.
 "The world, with its ambitious hopes of a name and a glory upon earth,
 "was crucified unto him, and he unto the world. He had died unto
 "sin, and he had risen again with Christ. All was become new; a
 "new heart was given him; he lived a new life of faith and holiness;
 "he laboured from a new principle, the love of God in Christ Jesus;
 "he hoped for heaven on new grounds—not from his own self-wrought,
 "fancied righteousness, but because 'there is now no condemnation to
 "them which are in Christ Jesus, who walk not after the flesh, but

"after the Spirit." The conversion—the change—which took place in St. Paul, is necessary, though not in exactly the same manner, yet in its general features, for all of us. For he says, 'If any man be in Christ, he is a new creature.' But unless we are indeed in Christ: not only called by his name, but quickened by his Spirit: not only grafted into his Church, but abiding in Him as living branches: not only once made members of Him in baptism, but having ourselves a personal living faith in Him; if we are not thus in Christ, assuredly we are not in a state of salvation."—Pg. 94—97.

The following passage from a Sermon on "Excuses of Noncommuni-
cants" may be placed side by side with one of our quotations from Mr. Hastings:—

"I come now to consider another excuse, which is most commonly made for not attending this sacrament:—'I am not fit to come.' And this is a very difficult one to answer; for it is made by a great number of persons, of very different characters and feelings. It may be the language of mere carelessness and indifference, or of wilful intention to go on in sin; or, it may be the mistake of some person really humble, and thinking himself unworthy to draw near to so holy a thing. Now, to the former, I should desire to speak in such terms as might alarm and rouse them; to the latter, I would wish to use words of encouragement. The greater part of those who say, 'I do not feel myself worthy to come to this sacrament,' would speak more truly if they said, 'I do not wish to be worthy.' This is the case with those who are living in any known sin. They think, and they think rightly, that, if they receive the sacrament, they ought to become better men; they ought not to swear, to get drunk, to quarrel, to be passionate, to stay away from church. They know all this well, but they know also that these things are pleasant to them; they have no wish to give up their favourite sins; and they come not to the sacrament, because they are not willing to turn from ungodliness—to cut off the right hand, or pluck out the right eye—even the lusts they love. To all such we cry aloud in earnest and affectionate warning, and say, How long, wilful sinner, will you provoke God? Are you safe in your sin, because you stay away from the sacrament? No. Whilst any one continues in sin, in impenitence and forgetfulness of God, he is not fit to join in any holy ordinance—he cannot pray while the love of sin has entire rule in his heart. And most surely he is utterly unfit to die. What, then, must such an one do? He must forthwith resolve to turn away from his iniquity. To him the word of God speaks when it says, 'Cast away from you all your transgressions, whereby ye have transgressed, and make you a new heart and a new

"*spirit.*" He must begin to pray with real desire for the grace of God. He must look for pardon to the Lord Jesus Christ, who died even for the chief of sinners; and so he must come to the table of the Lord, there to be confirmed and strengthened in his purposes of good.

"Brethren, is there one among you given to any wilful sin? Is there a swearer? Is there a drunkard? Is there a fornicator? Is any a slanderer, or one who entertains malice and hatred in his heart? 'Let no man deceive you with vain words; for because of these things the wrath of God cometh upon the children of disobedience.' 'Be not deceived; God is not mocked: for whatsoever a man soweth, that shall he also reap.' They that do such things shall not inherit the kingdom of God. Repent you, and be converted; and so, for Christ's sake, shall your sins be blotted out. Come not as you are to the table of the Lord, but yet dare not to rest, no, not a day, in such a state, but so prepare yourselves that you may come." (Pp. 202—204).

We shall only give one more extract, which forms the conclusion of a Sermon written two months only before the author's death, and never preached by him. The subject which occupied his reflections was "The unsearchable riches of Christ;" and the result of his labours was a faithful, practical, and earnest address. He has now tasted more deeply, we trust, than is permitted to flesh and blood, of those unsearchable riches.

"But Christ keeps His richest gifts to the last. It is after death that He bestows on them that love Him the full cup of salvation, the everlasting blessedness of heaven. What the saints of God will then be, we know not yet; 'but we know,' says an apostle, 'that when He shall appear we shall be like Him, for we shall see Him as He is.' To be like Christ must at once be happiness, for then we shall have done with sin for ever. Our bodies raised from the grave, will be new-clad with glory and immortality, and so we shall ever be with the Lord.

"These, my dear brethren, are the Christian's blessings—this, if we be faithful, is our promised and exceeding great reward. O think how far Christ's riches are better than all this world's good, and all the pleasures of sin! If you gain those, they will comfort you through life; and at death, when the worldly man loses all, you will be entering on the full possession of the unsearchable riches of your God and Saviour. Earnestly, then, and most affectionately, let me entreat you to seek, each for himself, these true riches. Do your past sins weigh upon your mind? Confess them to God, and humbly and with all your heart pray that through the blood of Christ they

"may be forgiven you. Do you feel how weak you are, how unable to do good, or to keep from evil? Behold, God's holy spirit is promised to them that ask Him. Do you doubt whether there can be mercy and grace for you? Think that Christ's riches are unsearchable. Thousands on thousands of souls may be enriched by Him, and yet His store of heavenly blessings be no less. Would that but one of you, especially amongst the young, might be persuaded to try and be rich towards God! You do not know what comfort and joy there is in endeavouring to please Him. May He draw you by His grace, bless, preserve, and sanctify you! Amen." (Pp. 40, 41).

The absence of controversy gives the discourses contained in both the volumes under notice a peaceful solemnity and an edifying simplicity. With the exception of a few occasional, and perhaps inevitable, allusions to the unscriptural doctrines of the Church of Rome, their authors proceed calmly on their way, illustrating and enforcing the word of God, regardless of the disputes and contentions unhappily prevailing both within and without our Church. They each of them manifest the highest love and esteem for that Church, and call the attention of their hearers, on all fitting opportunities, to its superior excellences, and to its claims on their allegiance and regard. Mr. Blencowe has left behind him, among the rest, several discourses on our Liturgy and solemn seasons; while it will be seen, from the title of Mr. Hastings' book, that he has arranged his Sermons in accordance with the course of our ecclesiastical year. Mr. Hastings has done this judiciously and modestly; not confining himself always to the choice of a text from some part of the standing services, but making the subject of the day or season in some degree a guide to his meditations. The course of the teaching of our formularies, like a silken thread, will profitably supply the preacher with a clue to the faithful instruction of his hearers. Let us, however, be always careful, lest, in an earnest and praiseworthy endeavour to imbibe the spirit of our Church, we do not convert its gentle guidance into chains and fetters.

THE RESTLESS WORLD.

"Getting and spending, we lay waste our powers."—WORDSWORTH.

Go, mark the busy ones of earth their ceaseless labours ply !
 Let groups of earnest toilers pass before the thoughtful eye !
 Note all their struggles, all their toils, their strivings and their pains ;
 Count up the cost, deduct the loss, and sum up all their gains.

What is it ? Foolishness, or worse—a wicked waste of powers
 Given to garner other things than aught which time devours ;
 Given to build up other fanes, than such as human hands
 Are ever rearing proudly on the treacherous, shifting sands.

One gathers heaps of yellow dross, which he must leave behind ;
 Another grasps at honours which are empty as the wind :
 Here panting crowds do madly run the race of earthly fame,—
 The prize, a fading laurel-wreath, a soon-forgotten name.

There wades a warrior deep in blood, to gain a shaking throne,
 And pile a kingdom up whose wrecks will soon abroad be strewn ;—
 And there a statesman climbs the hill which leadeth unto power ;
 He sinks, or gains the barren top, and lives to curse the hour.

Look east, look west, look where you will, activity prevails,—
 The desert hath its caravans, the sea its countless sails ;
 Within the bowels of the earth the miner delves and bores,
 And, eagle-like, the aeronaut above the mountain soars.

Where'er the north wind freezes, and where'er the sunbeam warms,
 Earth, like a mighty ant-hill, teems with busy, restless swarms ;
 And yet, how small the aggregate of those who toil to win
 The treasure which may be laid up God's holy house within !

Alas ! how few there be of all the multitudes who run,
 With headlong speed, the race of life, by whom the goal is won,—
 That haven of eternal rest, of blessedness and peace,
 Where all our jealous strivings, our cares and troubles, cease.

"Getting and spending," well hath said the bard, "we *waste* our
 powers ;"

Getting the valueless, and spending that which is not ours,—
 The talents *lent* us to improve, the riches to dispense
 In acts of charity and love, and wise benevolence.

JOHN FRED. MAYER'S HISTORY OF LUTHER'S VERSION.

CHAPTER III.

Of the Second Edition or Revisal of the Version by Luther. His subsequent Alterations and Corrections.

AMONG the proofs of this blessed man's fidelity as well as industry in translating Holy Writ, we have not inaptly, in the former chapter, reckoned also his alterations and corrections; because, if Luther had studied his own glory, or the deceiving of the people, he ought not to have been so anxious, after the first publication of his version, about rendering many passages more strictly, more elegantly, and, as far as could be, better; but would have rather defended what he had set down, than, by a laborious correction, have lent his enemies a handle to cavil at his fickleness. For, as Matthesius, his disciple, and sometime his friend, bears witness, "*when the whole body of the Scriptures had now come out in Germany, in 1534, and Luther began to perceive how day is taught by day, and the understanding of the Bible gains increase from trials, he again took up all the sacred books to be again carefully looked over from beginning to end; and with great ardour, incredible industry, and most fervent prayers, anew revised them entirely. And since he was deeply mindful of the promise of the Son of God pledging himself to be present with a number gathered in his name, and soliciting the gift of the Holy Spirit, he summoned, as it were, a peculiar synod for this purpose, of the learnedest men of that age, who every week met together some hours before supper, namely, Bugenhagen, Justus Jonas, Doctor Cruciger, Philip Melancthon, Matthew Aurogallus, with whom was at hand also George Beringius, who used to correct the printer's proofs,—others besides, and occasionally foreign Doctors, and learned men, flocking to assist in such a work, as Dr. Bernhard, Ziegler, and Forstemius. And so, after Luther had alone by himself well weighed the version already published by him, and also, by Jews and men skilled in languages, been instructed in meanings of words, and consulted old men among his fellow-countrymen on peculiarities of the German tongue, (for instance, he had rams killed that he might hear a German butcher name all the*

"limbs and portions of the sheep by their own peculiar names), then
 "Dr. Martin himself came to that consistory and council of learned
 "men, bringing the ancient Latin and his new German translation, with
 "which he always joined the Hebrew text. Melancthon brought the
 "Greek version, ^{Cruciger the Chaldee interpretation with the Hebrew}
 "text; other professors appeared with the Rabbis. Pomeranus used a
 "certain Latin copy which was familiar to him. But each had first
 "considered the words which the meeting had to discuss, and they
 "separately examined the versions and commentaries of the Jews. Then
 "Luther, as president, proposed the text to be considered, and took the
 "opinions of all as if by vote, each having been severally heard say
 "what he had brought touching the propriety of expression or exposi-
 "tion of the ancient doctors. It cannot be told how elegant and most
 "full of learning were the discourses which fell out during this holy
 "labour, part of which, Rogarius noted down, afterwards annexed in
 "the form of short glosses on the margin of Luther's version.
 "2. "Luther also warned them, that a good interpreter of Scripture
 "ought to have three things chiefly at heart: first, that none without
 "prayer approach so great a business, since Divine books, written by
 "Divine men, on the impulse of the Holy Spirit, require also a Divine
 "interpreter, nor can be rightly understood without the Divine Spirit's
 "aid; next, that it is agreed, that God in Scripture teacheth us chiefly
 "of His nature and will, of Christ and His incarnation and offering
 "made to us, rather for us on the cross, than of the Church, its polity
 "and economy;—and so, the explanations of Jews and others which touch
 "on nothing of this must be rejected; lastly, that account must be
 "taken of the Sacred idiom, and its phrase and figure of speech, not
 "lightly to be attained in other tongues, must duly be weighed. After
 "these warnings of Luther, the learned men assembled with him began
 "each to bring, in illustration of the proposed passages, those points
 "which they held proved, either by grammatical observations, or by no
 "unfair inference, or by connexion with what goes before or follows; or,
 "lastly, by the testimony of the learned; until at last, in 1542, this
 "work was happily, God be praised! brought to an end, and the book
 "finished."

3. This extract, though rather long, from the 13th Address of Ma-
 thesius on Luther's Life, but latinized by us, we have not hesitated to
 transcribe here, because we could find no testimony more clear, more
 full and more worthy of credit; being one whereby the history of the
 version whereof we treat is not a little illustrated. But this revisal of
 the second German version, finished in 1542, began to be printed in
 1541, at Wittenberg, in folio, at the press of Johann Luft. And beside

the privilege of John Frederick, Elector of Saxony, of glorious memory, which we have mentioned as prefixed to the former edition of 1534, and the Appendix of George Rorarius, of which we shall speak presently, it has added, at the outset of the volume, Luther's Exhortation, still wont to be prefixed to the Bible, which begins with the saying of Paul, that "Avarice is root of all evils;" at the end of which Exhortation, Luther warns the reader that, "*if he desires to use his version of the last revision, he must see and not procure any other than the edition of 1541. For, so long a space of life was not likely to be left him as that he should be able anew to revise the Bible. And, although he had to live so long, yet he would no more be equal to that labour.*" Franz, and after him others, testify that the printers have retained the same words in the editions of 1543, 1544, 1545, in which continually some passages, but those few, and at Luther's command, are interspersed, differing from the publication of 1541. But editions of the German Bible, reprinted after Luther's death, are preceded by the same Exhortation, only with the omission of the date, 1544, and substitution of these words, "*the edition which is revised by our direction.*"

4. In the same year, 1541, the most serene Henry, Duke of Saxony, ordered Nicholas Wolrabius, at Leipzig, to reprint Luther's version, with this title, "*The Bible, that is, the whole of Holy Writ; adapted anew by D. Martin Luther.*" But this Leipzig Bible follows not the second revisal of Luther's translation, which that blessed man had not yet brought down to its colophon, but the first of 1534; as Paul Crellius has observed, in an "Account of Master Luther's German Bible, (Correctur und unter[schriebenen] Druck derselben); the Revised Proofs,"—which book, written in 1577, was afterwards inserted in vol. 1 of the "Theological Counsels of Witeberg," edited at Frankfurt, in 1664. The same Crellius relates, moreover, that Luther, in 1539, began afresh, with other learned men, to review his first revisal, and throughout the work everywhere made corrections with his own hand, except some few parts of the prophetic writings, which he could not, through ill-health, amend himself, but, when amended by others, approved and allowed to go forth under his name; and that immediately, according to that copy, entrusted to the care and diligence of George Rorarius. The Bible, thus a second time revised, was printed at Johann Luft's press, on a larger paper; the most serene Electors of Saxony and Brandenburg, and the Prince of Anhalt, causing certain copies to be transcribed on parchment, and others on paper, elegantly bound, to be distributed through the churches.

5. Nor stopped Luther's industry here; but though he never afterwards of set purpose revised the version, yet occasionally he improved

some passages, which were altered in subsequent editions, George Rorarius always, by an addendum or epilogue, giving notice to the reader; on which point, as also on the differences themselves in the Witenberg editions during Luther's life (from 1543 to 1545), and soon after his blessed departure from this life, further information may be sought from Crellius's aforesaid work, where Rorarius's addenda are also given. But these corrections Matthesius also mentions in his address cited above, in these words, "*Afterwards also, when Luther, in writing, met the Jesus, he daily began to gain more understanding of the Scriptures, whence many remarkable phrases were more elegantly and clearly translated by him, which afterwards George Rorarius, with advice and approval of the Witenberg doctors, inserted in the last edition of the Bible. Such is Eve's confession (Gen. iv) touching her son Cain, whom she believed to be Messiah.*"—"I have gotten the Man, the Lord (or God):" (*Ich habe den Mann, den Herren (oder Gott) bekommen*)*. *And in David's last words, the Doctor, instead of what he had put first, "is a law of the man," (ist doch Menschenrecht), translated "this is the manner of a man, the God is the Lord:" (Daß ist die Weise eines Menschen, der Gott der Herr ist).* Philip also has interpreted some passages with peculiar elegance, as Job's avowal, (c. 19), "I believe that my Redeemer liveth, and in the latter world will he arise;" (*Ich glaube daß mein Erlöser lebe, und in der letzten Welt wird er stehen*); whereas, in the Bibles before printed, these words treat of

* Kraft notes here the error of confounding an edition and a revision, and observes, that Mayer was mistaken in designating as the second that which he had dated as beginning in 1541 and finished in 1542. That last, published by Luther in 1544-45, would thus be the third. And to this effect he cites a native work of Mayer's (*Unsterbl. Luthers*, p. 57):—"Finally he revised the whole Bible, and published it in one volume, 1534. The same labour he took upon him also in 1541, when the Holy Scripture a second time came out in print through his means. And one year before his death, in 1545, through his unwearied energy, the Holy Bible-book again, the third and last time, was bestowed by him upon the Church, in print and in German." Mayer, then referring for more particulars to his Latin history of the version, is remarked to have forgotten, that, in c. iii, s. 3, of this history, he had enumerated, from Franz, the editions of 1543, 1544 and 1545, to which, if we add those of 1534 and 1542, Luther must be considered to have edited the Bible not three, but five times. But even this does not equal the number of impressions by Johann Luft, of Witeberg, in Luther's lifetime; for Kraft pledges himself to prove, in a Tractate on the subject, that there were at least eight under Luther's superintendence; nay, that he could claim nine, and even ten, as his own. "If he had achieved no more," he adds, "than this fruitful planting of God's word, we must pronounce Luther's memory brass-engraven and everlasting."

our resurrection. But this interpretation of Philo's has never, that I know of, been inserted in Luther's Bible; it is neither the other decisions, which are treated of in what follows the aforesaid passages of Mishna, wherefore we omit to transcribe them here.

Only one would wish to remark, that David Wolder, who, in his Hamburg Polyglott Bible, among others, edited Luther's German version, testifies that he obtained a copy of the edition of 1545, (the last, namely, of those which came out in Luther's lifetime), and therein, by Luther's own hand, a little before his death, were added some corrections of passages in St. Paul; and these, never before printed, he at length received into the context of the version, in the 50th year after that blessed man's decease. Beside this, it not a little tends to the praise of Luther's fidelity, as well as industry, that he not only diligently inquired of friends of anything that might conduce to the perfecting of his version; but, as Conring has observed, "Not even from enemies was he ashamed to learn at times. He who at Leipsic, after twenty-eight years, published a third time the Annotations of Hieronym. Emser on the Lutheran Version of the New Testament," boasts that Luther "altered some passages on the advice of Emser. And, indeed, Luther had changed not a few; yet was there no cause why an unfriend should taunt him on that head. When, sharply and not unlearnedly, in the 36th year of that century, the version of the Old Testament, brought out two years before, had been issued by George Wicelius, his censures also were not all despised by Luther, as is plain from the later editions of that Old Testament. In like manner, when Sebastian Münster, in the annotations on his new version of the Old Testament, in the 35th year (of the century), had clearly pointed out some errors of Luther's; these also were all afterwards, by Luther himself, corrected." (Conring, Ep. to August., pp. 69, 70).

6. Yet there are some passages in which the last emendations appear not preferable to the first editions, even in the eyes of men most learned and most attached to Luther's name; and they consider, not perhaps unjustly, Luther's former interpretation sometimes to approach nearer the original, and express it better than his second thoughts; as it will suffice to shew by a few instances from both Testaments.—Gen. xviii, 10, "After the time when offspring can come to life," (nach der Zeit die Frucht leben kan), expressing admirably the Hebrew *בְּעֵת חַיָּה*, "After the time of life," namely, the time sufficing for perfecting the embryo

* While Kauff allows the fact, he contends that the proofs are thereby insignificant, through the author's not being able to inspect the earliest version.

and bringing it forth to life. And then, in the edition of 1534, "in about a year," (*über ein Jahr*), with pretty much the same sense, since the greater part of a year is required for bringing forth the embryo to the light and breath of day. Whence that of Hemer in the *Odysey* (A).—

Woman, rejoice in love, and thou, at the year's revolution,
Thy bright babes wilt bear.

* But in after editions of Luther's version we meet with "*As I live*,"—In *Judg.* iii, 20, the former editions have rightly the words "*which was for himself alone*," which, in the latter, are omitted after the word a "*Summer-arbour*," (*Commerlauben die für ihm allein war*) †.—In 1

* Mayer, Kraft says, has here mistaken the first version of 1523; for that it has both readings, "In about a year after the time when offspring can come to life, will I come again to thee;" and that Mayer, not having the version, might yet have seen this in "Luther's *Preachings on Genesis*, in 1527, at Witeberg," edited there that year, in German, at George Ran's. They were taken down from his mouth by some admirers, translated into Latin, approved by him, and published, with preface by himself, at Hagenau, by John Secker, in 1527, in 8vo. In the volumes of Luther, which represent his version frequently in its other forms, the passage will not be found so: for in these "*Preachings*" (at tom. iv, ed. Alt.) it is, "I will again come to thee, as I live, behold! so shall Sarah thy wife have a son;" the reading of all after 1541-42. But the reading from 1534-35 till the Great Revision, as it is called, of the Bible, was, "When I again come to thee, as I live, behold! so shall Sarah," &c. Thus, "in about a year" does not occur in those editions; and "as I live" not only in the later editions. In every point in accordance with the first version is the Pentateuch in the Lower Saxon, printed at Witeburg, 1528, by Michael Lotter, in Folio. "In about a year after the time when offspring can come to life, will I again come to thee." (*Über ein Jar, umb diese Zeit, so ich als, will ich wieder zu dir kommen*). That of Worms, however, strictly keeps Luther's first rendering.

† "What," Kraft asks, "does he call '*the former editions*'?" Doubtless those from 1524-35 to 1541-42. But in these is not one tittle of the words. There will be then the book of Judges, first printed at the end of 1523 or beginning of 1524. (For though the Pentateuch and 3rd volume are dated, the 2nd, from Joshua to Esther, is not). This, however, has not *für ihn*, but *für ihn*, [not dative but accusative]. Though the difference be but of one letter, "any, I think," says Kraft, "acquainted with the purest genius of our tongue, will agree it brings forth a widely different sense"—*für ihn* governing always the fourth case; with the third, he contends, it would be understood looking to the pronoun, not the preposition, which in that case ought to be *we*, "which alone was before him;" which, of course, is not the sense of the original. The same observation, he found afterwards, had been made by Bodiker, (*Deutsch-Luther's Worterbuch*, pp. 541, 575, &c.). Luther's first version, therefore, was, "He, however, was sitting in the wainscotted summer-arbour, which was for him alone;" and with this reading of the pronoun both the Zurich and Worms editions

Sam. xvii, 4, "*A man, a champion, a daring man,*" but in later editions, "*a giant,*" (ein Riese), for ein Mann, ein Kämpfer, ein starker Mann *. Add to these some observed by the Rev. Daniel Bernhard, president of Stendal and superintendent-general of the old March, and communicated to me by the very Reverend the Prelate of Bardwic, Master Henry Ludolf Benthem.—Exod. xxxiv, 7, "*Who proveth, who forgiveth,*" (der da beweiset, der da vergiebet) : as also Paulus Burgensis, cited by Luther at Num. xviii, 18, ("adde Num. xviii." Qu. ad?). But in later editions not so well, "*Who provest, who forgivest,*" (der du beweiseſt, der du vergiebeſt) †.—Numb. xvi, 9, "*That ye should him*

agree. Kraft adds a similar instance, observed by Dickmann, (Pref. Bibl. Stad., p. m. 22), from Judg. i, 13, involving the question whether one could marry his brother's daughter; Othniel, in all the copies, being made youngest brother to Caleb, instead of son of Caleb's youngest brother, Keraz : the German terminations marking the relation with a precision impossible in the English, without transposition, and by no means apparent in the ancient Hebrew. The error is, both by Dicmann and Kraft, made a printer's mistake; Luther, in his first version of the second part of the Old Testament having "youngest brother" in the genitive, while, in all the other Bibles collated by Kraft, the error existed, having crept into that of Worms even in 1529; while the Zurich version strictly followed Luther's first version. He infers that Luther revised more carefully the first copy of the second part of the Old Testament than the other books, from his having observed *only* at the end of that part of the first version his notice of errata; and, in addition, a painting of his devise, namely, *a rose with a heart in the middle of it, marked with a cross*, under his initials, M. L.; together with *a lamb bearing a cross, with a crossed flag, and blood flowing from his breast into a chalice*; with a note to the effect that this mark is witness that such book has passed through his hands on account of the misprints.

* The nouns heaped together from the former editions at 1 Sam. xvii, 4, Kraft remarks, are nowhere found *together*; the first version having only "*a daring man*;" and so the Zurich and Worms. The collected Bibles after 1534–35 have "*a man, a champion.*" The Great Revision of 1541–42 substitutes "*a giant,*" although Saubert professes not to know who introduced the word (Riese), which is not in the Hebrew, into the modern Bibles.

† Here again, Kraft says, the first reading is nowhere found in any edition of the first version, which runs thus: "The Lord, Lord, God, tender-hearted and gracious, "and long-suffering, and of great grace and truth, thou that keepest grace to the "thousandth, and forgiest misdoing, &c." So, in Lother's impression of 1528, and the Bibles both of the Upper and Lower Saxon, till 1541–42; except that, after 1534–35, in the Upper Saxon, Kraft thinks, instead of "*long-suffering*" (langmüthig) is substituted "*patient,*" (geultig); while sanftmüthig, the word corresponding to the former, was retained in those of Lower Saxony; as Magdeburg, 1536–45–54; Witeburg, 1541–61, &c.; Rostock, 1580, and many more; but not that of Wolder, at Hamburg, 1596. After 1541–42, instead of "*keepest*" (bewahret) was put beweiset, "*provest*" or "*showest*;" but nowhere is the third person found. Moreover, the original participles, says Kraft, can as easily have the ellipsis supplied with the *second* person of the auxiliary,—"*art keeping, art forgiving.*"

"*approach, that ye should employ you in the charge . . .*" (dass ihr zu ihnen nahen sollet, dass ihr am Amt schaffet), for which more recent editions read, "*That ye should offer . . .*" (dass ihr opfern solt): for Levites were not allowed to offer sacrifices; this was entirely entrusted to priests alone*.—Psalm cxix, 54, "*In the house of my abiding, (of my pilgrimage),*" (in Hause meine Wohnung (meiner Wallfahrt)); but in later, "*in mine house,*" (in meinem Hause) †.—Job xxiv, 23, "*A security whereon he standeth (reposeth himself),*" (eine Sicherheit darauf er setze (sich verlasse)), becomes afterwards merely "*a security* ‡."—In

* The first version, Kraft remarks, is here exhibited neither fully nor correctly; and he is very full in his proof that the plural (which is probably but a misprint in Kraft) is not the original version. To this purport he cites the impression by Lother, 1528, and the Latin version of Luther, printed at Witeburg in 1529; well worth reprinting, for its manifold instances of the most strict agreement with the original. The Worms also, and the Zurich, are quoted as in accordance with this Latin. As to Mayer's deficiency in the latter part of the text, Num. xvi, 9, it seems the first version runs thus: "*That ye employ you on the charge of the dwelling of the Lord;*" in the later copies of the Zurich, "the Tabernacle of the Lord."

† The first Psalter, of 1524, according to Kraft, is given by Dicmann in the Stada Bible, both the folio and subsequent octavo, as well as by Zeidler, in the Halle volume of Luther's writings; but in neither with that parenthesis, "*of my pilgrimage.*" The various differences between these two Psalters he promises to exemplify and account for in his German work, and here gives one instance from Ps. cxixvi; but, in Mayer's passage from Ps. cxix, 54, their only difference is, that Dicmann's has "the house of my abiding," in the singular, (Wohnung), but Zeidler, and the copy of 1542, in the plural, (Wohnunge), "*of my abidings.*" This Kraft prefers. His copy of the Worms Bible, a reprint of the first Psalter of 1524, gave in this verse neither more nor less. The reading of the first Zurich Bible, he inferred, was similar. His own oldest copy of the Bible was of 1538, printed by Froehover, whose preface was said by Hottinger to exist in the Bibles of 1534 and 1535, and was the same as that of the Bible of 1552. But, since the Zurichers, in 1534, inserted in the Bible their own version of the Prophets, Job, Psalms, Ecclesiastes, and the Song of Songs, hence the copy of 1538, in this verse, differs from Luther's first version: "*Thy laws were my Psalms, in the house of my abidings,*" reading instead, "*Thy laws are my praise-song, in the house of my pilgrimage*"—the later Zurich copies having "*thy statutes.*" Kraft, afterwards hearing of a copy of the Zurich of 1530 at Hamburg, procured it, and found the verse, as he supposed, similar to the Worms Bible and Luther's first version. Hottinger reckoned the Zurich of 1538 the sixth, and a quarto; Kraft, an octavo and the seventh, following Dicmann, who proved his copy of 1530 (Hottinger's second) to be third. Hottinger's next number also, Kraft states, must be changed; because he had forgotten the most beautiful of all, the folio of 1545, printed by Froehover.

‡ The first version had neither the parenthesis nor the synonyme to its contents. It was, "*He makes himself a security, whereon he reposeth himself.*" The last clause, being omitted in the Great Revision, was properly restored in some of the modern Bibles. (See Kraft).

Job, xxxix, 16, (B. 13), the first have "*ostriches*," (Strausse); we now read "*peacocks*" (Pſauen)*.—Is. vii, 11, "*In the deep*," (in der Tiefe); afterwards, "*in the Hell*," (in der Hölle).—Is. xlix, 23, "*princesses*," (Fürstinnen); now "*princes*," (Fürsten).—Is. lxiii, 5, "*I wondered*," (ich wunderte mich); subsequently, "*I was in affright*," (ich war in Schrecken).—In Jer. xv, 15, 18, the former editions introduce the prophet praying, and to him the Lord promises a hearing; but in the latter the prayer is presented in the plural number.—Jer. xxxi, 21, "*Whereon thou wanderest*," (darauf du gewandelt), which is now "*Whereon I have wandered*," (darauf ich gewandelt habe).—In Eph. iii, 19, the editions printed before 1545 read, "*Yea, to know the love of Christ, that yet surpasseth all knowledge*," (auch erkennen die Liebe Christi, die doch alle Erkenntnis übertrifft); but from that year it is exhibited thus translated: "*Yea, to know that to hold Christ dear is far better than all wisdom*," (auch erkennen dass Christum liebhaben viel besser ist denn alles wissen). Relating this from the preface of George Rorarius, Michael Walther (at p. 368 of his "*Officina Biblica*") says, "I, Master Walther, with nearly all interpreters, prefer the former version to the latter, which yet has merit; for, although the sense of the latter be true, and conformable to other passages, yet I see not how the interpretation harmonises with the Greek original. And this as by the way I wished with deference to mention."—In 2 Sam. vii, 19, Luther had first translated thus: "*Alh, Lord, Lord! shewest thou thyself regarding a man?*" (Ach Herr, Herr, erzeigste dich also gegen einem Menschen); but afterwards, in the book *Shem-hamphorash*, he preferred to render it, "*This is a manner of a man, the God is the Lord*," (Das ist eine Weise eines Menschen, der Gott der Herr ist); and so also it has been transferred into the Bible of 1545, and the following editions. But yet, in the former version, the words מִי מִי are rightly rendered in the vocative, as not only the authority

* Kraft doubts if Mayer should have said "the first," meaning editions, in the plural. The earliest Job, 1542, had "the wings of the ostriches are fairer than the pinions of the heron or sparrow-hawk." But, on the collection of the books into one Bible, it was rendered, "the wings of the peacocks are fairer than the pinions of the stork or ostrich;" which, in the Great Revision, 1541-42, was changed to "the feathers of the peacock." (1. Die Fittich des Straußen sind schöner denn die Flügel des Störchs oder Speckers. 2. Die Fittich des Pſauen sind schöner denn die Flügel des Storchs oder Straußen. 3. Die Federn des Pſauen). Kraft also doubts the justice of Mayer's preference of the first rendering of *kenanim* (כְּנָנִים), "*ostriches*," to "*peacocks*." Sebastian Schmid rejected the latter, but liked the former as little. He says, "the wing of the *kenanim* is mentioned, not the *plumes* or *feathers*." And thus Kraft thinks a better preference might have been found for the first version in its rendering "*wing*." The wing is not commended for its beauty, but its use in flight.

of the Seventy. But many other arguments tend to shew; and not long since Doctor John Benjamin Carpzov, a man above all praise, and a peculiar glory of our Church, has, in a separate treatise, shewn that the words should be thus rendered: "*And this (is) the decree (according to the decree) of that man (regarding that man), O Lord God*."

* In the 5th section, as Kraft observes, Mayer has cited Mathesius, to the effect that Luther's first version of 2 Sam. vii, 19, had been "Is it law of the man?" (*ist des Menschen Gesetz*); where, however, Mathesius's reading is "the man-law." (*ist des Menschen Recht*). But now he gives the first version, "Ah, Lord, Lord! revealest thou thyself thus regarding a man?" George Rorarius, ordained first of all at Witeburg by Luther, on his own prescribed title, a minister of God's word and perpetual reviser of Luther's Bible, says, in his Appendix to that of 1544-45, "There are, too, some phrases in the present impression differently rendered from the former. In the last impression with divided columns, 2 Sam. vii, 11, 12, 'Ah, Lord, Lord! revealest thou thyself thus touching a man?' is in this impression thus translated, 'This is a way of a man: the God is the Lord.'" Thus he is cited by Crellius, by Franz, and by Walther, who is appealed to in the History itself [at the same page, 31]. But this edition of divided columns is that of 1544, a copy of which existed with M. Christian Ythcker. But it does not follow, that all in the Bible of 1544, to which the two former answer, was Luther's first rendering; for many changes had been made. Mathesius gives the first rendering, "Is it the man-law, Lord, Lord? and what shall David more discourse with Thee." The earlier Zurich Bibles, mostly following Luther, so far that this Bible is called by Dicmann "Luther's interpolated," agree with it thus far, "Is it the man-law, Lord God? and what shall David discourse with Thee?" but, in later editions, have it written interrogatively in the margin, while in the text is "This is the way of the man, O Lord God." (*Das ist der Bericht des Menschen, O Herr Gott*). The Worms Bible of 1529 is exactly the same here as Luther's first. Luther's Latin also reads the name of God in the vocative, — *sic est mos cum homine, Domine Deus*. That first version of the verse was not changed till 1541-42, whence it is also in the Hagenhausen Saxon version of Luther, 1535-34; in the Magdeburg edition, printed in folio, by Michael Lotter, 1536; in that of Argentoratæ, by Wendel Rihel, in folio, 1535; and those of Witeburg, up to 1541-42. After the Great Revision, to the altered verse, "Ah, Lord, Lord! revealest thou thyself thus "regarding a man?" was added the marginal note, "Shalt thou, Lord, bear thyself thus in such wise towards a man? Is this thy way regarding a man?" and thus, not only the Witeburg Bibles afterwards, till 1544-45, from the press of Johann Luft, but others, as that of Argentoratæ, begun 1542 and finished 1544, in folio, by Wolfgang Köpbel, of which Kraft promises to speak in his German work, particularly as to the so-called "Epistle to the Laodiceans." At last, in 1545, came the alteration, "This is a way of a man; the God the Lord is." (*Das ist eine Weise eines Menschen, der Gott der Herr ist*). Thus, it was not in the Book *Shem-hamephorash*, in which there is no mention of 2 Sam. vii, 19. But, in the year of the appearance of that book, 1543, Luther, in the last words of David, says, "This is a way of a man, who is the Lord." (*Das ist eine Weise eines Menschen, der der Herr ist*). (Tom. iv, ed. Alt., p. 314, b). The vocative of the first translation, at any rate, Kraft allows to be better than the nominative of the last, and alleges the agreement of Schmid and Carpzov, the latter seconded by Tenzel.

7. Lastly, we must not omit, what perhaps more conveniently and properly we might have mentioned in the first chapter, that the blessed man, before 1534, when first he brought the Bible of his own translation altogether, had everywhere corrected and revised his version of the New Testament; so that a complete catalogue of alterations was collected from collation of the editions of 1522 and 1528 by a bitter foe of Luther's, who edited, for the third time, at Friburg, in octavo, the New Testament of Jerome Emser. Thinking he thus plainly convicted our Megalander of fickleness, unskilfulness, and rashness, he prefixed it to Emser's book, with the title of "Contradictions of Dr. Luther's Testament." But since these corrections may rather prove his diligence, his progress in understanding, and his fidelity in handling Scripture, and otherwise teach the reader how step by step is the rise to an elaborate and elegant version; and because this catalogue is in few hands, and the old editions of the version also, we have thought it worth while to insert it here entire.

MUTUAL CONTRADICTION OF LUTHER'S TESTAMENTS.

<i>From Luther's Testament, First Impression, which came out 1522.</i>	Matthew. ch. ver.	<i>From Luther's Testament, Second Impression, which came out 1527.</i>
Mary thy wife. Mariam dein Weib.	1 6	Mary thine espoused. Mariam, dein Gemahl.
Proved to have conceived. Wirt empfaßen.	1 7	Proved to be pregnant. Wirt schwanger seyn.
Repent ye. Beßert euch.	3 1 (so 4. 6)	Do penance. Thut Buß.
Descended. Herabsteigen.	3 5	Went down. Herabfahren.
To live by bread alone. Vom Brod allein leben.	4 1	Not nourished by bread alone. Nicht ernert allein vom Brod.
All the sick. Alle Kranken.	4 9	All sorts of sick. Allerley Kranken.
Have joy and gladness. Habt Fröh und Munn.	5 1 (12)	Be joyous and trustful. Seyt fröhlich und getrost.
Give him that asketh thee. Gib dem der dich bitt.	5 14 (42)	Give every man that asketh thee. Gib jederman der dich bitt.
Speak them well that speak you ill. Benetzyet die euch maledetyet.	5 15 (44)	Bless them that curse you. Segnet die euch fluchen.
Also they sew not. Auch nähen sie nicht.	6 9 (28)	Also they spin not. Auch spinnen sie nicht.
Shall it be adjudged to you. Wirt euch gerichtet werden.	7 1 (2)	Shall ye be adjudged. Wirtet ihr gericht werden.
That go there-by. Die dardurch gehen.	7 5 (13)	That wander therein. Die wandeln.
And made all the sick sound. Und macht alle Kranken gesund.	8 4 (16)	And made all sorts of sick sound. Und macht allerley Kranken gesund.

<i>First Impression, 1522.</i>	<i>Matthew.</i>	<i>Second Impression, 1527.</i>
	ch. ver.	
And then spake Jesus again, and said. <i>Und da redet Jesus wider und sprach.</i>	11 7 (25)	At the selfsame time answered Jesus. <i>zu derselbigen Zeit antwortet Jesus.</i>
Were startled. <i>Werden aufstehen.</i>	12 8 (23)	Were struck. <i>Werden aufstretten.</i>
And his brethren Jacob and James. <i>Und seine Brüder Jakob und Jafes.</i>	13 13 (55)	His brother Jacob, and Simon. <i>Sein Bruder J. und S.</i>
And spake the blessing and brake. <i>Und sprach den Segen und brach.</i>	14 2 (19)	And thanked and brake. <i>Und danket und brach.</i>
Lord, here it is good to be. <i>Herr, hier ist gut seyn.</i>	17 1 (4)	Lord, it is good that we be here. <i>Herr es ist gut dass wir hier seyn.</i>
Elias shall indeed, through his coming, set all to rights. <i>Helias soll je durch seine Zukunfft alles zu recht bringen.</i>	17 2 (11)	Elias shall indeed come before and set all to rights. <i>Helias soll je zuvor kommen und alles zu recht bringen.</i>
Their angels see always. <i>Ihre Engel sehen allezeit.</i>	18 3 (10)	Their angels in heaven see always. <i>Ihre Engel im Himmel, sehen allezeit.</i>
Forgive my brother. <i>Meinen Bruder vergeben.</i>	18 5 (21)	My brother that sinneth against me. <i>Meinen Bruder der in mich sundiget.</i>
Thou rascal, all that debt. <i>Du Schalk, alle diese Schuld.</i>	18 6 (32)	Thou rascal servant, all the debt. <i>Du Schalk-knecht, alle Schuld.</i>
On an ass, and on a foal. <i>Auf einen Esel und auf einen Füllen.</i>	21 1 (5)	On a foal of the burden-bearing ass. <i>Auf einen Füllen der Lastbaren Esel.</i>
Blind and lame in the temple, and he healed. <i>Blinden und Lahmen im Tempel, und er heilet.</i>	21 2 (14)	Blind and lame, and he healed them. <i>Blinden und Lahmen, und er heilet sie.</i>
In the temple cried Hosanna. <i>Im Tempel schreyen Hosanna.</i>	21 3 (15)	In the temple cried and said. <i>Im T. schreyen und sagen.</i>
As the angels in Heaven. <i>Wie die Engel im Himmel.</i>	22 4 (30)	As the angels of God in Heaven. <i>Wie die Engel Gottes im Himmel.</i>
God hath said unto my Lord. <i>Gott hat gesagt zu meinen Herrn.</i>	22 7 (44)	The Lord hath said unto my Lord. <i>Der Herr hat gesagt zu meinen Herrn.</i>
Have seated themselves the Scripture-learned. <i>Haben sie gesetzt die Schrift-gelehrten.</i>	23 1 (2)	Sit the Scripture-learned. <i>Sitzen die Schriftigelchrten.</i>
Of every man. <i>Von jedermann.</i>	24 4 (9)	Of all peoples. <i>Von allen Völcern.</i>
The desolate abomination. <i>Den wüsten Ort.</i>	24 5 (15)	The abomination of (the) desolation. <i>Den Ort der Verwüstung.</i>
That is in this latter Mass is. <i>Das in ein letzter Mass ist.</i>	25 3 (24)	 Menschen.
Go ye forth from me, ye execrated (evil spoken of). <i>Gehet hin von mir, ihr Vermaelchten.</i>	25 6 (41)	Ye cursed. <i>Ihr Verfluchten.</i>
	- Mark.	
	ch. ver.	
Repent you, &c. <i>Beßert euch und, &c.</i>	1 6 (15)	Do penance and believe, &c. <i>Thut Buß und glaubet, &c.</i>
He does too much for himself. <i>Er thut ihm zu viel.</i>	3 5 (21)	They said, He will be gone. <i>Sie sprach- en, er wird weg seyn.</i>

<i>First Impression, 1522.</i>	<i>Mark.</i>	<i>Second Impression, 1527.</i>
	<i>ch. ver.</i>	
And they took him as he was already. Und sie nahmen ihn wie er schon.	4 8 (36)	And they let go the people and took him. Und sie lassen das Volk und nahmen ihn.
Men should repent themselves. Man soll sich bessern.	6 3 (12)	Men should do penance. Man soll Buße thun.
Spake the blessing and brake. Sprach den Segen und brach.	6 8 (41)	And thanked and brake the bread. Und danket und brach das Brod.
He hath well settled all. Er hats alles wohl ausgericht.	7 7 (37)	He hath done all well. Er hats alles wohl-gemacht.
Master, here it is good to be. Meister, hier ist gut seyn.	9 5	Rabbi, it is good that we be here. Rabbi, es ist gut dass wir hier seyn.
Have salt in you. Habt Salz in euch.	9 50	Have the salt by you. Habt das Salz bey euch.
But only the one God. Denn allein der einige Gott.	10 4 (18)	Is good, but one, namely, God. Ist gut, denn einer, nemlich Gott.
As Mt. 24. 5.	12 6 (13. 14)	
From one end of the earth to the other. An einen End der Erden bis ans ander.	13 8 (27)	From the end of the earth to the end of the Heavens. Von dem End der Erden bis zum End des Himmels.
Sold for 100 pence. Um 100 Pfennige verkauft.	14 2 (5)	For 300 pence. Um 300 Pfennige.
And spake the blessing and brake. Und sprach den Segen und brach.	14 7 (22)	Thanked and brake it. Danket und brach.
Dear master, dear master. Lieber Meister, lieber Meister.	14 11 (45)	Rabbi, Rabbi. Rabbi, Rabbi.
And warmed himself. Und warmet sich.	14 13 (54)	And warmed himself by the blaze. Und warmet sich bey dem Fecht.
Simon of Cyrene. Simon von Cyrene.	15 5 (21)	Of Kyrene. Von Syrene.
And gave up the ghost. Und gab den Geist auff.	15 9 (37)	And departed. Und verfiel.
Seven spirits. Sieben Geister.	16 3 (9)	Seven devils. Sieben Teuffel.
Hath seated himself at the right hand. Hat sich zur rechten Hand gesetzt.	16 6 (19)	And sat at the right hand of God. Und sitz zur rechten Hand Gottes.
	<i>Luke.</i>	
	<i>ch. ver.</i>	
And he shall be a king over the house of Jacob eternally.	1 9 (33)	<i>The whole verse left out.</i>
And blessed art thou that thou hast believed. Und selig bist du, die du geglaubt hast.	1 11 (45)	And O blessed she that hath believed. Und O selig sie da geglaubt hat.
What to thee is said. Was zu dir gesagt ist.		What to her is said. Was zu ihr gesagt ist.
In God my healer (Saviour). In Gott meinen Heyland.	1 12 (47)	Of God my healer. Gottes meinster Heylandes.
And Simeon gave them benediction. Und Simon gesegnet sie.	2 9 (34)	And Simeon blessed them. Und Simon gesegnet sie.

First Impression, 1522.	Luke.	Second Impression, 1527.
Keep thee from the Evil Devil's hinder hind, Satan!	28 2 (8)	Keep thee behind me, Satan! Göt die hinder hind, Satan!
What have ye therefrom? Abas	6 8	What thanks have ye therefrom. Abas
What Jesus had done for him. Abas	8 10 (39)	What great things Jesus had done for him. Abas
And spoke the blessing therefor.	9 3 (16)	And thanked therefor. Und danket
Master, here it is good to be.	9 7 (33)	It is good that we be here. Es ist gut
Guardeth his palace. Brodhet sein	11 5 (21)	Guardeth his palace. Brodhet sein
As a bright lightning. Wie ein heller	11 9 (36)	As a bright candle. Wie ein helle Kerz.
Give ye alms from your substance.	11 10 (41)	Give ye alms from that that there is.
There had many people assembled	12 1 (21)	There had many thousands of people assembled themselves. Es hatte sich
Am come to give peace. Kommet hin	12 15 (51)	To give peace on earth. Siet zu gehen
I wot not whence ye be. Ich weiß	13 8 (25)	I know you not whence ye be. Ich
Even though it be he delays.	18 2 (7)	Even though it be he delays with them. Es es gleich mit ihn verzaget.
And climbed upon a wild fig-tree.	19 1 (4)	Climbed upon a mulberry-tree. Steig
But he marked their evil malice.	20 5 (23)	Marked their treachery. Mercket ihre
By the mouth of the sword.	21 5 (24)	By the edge of the sword. Durch des
That were come unto him. Die zu	22 2 (52)	That were come upon him. Die über
And there took him wonder.	24 12 (2)	And there took him wonder at the fact. Es nahm ihn Wunder des
Discourse ye as ye walk. Sankelt und	24 3 (39)	Discourse ye on the way and be, &c.
And said, Have peace! Und sprach	24 7 (36)	Said to them, Peace be with you.
John.		
Which enlightened all men through	1 2 (9)	Which enlighteneth all men that come into this world. Welches alle
That the Spirit descended. Daff der	1 9 (32)	Came down. Herab sah.

<i>First Impression, 1522.</i>	<i>John.</i>	<i>Second Impression, 1527.</i>
	<i>ch. ver.</i>	
Had done in the feast: and Jesus came. Ruffs best gethen hat, und Jesus sammen.	4 7 (45)	Had done in the feast; since they had also come to the feast. Ruffs best gethen hat, denn sie waren auch zum best kommen.
Is not enough, if each. Ist nicht genug daff wenn ieglicher.	6 2 (7)	It is not enough among them that each one. Ist nicht genug unter sie daff ein.
Of the five barley loaves that were over. Von den fünff gersten Broten die übrig.	6 3 (13)	Five barley loaves and two fishes. Fünff gersten Brodt, und zwen Fisch.
Not that that spoileth. Nicht die da verdirbt.	6 6 (27)	Not that that is perishing. Nicht die da vergänglich ist.
Sie werden all von Gott gelehret.	6 9 (45)	They shall all be taught by God. Sie werden alle von Gott gelehret sein.
Wilt thou do such things. Wille solches thun.	7 1 (4)	Doest thou such things. Thust du solches
They are thieves and murderers. Die sind Dieb und Mörder.	10 2 (8)	They have been thieves and murderers. D. f. D. u. M. gewesen.
That shall come into the world. Der in die Welt kommen soll.	11 3 (27)	That is come into the world. Der in die Welt kommen ist.
Let waah his feet. Dem die Füß waschen lassen.	13 2 (10)	Waah his feet. Dem die Füß waschen
Have peace. Habt Friede.	20 3 (21)	Peace be with you. Fried sey mit euch.
Threw the mantle from him. Warff den Mantel von sich.	21 2 (7)	He girt the mantle round him. Schürzt er den Mantel um sich.
And sprang into the sea. Und sprang in das Meer.		And threw himself into the sea. Und warff sich ins Meer.
	<i>Acts.</i>	
	<i>ch. ver.</i>	
Took their food with gladness. Namen die Speiß mit Freuden.	2 8 (46)	Took their food and praised God with gladness. Namen die Speiß und lobten Gott mit Freuden.
And children of the testament. Und des Testaments Kinder.	3 6 (25)	And children of the covenant. Und des Bundes Kinder.
That thou liest to the Holy Ghost. Daff du leugest dem Heil Geist.	5 1 (3)	That against the Holy Ghost thou liest. Daff du den Heil Geist anlagst
Four hundred and thirty years. Vier hundert und dreißig Jahr.	7 3 (6)	Four hundred years. Vier hundert Jahr.
And preached the Gospel. Und predigten das Evangelion.	8 2 (4)	And preached the Word. Und predigten das Wort.
An eunuch and grandee. Ein Verschnittener und Gewaltiger.	8 7 (27)	A chamberlain and grandee. Ein Kämmerer und Gewaltiger.
To relate his birth with the name Tabira. Seine Geburt erzehlen mit Namen Tabira.	8 8 (33)	To relate his generation . . . Seine Geschlecht erzehlen . . .
Which interpreted is called Dorcas. Welchs verdolmetscht heiß Dorcas.	9 10 (36)	Which interpreted is called a rpe. Welchs verdolmetscht heiß ein Rsp.
They sent two men to him. Sandten sie zwen Männer zu ihm.	9 11 (39)	They sent to him. Sandten sie zu ihm.

<i>First Impression, 1522.</i>	<i>Acts.</i>	<i>Second Impression, 1527.</i>
	<i>ch. ver.</i>	
Which Dorcas made. <i>Welche Dorcas macht.</i>	9 11 (39)	Which roe made. <i>Welche Rehe macht</i>
Of the band. <i>Von der Rotten.</i>	10 1	Of the troop. <i>Von der Schatz.</i>
Among us hath chosen my mouth, through which the heathen heard the word of the Gospel, and the heart-knower, &c. <i>Unter uns erwählt hat meinen Mund, durch welchen die Heyden hörten das Wort des Evangelien, und der Hertzhundiger, x.</i>	(15) 2 (7)	Among us hath chosen that through my mouth the heathen heard and believed the word of the Gospel, and the heart-knower, &c. <i>Unter uns erwählt hat, daß durch meinem Mund die Heyden das Wort des Evangelions hörten und glaubtigen, und der Hertzhundiger, x.</i>
And left (them) there. They begged him. <i>Und ließ dafelbst, Sie baten ihn.</i>	18 5 (19)	And left them there: but he went into the school (<i>synagogue</i>) and questioned with the Jews. They begged him. <i>Und ließ sie dafelbst, er aber ging in der Schul, und befraget sich mit den Juden, Sie baten ihn.</i>
That had become believing. <i>Die gläubig waren worden</i>	18 6 (27)	That had become believing through grace. <i>Die gläubig waren worden durch die Gnade.</i>
		<i>Romans.</i>
		<i>ch. ver.</i>
The righteous shall live by his faith. <i>Der Gerechte wird leben aus seinem Glauben.</i>	1 6 (17)	The righteous shall live of his faith. <i>Der Gerechte wird seines Glaubens leben.</i>
And unrighteousness of men. <i>Und Unrecht der Menschen.</i>	1 7 (18)	Unholiness of men. <i>Untugend der Menschen.</i>
The slanderer, despiteful. <i>Verläumber, freveler.</i>	1 9 (30)	The slanderer is a foe of God, despiteful. <i>Verläumber dem Gott feind ist, freveler.</i>
The disobedient to his parents is a foe to God. <i>Den Eltern ungehorsam, dem Gott feind ist.</i>		Disobedient to his parents. <i>Den Eltern ungehorsam.</i>
God's ordeal is according to the truth. <i>Gottes Urtheil ist nach der Wahrheit.</i>	2 1 (2)	God's ordeal is righteous. <i>Gottes Urtheil ist recht.</i>
Since we have above borne witness. <i>Denn wir haben oben bekundt geben.</i>	3 3 (9)	Since we have above shewn. <i>Denn wir haben oben bewiesen.</i>
Auf daß da seyde der sündliche Leib.	6 1 (6)	Hereto, that the sinful body should cease. <i>Auf daß da auffhöre der sündliche Leib.</i>
Or of obedience unto justification. <i>Oder dem Gehorsam zur Rechtfertigung.</i>	6 4 (16)	Or of obedience unto righteousness. <i>Oder dem Gehorsam zur Gerechtigkeit.</i>
For a pious man. <i>Für einen Frommen.</i>	6 5 (21)	For fruit. <i>Für Frucht.</i>
And became servants of righteousness. <i>Und der Gerechtigkeit Knechte worden.</i>	6 5 (22)	And became servants of God. <i>Und Gottes Knechte worden.</i>

<i>First Impression, 1522.</i>		<i>Romans.</i>		<i>Second Impression, 1527.</i>
		<i>ch.</i>	<i>ver.</i>	
Hath called, not alone from the Jews. Beruffen hat, nicht allein aus den Juden.		9	5 (24)	Hath called, namely us, not alone from, &c. Beruffen hat, nemlich uns nicht allein aus, &c.
Choose out of the service of works. Aus den Verdienst der Werck suchen.		9	7 (31)	Choose out of the works of the law. Aus den Wercken des Gesetzes suchen.
What saith the Scripture? Was saget die Schrift.		10	2 (8)	What saith it? Was saget sie.
At the first spake Moses. Auff erst sprach Moses.		10	5 (19)	First Moses spake. Der erste Moses spricht.
And gainsayeth me. Und widerspricht mir.		10	5 (21)	And gainsayeth. Und widerspricht.
Have of the same, but doest thou. Von derselbigen haben, thußt tu aber.		13	1 (3)	Have of the same, since it is God's minister to thee for good; doest, &c. Von derselbigen hab, denn sie ist Gottes Dienerin dir zu gut, thußt, &c.
<i>1 Corinth.</i>				
		<i>ch.</i>	<i>ver.</i>	
That ye altogether the selfsame way be minded. Daff ihr allzumahl einerley gesinnet seyd.		1	3 (10)	That ye altogether say the selfsame way. Daff ihr allzumahl einerley saget
So that the cross of Christ should not be slighted. Auff daff nicht auffgehoben wert das Creuz Christi.		1	5 (17)	So that the cross of Christ should not be set at naught. Auff daff nicht das Creuz Christi zu nicht werre.
Tomake known the preaching of Christ. Zu verkundigen die Predigt von Christi.		2	1	To make known the witness of God. Zu verkundigen die Zeugniß Gottes.
The day of the Lord will make it clear. Der Tag des Herrn wird es klar machen.		2 (3)	2 (13)	The day will make it clear. Der Tag wird es klar machen.
In their wiles. In ihren Tücken.		2 (3)	3 (19)	Their wiliness. Ihrer Teufelerey.
And became every man's offscouring. Und eins jedermanns Schabab worden.		4	3 (13)	And were every man's offscouring until now. Und eins jedermanns Schabab biß her gewest.
He is a freeman of the Lord. Der ist ein Freyer des Herren.		7	5 (22)	He is free to the Lord. Der ist dem Herren frey.
Distinguished also are a wife and a maiden, that is unwedded (and) careth what, &c. Und ist zutheilet, ein Weib und ein Jungfrau, die ohn Ehe ist, forget was, &c.		7	8 (36)	There is a difference between a wife and a maiden who marieth not, that careth, &c. Es ist ein Unter- scheid, mit einem Weibe und einer Jungfrauen, welche nicht freyet, die forget.
We all know what we know. Wissen wir was wir wissen sollen.		8	1	Since we all have that knowledge. Denn wir haben all das Wissen.
That came thereafter. Der hernach kam.		10	1	That followed beside. Der mit wolt.
Since we many are one bread and one body, for we all are partakers of one bread. Denn wir viel sind ein Brot, und ein Leib, die wir all eins Brot theilhaftig sind.				Since it is one bread, we many are one body, for we are all partakers of one bread. Denn ein Brot ist, wir viel sind ein Leib, die wir all eins Brot theilhaftig sind.

<i>First Impression, 1522.</i>	<i>1 Corinth. ch. ver.</i>	<i>Second Impression, 1527.</i>
Since there must be divisions among you. Denn es müssen Spaltungen unter euch seyn.	11 4 (19)	Since there must be factions among you. Denn es müssen Kotten unter euch seyn.
And members one with another. Und Glieder unter einander.	12 5 (27)	And, members every one in his part. Und Glieder ein jeglicher nach seinen Theil.
Since none hearkeneth to him. But he who prophesieth . . . Denn ihm hört niemand zu, wer aber weissaget.	14 1 (2)	Since none hearkeneth to him. With the Spirit yet he speaketh mystery. But he who prophesieth . . . Denn ihm hört niemand zu, mit dem Geist aber redet er die Geheimniß, wer aber weissaget.
As the untimely birth. Als der unzeitigen Geburt.	15 3 (8)	As a misborn child. Als ein unvertragen Kind.
Another of beast, another of fish. Ein anders des Viehs, ein anders der Fisch.	15 9 (39)	Another of beast, another of fowl. Ein anders des Viehs ein anders der Vögel.
<i>2 Corinth. ch. ver.</i>		
The Father and God of all comfort. Der Vater und Gott alles Trostes.	1 4 (3)	The Father of tenderheartedness, and God of all comfort. Der Vater der Barmherzigkeit und Gott alles Trostes.
While ye bear the same as I. So ihr leidet derraßen wie ich.	1 5 (6)	While ye bear with patience the same as I. So ihr leidet mit Gedult derraßen wie ich.
Hath established also you. Befestigt hat samt euch.	1 9 (21)	Established also you on Christ. Befestigt sambt euch in Christum.
Of the community thus punished he is. Von der Gemein also gestrafft ist.	2 2 (6)	Of many thus punished he is. Von vielen also gestrafft ist.
Through our ministry prepared, and not written with ink. Durch unsern Dienst zubereit, und nicht mit Tintten geschrieben.	3 1 (3)	Through preachiership prepared, and through us written; not written with ink. Durchs Predigamt zubereit, und durch uns geschrieben, und n. m. L. g.
To be ministers of the New Testament. Diener zu seyn des Neuen Testaments.	3 1 (6)	To bear the charge of the New Testament. Das Amt zu führen des N. T.
If then the ministry . . . Dann so der Dienst.	3 2 (7)	If then the charge . . . Dann so das Amt.
But manifest the truth. Sonder offenbahren die Wahrheit.	4 1 (2)	But walk in manifestation of the truth. Sondern wandlen in Offenbarung der Wahrheit.
We walk in faith and see him not. Wir wandlen in Glauben und sehen ihn nicht.	5 2 (7)	We walk in faith, and not in vision. Wir wandlen, im Glauben und nicht in Schauen.
. . . or be abroad, that we (be) in (his) well-pleasing. Der wollen daß wir in Wohlgefallen.	5 2 (9)	. . . or be abroad, since we must, &c. Der wollen denn wir müssen, &c.

<i>First Impression, 1522.</i>		<i>2 Corinth.</i>	<i>Second Impression, 1527.</i>
		<i>ch. ver.</i>	
Therefore, if any is a new creature in Christ, then is the old past by. Darum ist etwan ein] neu Creatur in Christo, so ist das Alt vergangen.		5 2 (17)	Therefore, if one is in Christ, then is he a new creature; the old is past by. Darum ist jemand in Christo, so ist er ein neu Creatur, das Alt ist vergangen.
And in all manner of diligence. Und in allerley Fleiß.		8 2 (7)	And in all manner of undertakings. Und in allerley Fürsätzen.
On such rashness of fame. In solcher Bermeßtheit des Ruhmes.		9 1 (4)	On such ground of fame. In solchem Grund des Ruhmes.
And of righteousness. Und der Gerechtigkeit.		11 3 (15)	Of righteousness, whose end shall be according to their works. Von der Gerechtigkeit, welcher End sein wird nach ihren Werken.
After the Lord. Dem Herrn nach.		11 4 (17)	As a lord. Als ein Herr.
		<i>Galatians.</i>	
		<i>ch. ver.</i>	
Through the grace of Christ. Durch die Gnade Christi.		1 4 (6)	In the grace of Christ. In die Gnat Christi.
Should preach to you. Euch würde predigen.		1 4 (8)	Should preach a gospel to you. Euch würde Evangelion predigen.
To whom we, even for the time, yielded not. Welchen wir auch dajumahl nicht weichen.		2 1 (5)	We yielded to the same not an hour. Wirichen wir demselben nicht eine Stunde.
So should we have of Christ no more than sin. So hätten wir von Christi nicht mehr denn Sünd.		3 (2) 4 (17)	So were Christ a minister of sin. So wär Christus ein Sünden-Diener.
We live through faith. Leben wir durch den Glauben.		3 2 (11)	Shall live of his faith. Wir leben seines Glaubens leben.
The law, however, is not faith. Das Gesetz aber ist nicht Glaube.		3 2 (12)	The law, however, is not of faith. Das Gesetz aber ist nicht des Glaubens.
And break forth, thou that never . . . Und brich herfür, die du nicht . . .		4 7 (27)	And break forth and cry, thou that never . . . Und brich herfür und ruff, die du nicht . . .
But love, that through faith is effective. Sondern die Liebe die durch den Glauben thätig ist.		5 1 (6)	But faith, that through love is effective. Sondern der Glaub der durch die Liebe thätig ist.
		<i>Ephesians.</i>	
		<i>ch. ver.</i>	
Of the holiness of his grace. Der Heiligkeit seiner Gnade.		1 4 (7)	Of his lordly grace. Seiner herrlichen Gnade.
Is upon earth, and became in that below; through whom, &c. Auf Erden ist, und im Untertan wurde, durch welchen, &c.		1 5 (10)	Is upon earth; even through him, through whom, &c. Auf Erden ist, durch ihm selbst, durch welchen, &c.
The middle-wall that was the partition between us, namely the enmity, inasmuch as he hath through		2 4 (14)	The middle-wall, in this, that he through his flesh took away the enmity, namely the law which was

<i>First Impression, 1522.</i>		<i>Ephesians.</i>		<i>Second Impression, 1527.</i>	
<i>ch.</i>	<i>ver.</i>	<i>ch.</i>	<i>ver.</i>		
his flesh opened the law of the ordinances, so far as it was composed in writing on that, &c. Die Mittel-Bandt die der Zaun war zwischen uns, nämlich die Feindschaft, damit daß er hat durch sein Fleisch aufgehoben, das Gesetz der Gebote, so fern sie schriftlich verfaßt war auff das, &c.				based on ordinances, on that, &c. Die Mittel-Bandt in dem daß er durch sein Fleisch wegnahm die Feindschaft, nemlich das Gesetz, so in Geboten gestellt war, auff daß, &c.	
Wisdom that God gives, &c. Weisheit die Gott gibt, &c.		3	2 (10)	Wisdom of God. Weisheit Gottes.	
Whereby the saints should be joined together through a common ministration, for the bettering of . . . Damit die Heiligen zusammen gesetzt werden durch gemainen Dienst zu besseren.		4	3 (12)	That the saints be fitted for the work of the ministry, that then for the bettering . . . Daß die Heiligen gesetzt sind zum Werck des Amtes, daß da zur Besserung . . .	
Till that we all one to another give help for unity. Bis daß wir alle einer dem andern die Gantreichung thun zu Einigkeit.		4	3 (13)	Till that we all arrive at unity. Bis daß wir alle hinankommen zu Einigkeit.	
For every man. Für jedermann.		5	3	For all. Für alles.	
		<i>Philippians.</i>			
<i>ch.</i>	<i>ver.</i>	<i>ch.</i>	<i>ver.</i>		
Since to you it is given to do. Denn euch ist gegeben zu thun.		1	9 (29)	Since to you it is given on Christ's behalf to do. Denn euch ist gegeben um Christus Willen zu thun.	
Is there now among you ever any exhortation. Ist nun unter euch irgend Ermahnung.		2	1	Are exhortations in Christ now in force. Gilt nun Ermahnungen in Christo.	
Inasmuch as he hath a good pleasure in you. Darum daß er ein Wohlgefallen an euch hat.		2	3 (13)	After his good pleasure. Nach seinem Wohlgefallen.	
And trust us not the flesh. Und vertrauen uns nicht das Fleisch.		3	1 (3)	And trust not in the flesh. Und trösten nicht auff's Fleisch.	
		<i>Colossians.</i>			
<i>ch.</i>	<i>ver.</i>	<i>ch.</i>	<i>ver.</i>		
After the priest's charge. Nach dem Priester-Amte.		1	8 (25)	After the godly preaching-charge. Nach dem göttlichen Predig-Amte.	
Through the statute in writing shewn. Durch schriftliche Satzung erwieiset.		2	4	Through the statute stood forth. Durch Satzung entstand.	
And led them as a show, with triumph. Und sie schon getragen mit Freudigkeit.		2	4 (15)	And led them as a show, openly. Und sie schon getragen öffentlich.	
		<i>Theas.</i>			
<i>ch.</i>	<i>ver.</i>	<i>ch.</i>	<i>ver.</i>		
In great plenty. In großer Fülle.		1	4 (5)	In great assurance. In großer Gewissheit.	

<i>First Impression, 1522.</i>	Thess. ch. ver.	<i>Second Impression, 1527.</i>
We were nevertheless glad to say to you. Waren wir dennoch freudig euch zu sagen.	2 1 (2)	We were nevertheless glad in our God among you to say. Waren wir dennoch freudig in unsern Gott bey euch zu sagen.
Your sanctification, that every one. Euer Heiligung daß ein jeglicher.	4 1 (3)	Your sanctification, that ye avoid whoredom, and every one . . . Euer Heiligung, daß ihr meidet die Hurerey und ein jeglicher.
To Timothy, my son by nature through the faith. Timotheo meinen Sohn von Art durch den Glauben.	1 Timothy. ch. ver. 1 2	To Timothy, my true-born son in faith Timotheo meinen rechtschaffenen Sohn im Glauben.
A pillar and groundwork. Ein Pfeiler und Grundveste.	3 4 (15)	A pillar and groundwork of the truth. Ein Pfeiler und Grundveste der Wahrheit.
To bear children. Kinder tragen.	5 3 (10)	To suckle children. Kinder fügen.
To righteousness, faith. Der Gerechtigkeit, dem Glauben.	6 3 (11)	To righteousness, godliness, faith. Der Gerechtigkeit, der Gottseligkeit, dem Glauben.
I have believed: and he can . . . Ich gegläubet hab und er kan . . .	2 Timothy. ch. ver. 1 5 (12)	I have believed: and am sure that he can . . . Ich gegläubet habe, und bin gewiß daß er kan.
Foolish questionings, and which teach nought, however, avoid thou. Der thörichtesten Fragen aber und die nichts lehren entschlage dich.	2 6 (16)	However, foolish and vain questionings avoid thou. Aber der thörichtesten und leeren Fragen entschlage dich.
Thou hast learned and experienced. Gelernt hast und erfahren.	3 3 (14)	Thou hast learned, and what has been entrusted to thee. Gelernt hast und dir vertrauet ist.
Gone to Thessalonica, Titus to Dalmatia. In Thessalonien gezogen, Titus in Dalmatiam.	4 3 (10)	Gone to Thessalonica, Crescens to Galatia, Titus to Dalmatia. Im T. g. G. in G. L. in Dalmatia.
The further advanced. Desto weiter außtame.	4 4 (17)	The more fully. Desto volliger.
To Titus, my son by nature, after the common faith . . . And hold thee ever innocent and of fair fame . . . And the word wholesome and unblameable, so that . . . Tito meinen Sohn vom Art nach dem gemeinen	Titus. ch. ver. 1 2 (4)	To Titus, my true-born son, after the faith of both of us . . . With instruction, with unmoveableness, with honorableness, with wholesomeness, and unblameable word, so that . . . Tito meinem rechtschaffenen Sohn nach

<i>First Impression, 1522.</i>	<i>Titus.</i>	<i>Second Impression, 1527.</i>
	<i>ch. ver.</i>	
Glauben, und halt dich immer an- schaulich und rechtlich . . . Und das Wort keisam und untadlich, auff daß . . .		unser beyder Glauben . . . mit Lehren, mit Unverrücklichkeit, mit Ehrbarkeit, mit Keisamkeit und untadlichen Wort, auff daß . . .
	1 St. Peter.	
	<i>ch. ver.</i>	
So that the approval of your faith. Auff da die Betrachtung an euren Glauben.	1 3 (7)	So that your faith approved. Auff daß euer Glaube betrachtet.
Lasteth to eternity. Bleib in Ewig- keit.	1 7 (25)	Lasteth to eternity. But this is the Word, which is announced among you. Bleib in Ewigkeit, das ist aber das Wort, welches unter euch verkündigt ist.
So, be ye then chaste, and fasting. So seyd nun züchtig und nüchtern.	4 3 (7)	So, be ye then reasonable and fast- ing . . . So seyd nun vernünftig und nüchtern.
But to the lowly he giveth grace. Aber den Niedrigen gibt er Gnade.	5 2 (5)	But to the humble he giveth, &c. Aber den Demüthigen gibt, &c.
	1 St. John.	
	<i>ch. ver.</i>	
From all unrighteousness. Von aller Ungechtheit.	1 3 (9)	From all unholiness. Von aller Un- gemb.
And the sin is not of him. Und die Sünde ist nicht von ihm.	3 1 (5)	And there is no sin in him. Und ist kein Sünde in ihm.
	Hebrews.	
	<i>ch. ver.</i>	
Of them that heard it. As he spake, Since I sware . . . Von den die es hörten, wie er sprach, daß ich schwur.	4 1 (2)	Of those that heard it. For we, as we believe, go into rest. Von denen die es hörten, denn wir, wie wir glauben, gehen in die Ruhe.
And besides an oath has been sworn. So ist auch ein Eyd geschworen worden.	7 5 (15)	And thereto, what is much, with an oath. Und dazu das viel ist mit ein Eyd.
Before the countenance of God. Für ten Angesichte Gottes.	9 5 (24)	Für den Angesicht Gottes füraus.
But it is done for a remembrance. Sondern es geschieht vor ein Gedächtniß.	10 1 (3)	But there is made now, through these same, a remembrance. Son- dern es geschieht nur durch dieselbigen ein Gedächtniß.
Offering, but a . . . Hinterstellig sondern ein.	10 5 (26)	Offering for sin, but a . . . Hinterstellig für die Sünde, sondern ein.
We mark, that the world is through God's word, that visible things have had being, whereby the invisible should be known. Mercken wir,	11 1 (3)	We mark, that with the world, through God's word, it has always equally followed, that from what man can- not see, everything should be that

<i>First Impression, 1522.</i>	<i>Hebrews.</i> <i>ch. ver.</i>	<i>Second Impression, 1527.</i>
daß die Welt ist durch Gottes Wort, daß sichtbar Ding worden sind, dadurch die unsichtbarn erkant werden.		man can see. Mercken wir daß mit der Welt, durch Gottes Wort immerdar ist also zugangen, daß auff dem, so man nicht sehen kunt, da jenige wart, so man sehen kunt.
And were assured of attaining there- to. Und daran gehalten, verhoffet. Of a better; therefor ashamed is. Einer bessern, darum schämet sich x.	11 9 (13)	Assured and had laid hold of . . . Er- troestet und sey gegüßet. Of a better, namely a heavenly; therefor, &c. Einer bessern, nemlich einer himmlischen, darum, x.
Who have conquered kingdoms. Welcher haben die Königreich erobert.	11 (20) (?)	Who have through faith, &c. Welcher haben durch den Glauben die Königreich.
Escaped the mouth of the sword. Des Schwerdtis Mund entrunnen.	11 12 (34)	Escaped the edge of the sword. Des Schwerdtis Schärffe entrunnen.
Had to correct; shall we . . . Zu züchtigern gehabt, sollen wir . . .	12 2 (9)	Had to correct, and revered them; should we . . . Züchtigern gehabt und sie gesüchtet, sollen wir . . .
That the lamb be not thrust aside. Daß nicht das Lämme ausgestossen werd.	12 3 (13)	That the lamb go not astray. Daß nicht das Lämme irr gehe.
Was named wormwood; and many men . . . Geist Barmhertzig und viel Menschen . . .	<i>Revelations.</i> <i>ch. ver.</i> 8 3 (11)	Was named wormwood: and the third part became wormwood; and many men . . . Geist Barmhertzig, und der dritte Theil ward Barmhertzig, und viel Menschen . . .

DR. PUSEY'S POSITION IN THE CHURCH:

MR. OAKELEY'S CASE.

ART. II.

"Letters by Dr. Pusey," published in the 'English Churchman,' Nos. 143, 144, 145, 146.

"A full Report of the Proceedings in the Case of the Office of the Judge, promoted by Hodgson v. Rev. F. Oakeley, before the Right Hon. Sir Herbert Jenner Fust, B.C., Dean of the Arches, &c." Edited by H. F. BAYFORD, D.C.L., Advocate. London: Benning. 1846.

THE position of Dr. Pusey in the Church of England is still a marvel, which admits no very simple solution. It is utterly impossible that his position can long be the same as at present. Twice we have adverted to it, and again we are engaged formally upon it; and perhaps our readers may be induced to inquire the cause of our recurrence to the same point. We will attempt a brief explanation of our view, at which heretofore we have merely glanced. The fact, that Dr. Pusey holds in his hands the balance of very many consciences, may shew them to be of a peculiar composition; but, nevertheless, it also proves that he has a power which is very important to our Church. It is said that as many as 200 clergymen hang on his decision, and remain in their present position, claiming a right to *hold*, but not to *teach*, all Roman Catholic defined doctrine. Now, suppose the decision is to abide in our Church, these men are "*implying*," if not plainly *teaching*, deadly error, and undermining God's truth. We have the testimony of Mr. Oakeley, said and re-said*, that it is generally "far better to *imply*" what he calls Church principles "in our public teaching," than to put them forth dogmatically. And we find Mr. Frederic Faber solemnly asserting that he had been teaching sentiments which he thought were Tractarian, without being aware that they were Roman†. He professes that his parishioners had come to his confessional; and Dr. Pusey has publicly recommended this custom, and spoken of it as increasingly used in our

* Letter to Bishop of London, p. 12. No. XC, historically examined, note on p. xiii.

† See his Correspondence in "Church and State Gazette."

Church*. We give an extract from his letter to a friend who was hesitating:—"For yourself, as you ask me my advice individually, I should say the first thing is to prepare yourself by praying for God's gracious help for such a *general confession* as I have spoken of. If you know of no other to receive it, I am sure that the Rev. ——— would. You could say that *I commended* you to him. He would be a very good adviser as to rules of life† * * * *." Thus the confessional is a tenet and a practice, so that a powerful secret engine is in exercise, by which, at least, Popery *may* be taught without the remotest hope of conviction, except from general results, which, however, only shew themselves when pretension is impossible, and the effects are working out successive evils. Destructive is the influence which a man must have, who is regarded by a large section as their ruler; who guides consciences, dispenses advice to persons, and recommends his confidante to a particular clergyman; and thus confesses his party, and fosters division, if not schism. But what is all this, mischievous as it is, when compared with the fact, that, if these men abide in our Church, their influence must be deadly; for they are a united band, correspond, know one another's opinions, and speak in behalf of their fellows. It is very important that their views should be known; for, by this means, they cannot so much carry on their predatory plans under cover. Their policy is known, and it may be avoided by open intelligence, and by the dispersion of a general and well-grounded belief, that, as unfair, if not dishonest men, they are to be watched and avoided, and their influence overturned. If, therefore, Dr. Pusey and his band can continue to stay in our Church, it is well that men in general should be aware of the mystifying policy of the system of perversion so common, of their clever schemes for escaping at every loophole which ingenuity can contrive or imagine; and also that all should be sure of their open confession of Romanism. When once men not merely *suppose* that such is their character, but *know* it by evidence the most incontrovertible, it will be no longer possible that such persons should be daily injuries to our Church; but the device will recoil upon them, and Rome, by their pertinacity, will be condemned as using her old policy to bring to completion her undying aim,—the subjugation of Christianity to her diseased and withered arm. It may be tedious to some to be so often told of the chicanery of the party, or to have it demonstrated; but we must ever remember that, if these

* See note on Surin, p. 228, in which he mentions private confession as increasingly followed.

† See "English Churchman," No. 148, p. 692.

things are known, all their moral influence is destroyed, whether they remain in the Church of Christ or apostatise from it. And, again, suppose most of this party evacuate their present position, it may please God to call some back, by shewing them the nature of the party and the toils by which they were seduced to leave the purity of their first faith. Or, we may put it in a stronger light, and one very important in these times of excitement and confusion; for instance, if it is shewn beyond all doubt that the pathway of Tractarianism has been built up by subtlety and sophistry, and has been defended with false quotations and subterfuges; and if, above all, Dr. Pusey, the simple-hearted and honest, has been seduced into such a course, either willingly or unwillingly, where is the moral victory to Rome? The gain will be a loss, for the truth does not attempt to gain by fallacies and falsity. It is a want of faith which makes men use dishonest devices; and if, therefore, the English people are convinced that, by self-deceit, and by unsound arguments, perverted quotations, and subterfuges, Tractarians have led these converts to Rome, then we say, unhesitatingly, that such a reaction shall follow, that Rome will regret her victory and mourn over her mis-spent exertions. And we say, again, that every error from the straight path of English honesty has been an importation from Roman Jesuitism; and that, as the tendency has been farther developed, so has the policy been more highly seasoned with this flavour. There was enough of it in the far-famed sermon on the Eucharist; enough in Surin and the editions of the other Jesuits by Dr. Pusey; but very far more of it in the letters before us. By this progression, narrowly watched, much may be learned: and we hope that in our pages the reviews of Tractarian works have made this plain to our readers. The ultimate secession to Rome cannot come on us unawares, and the Church of England will be more prepared for a Romish controversy than she has been for a semi-Romish. Thanks to the energies and subtleties of Rome in every century since our glorious Reformation, nearly all of our theologians have contributed to the general store of invincible arguments, and the first talent of Churchmen has been expended against Papal devices. The controversy has, perhaps, affected the character of our theology, and made it less copious in some points than otherwise it might have been; but it may hereafter seem a merciful dispensation of Providence, to the end that, in an hour of trial, the labours of our ancestors should sustain the purity of the faith.

In a previous number* we made some allusion to Dr. Pusey's attacks on the judge, and especially the charge of ignorance of the Homilies,

* December, 1845, vol. iv, p. 699.

and shewed that, so far from this being proved, the accuser had misapplied, if not misquoted, the Homilies. At that time, in pointing out the distinction which the Homilist made between Sacraments in general and Sacraments of the Gospel, we were not prepared to accuse Dr. Pusey of definite unfairness to the judge. Since this time the case has been published from a short-hand copy, and stands forth in an authorised form ; and we will quote from the letter and the case, that our readers may judge of the accuracy of our surmise.

In the letter* it stands, " Thus, the judge speaks as if it were a plain " and direct contradiction that ' the Church of Rome holds seven sacraments, the Church of England two.' " In this passage accuracy of quotation is professed by inverted commas, but it stands very different. After quoting passages from the Article of England and the Canon of Trent, which we gave in our previous discussion, the judge says, " Here, therefore, instead of two sacraments, which our Church admits " and acknowledges, we find seven ; five of which are declared, in the " Article which I have read, *as not being accounted for Sacraments of the Gospel* ; whilst the Church of Rome requires them to be received " *as such*, under the penalty of anathema. And therefore Mr. Oakeley " is maintaining a doctrine directly opposed to that of the Church of " England †." So much for accuracy in this leader, who accuses the judge of contradicting the Homilies, and attempts to support the charge, first, by omitting the *very words* used by the judge ; and, secondly, by garbled extracts from the Homilies ‡. And all this was done for some object beyond what at first sight appears ; for, suppose it had been shewn by Dr. Pusey that the Article contradicted the Homily : it is evident that the first is the authority to which we must bow, and therefore the judge would still have been right. The plain truth is, that the Tractarians are ever ready to play off the Homilies against the Articles, and it was merely the quibble of No. XC, which is again resumed. It will not, however, answer ; for every one is fully aware that both the Homilies and Articles deny all Sacraments *of the Gospel* but the two, and that Trent, with her preclusive anathema, denounces all who deny seven to be *such* sacraments. It is utterly impossible that any man can believe both dogmas ; and, therefore, it is impossible for any man to hold Tridentine and Anglican doctrine together. Let no accusations of judges, or any subtlety, draw our minds from this palpable contradiction. Let Tractarians shew us in what way they attempt

* English Churchman, No. 144, p. 628.

† Judgment, p. 159.

‡ See Christian's Monthly Magazine, vol. iv, p. 699.

to reconcile contradictions, and not strive to *hide* the point of contradiction.

But again, Dr. Pusey accuses the judge of turning the openness * of his friend into a subject of blame, and endeavours to maintain it by the following note:—"Language such as the following *runs through several pages*: '*It is a gratuitous and disturbing movement that has been taken by Mr. O., and the consequences of that must fall upon himself; and well for the Church if it rest there.*' Well, indeed! [The quotations from the judge's sentence in this letter are taken from an "authentic MS. copy]." Thus far the accuser; and really, we can hardly see what the judge might have meant by these last eight words, which are dignified by the little elegance, "Well, indeed!" It is true that it might refer to many possible terminations, but it is scarcely alarming to express a favourable wish. From the authentic MS. we must, however, come to the authorised and printed copy; and here we find that *the very words for which the Dean of the Arches is condemned are merely used by him from Mr. Oakeley himself.* The note declares that similar language "runs through several pages." This is so far from the truth, that it *only* occurs in two short passages, which we will quote. The first commences with the words of Mr. Oakeley to the Bishop.

"I do not deny that it may naturally strike your Lordship as a *gratuitous and disturbing movement?*" The pamphlet before me, therefore, contains Mr. Oakeley's explanation, offered to his Bishop, of an act, which *he himself considers* must necessarily strike his Lordship as being a gratuitous and uncalled-for disturbance of the Church†." The second passage is, perhaps, the one which is quoted in the note, and is as follows:—"I may, however, remark, that this impression, which he admits his declaration was likely to create in the mind of his diocesan, *namely*, that this was 'a gratuitous and disturbing movement,' ought to have made him pause before he ventured to give publicity to such an explanation as this, and offered to a Bishop of that Church of which he himself is a minister. He, however, has not abstained from taking this step, and must *therefore* be answerable for the consequences. Mr. Oakeley proceeds: 'I do admit that, considering the temper of our Church, there is *something apparently wanting in such an announcement*, that it requires in mere charity some intelligible explanation.' I wish I could find, in the course of this letter, that any intelligible explanation had been given‡." The judge

* English Churchman, No. 144, p. 626. † Judgment, p. 123. ‡ Judgment, p. 124.

regrets that he cannot find any explanation of this "apparently wanton announcement;" and, so far was Mr. Oakeley convinced, that even his friends felt his course to be gratuitous, and disturbing, and wanton, that he put out a letter, only a few days before the case was decided in the court, which commences as follows:—"I do not want you to suppose that I have been coming forward, on some late occasions, in a *gratuitous and reckless way*. I doubt if I shall persuade you to the contrary*, but" &c.; and in a later passage he refers to "The Christian Remembrancer," as deeming his letter to the Bishop "a second instance of *the wanton obtrusion* of (his) opinion†." Let us add to this the fact, that another Tractarian organ, "The English Churchman," repeatedly condemned Mr. Oakeley's conduct on the same ground‡. Dr. Pusey, 1st, *wantonly* accuses the judge of using certain language, which is in reality quoted from his own friend's confession, and is made use of by several of his own party. 2ndly, It is asserted to be general, whereas it is strictly confined to one part. Surely there must have been a dearth of complaints, when a Hebrew Professor in a distinguished University, rails against a judge, and supports his charge by an inaccurate statement. If our readers think "inaccurate" too mild a term, they are at liberty to employ another.

Again, it is asserted that Mr. Oakeley was "*technically*" supposed to persist in his defence, and it is suggested that for this reason so "*minute* a judgment" might have been given. A passage is quoted in proof of this, and it is very amusing to observe how every sentence may be misunderstood when we are blinded. The judge says, that he at one time expected that he should have been saved from minutely examining the case by the change of the *negative* for an *affirmative* plea on the part of Mr. Oakeley; or, in other words, by a confession of guilt on his part. Any one may see, in a moment's glance, that if, instead of *denying* the articles, Mr. Oakeley had confessed them, i. e. affirmed them, the judge would merely have passed sentence, and the matter might have ended. "The present," says the court, "is a *criminal proceeding*, in which he could not be required or compelled to answer the articles, *further than by giving a negative or affirmative issue*, denying "or admitting the facts as pleaded." This shews that Mr. Oakeley, not "*technically*," but *really*, was before the court, and must plead, either by denying the charges or confessing them. It is the very height of absurdity, in "a criminal proceeding," to suppose that the party accused

* "The claim to hold, as distinct from teaching," p. 1.

† P. 22.

‡ See No. 145, p. 645.

can avoid his trial, because he may be anxious so to escape. The form which placed him in the court was the command of the Bishop and the execution of the agent. Such an assertion is therefore an absurdity. Thus, by this little amusing technicality, Dr. Pusey would have committed his friend to a plea of guilty, although he denies the soundness of an elaborate judgment. This is a mistake which testifies rather to the want of a clear perception of a simple form; but, it may well be asked, how far a person who does not understand a very simple form of the Arches Court can be qualified to sit in judgment on a minute examination and elaborate judgment of the Dean of the Court. Perhaps in all this we may discern the bitterness of disappointment in that the case was gone into. No doubt, Mr. Oakeley hoped that the Bishop would have withdrawn; but, that this could never be, a slight perception of the Bishop's duty and love to the Church might have shewn him. It would not be wrong to assert that as the Bishop put Mr. Oakeley into the Court because of his duty to the truth, and not because he had asked it, so that duty would direct the Bishop to persist, even if the defendant wished to be free from his danger. Truly, there is something amusing in the cool presumption of a party, who expect to be proceeded against at a time and in a way of their own choosing, and rail at authorities for discharging their duties, because the acts are inconvenient to themselves*. But even if the Bishop did persist, they hoped that it would have been a silent judgment, which, assigning no reasons, would have laid down no rules, and might have had no *telling effect* on the Church at large. It is quite manifest, from the after conduct of the party, that they were taken by surprise, and were outflanked and driven to desperation. We shall see how Dr. Pusey escapes from the difficulty.

Again, we hear the judge accused of misunderstanding Mr. Oakeley, when he considers him to identify Catholic and Roman in his pamphlet†. Here we will give the passage on which the judge relies:—"Far from introducing, in my public ministrations, characteristically Roman doc-

* The quiet and cool tone of these gentlemen is really more surprising than amusing. The bishop brings a very grave charge against Mr. Oakeley, and puts him into the Ecclesiastical Court. A few days before the trial, the accused wishes not to defend his cause, and writes of himself—"Of course, in abandoning my defence, I expected to put an end to the proceeding altogether:" and, after a few remarks, in which he says that he might have acted otherwise if his knowledge had been of a superior order, he writes, "*But, at any rate, I expected that the case would not have been examined, and judgment gone simply by default.*" (See "English Churchman, No. 145," p. 645). At all events, Mr. O. here exhibited very little judgment or prudence.

† English Churchman, No. 144, p. 627.

“trine, I am not in the habit of introducing (dogmatically and controversially) what some persons call (*though I do not*) by way of con-
 “tradistinction from it, *Catholic doctrine**,’ thereby expressly identifying
 “Roman doctrine with that which he calls Catholic doctrine†.” In the
 later pamphlet, even a stronger passage is found, which decides as to
 Mr. Oakeley’s views on Roman Catholic doctrine. He speaks of his
 “settled and unalterable convictions on the subject of the Roman Ca-
 “tholic Theology‡.” Even after all we have seen and heard of con-
 troversy, we confess that this insinuation that a distinction was made by
 the defendant, astounds us. It is one which Mr. Oakeley would repu-
 diate, and contradicts all that he and Mr. Ward meant to say. The
 truth is, that this very Dr. Pusey, in his next letter§, claims to hold all
 “Roman” doctrine, while, in this letter, he insinuates, or leaves his
 readers to infer, that Mr. Oakeley does not.

With regard to the Apocrypha and the sacramental presence, the
 same plan is pursued by Dr. Pusey as he had followed with little suc-
 cess on the number of the sacraments. Some one says, or ought to
 have said, the contrary; and therefore the judge must be wrong, lest the
 others should be wrong. Misquotation and misapplication might be
 proved in both cases; but, as we have shewn the principle previously ||,
 we will be content with expressing our admiration of a long list of au-
 thorities as to the rule of faith which have long since been heaped to-
 gether in Tract LXXVIII; but Tractarians are not apt to allow their
 labours to slumber, for they, with signal failure, were applied, in No.
 XC, to prove the same point as in this letter. Nothing is easier than,
 by passages in this same Tract, to establish the true Anglican doctrine
 of the supremacy of Scripture; but accuracy cannot be expected in any
 one who commits a mistake in such a point as the following. In the
 fourth note¶, after quoting the celebrated Canon of the Convocation
 of 1571, our theologian informs us, that this was the convocation
 ‘ which enforced subscription to the Articles.’ It is a trifle, but his-

* Letter to the Bishop, p. 13.

† Judgment, p. 129.

‡ Claim, &c., p. 18.

§ English Churchman, No. 145, p. 642.

|| Those who are anxious to investigate these instances, may refer to p. 628, English Churchman, No. 144, for Dr. Pusey’s assertions and quotations; and for the facts, to “Judgment,” p. 154, for the question of the Canon; and p. 165, for the ques-
 tion of the Sacramental Presence. Dr. Pusey informs us, that the judge “explains
 “Article XXXI in a way in which it would go *flatly* against all Christian anti-
 quity.” This is a quiet declaration of one who is just recovering from a two years’
 suspension as to this very point.

¶ English Churchman, No. 144, p. 658.

torical trifles are important matters, and are the best test of general accuracy. We need not remind our readers that subscription was enforced by the *Parliament* of 1571, and that subscription was no more enforced by this Convocation than by those which preceded it. This little fact, and its possible inference, therefore soon disappear.

Thus much for Dr. Pusey's second letter; and here let it be understood that we have not exposed all its false inferences and fallacies. This task is beyond our limits, and, besides, we have passed over nothing which appears an argument in it. It would not be right for any one to imagine, that, over and above such fallacies, there remains much learning and argument, much simplicity and fairness. The case is as it would seem to be on its first appearance, and we have but produced samples of the commodity which is presented to our critical digestion. And this rule will also hold good in reference to our next remarks; for, not having a folio volume to compose, we must be content to point out a few of many egregious errors.

The third letter commences as follows * :—

“ IV. But besides the legal and other grounds for thinking that the judgment affects no one except the individual on whom it fell, there is further evidence, both in the charge itself which was laid against him, and the sentence ultimately pronounced. *The charge relates, not to subscription, but to the maintenance of certain doctrines*, and, ‘ a scandal or evil report ’ thereon ensuing. (Art. X). At least, in more than one place, *the judge disclaims any right to interfere with or rule a person's private conscience*; and of course what is privately held cannot (as the judge says) in the nature of things come any how under the cognisance of the law. *What he does again and again assert is, that a clergyman has no right to ‘ teach ’ or ‘ proclaim ’ doctrines*, which the judge held to be ‘ contrary to the Thirty-nine ‘ Articles ; ’ and then, in one respect, *he misinterprets Mr. Oakeley*, as if he had claimed the right to teach those doctrines everywhere except in the pulpit of Margaret Chapel (which he did not); but, *2ndly, he lays down, that the very publication of his letter to his Bishop is such proclaiming or teaching*. This he speaks of as ‘ a gratuitous ‘ and disturbing movement, calculated to disturb the peace of the ‘ Church. ’ Since, then, the judge does, on the one hand, explicitly disclaim the control over private conscience, and, on the other hand, again and again says that the charge against Mr. Oakeley is that of ‘ proclaiming ’ those doctrines, I suppose that, in other places in

* English Churchman, No. 145, p. 642.

" which he denies that 'the construction of the Articles is to be left to
 " 'the private persuasion of individuals,' he means, as Lord Stowell
 " did, to whom he refers, '*so as publicly to contravene them.*' *The*
 " *judge distinctly states, that he did not sit to pass judgment upon*
 " *Mr. Oakeley for his mode of subscribing the Articles;* and adds for
 " what he did sit: 'I sit here to decide whether Mr. Oakeley has, in
 " 'this letter, *set forth and maintained* doctrines opposed to those of
 " 'the Church of England, as set forth in the Thirty-nine Articles, or
 " 'the Constitutions or Canons Ecclesiastical of the realm.' *Whether*
 " *the judge would have condemned even this letter, had he not, by a*
 " *misinterpretation of Mr. Oakeley's meaning, substituted the word*
 " *'preach' for 'teach,'* and so, when Mr. Oakeley disclaimed 'teach-
 " 'ing Roman doctrine,' supposed that he only *dis*-claimed 'preaching
 " 'it in Margaret Chapel,' and that he *claimed* the right to 'teach' it
 " everywhere else, *of course no one can say.* Certain it is, that he does
 " lay very great stress upon this supposed claim, without reference to
 " the letter in which it was contained."

This long extract opens to us the case, and we will enumerate its cardinal blunders.

1. "The charge relates not to subscription, but to the maintenance of certain doctrines," &c.

We presume that Dr. Pusey might have had access to the Twelve Articles, in which "the charge" was made, and therefore stands inexcusable if he misrepresents. In the form of decree issued, it is said, "in which said pamphlet or letter, doctrines are advisedly maintained and affirmed contrary and repugnant to the *true, usual, literal meaning of the Articles of Religion* as by law established, *some or one of them**," &c. And again, in Article I, it is pleaded, "that he, the Rev. F. Oakeley, clerk, *knows, believes, and has heard,* that by the laws, ". . . all ecclesiastical persons of what rank or condition soever who have been admitted into holy orders of the United Church of England and Ireland, *ought to adhere and maintain with constancy and sincerity the doctrines of the said Church as by law established;* and that whosoever, having been so admitted, and having subscribed and declared his assent to the Articles of Religion, shall revolt from, or deprave *the said Articles, or any of them, or any of the doctrines therein contained,* ought to be punished," &c. Articles II, III, and IV, are on mere questions of formal evidence; and Article V pleads, that Mr. Oakeley has advisedly, in writing, and "*does maintain and affirm*

* Judgment, p. 111.

"doctrines directly contrary or repugnant to the true, usual, literal meaning of the said Articles, some or one of them." Article VI reiterates the same assertion of the pamphlet, as *directly contrary* to the said Articles of Religion. The rest are of mere formal points. The charge does, therefore, immediately relate to subscription, and binds subscription to the usual literal meaning; and, therefore, Dr. Pusey is entirely wrong in his assertion. It would have been within the *limits* of truth to say that he was not directly and simply charged with erroneous subscription; but to say that it "*relates not*" to it, is to misrepresent. If we had not the Articles of the charge before us, even common sense would shew, that, unless the Articles had been signed by Mr. Oakeley, he never could have been amenable to laws against clerks in holy orders. The charge is closely allied to the question of subscription to the Articles; and this is a very important point, as we shall see hereafter.

2. The judge is said to disclaim any right over private conscience. By this we are to infer, that, as a man may hold what he pleases, and the judge disclaims any control, therefore Mr. Oakeley may hold what he pleases, if he teach it not. Let us hear the judge:—

"How the claim to hold them is to be made without, in some degree, teaching them by public declaration or writing, it is difficult to conceive. It cannot be that the mere holding of certain doctrines, unless they are proclaimed as the belief of the party who so holds them, can be esteemed objectionable, either in the University or in the Church; for who can know what are the doctrines held by an individual, except from his teaching, publishing, or proclaiming them? They must be sent forth to the world in some way or other; otherwise, neither the University, nor the Church, can determine what secret thoughts of an individual are opposed to the doctrines contained in the Articles of the Church*."

"So also, p. 121, the judge says, 'if . . . he is found to hold, or to claim a right to hold, any doctrines adverse to the Thirty-nine Articles,' &c.

Now, who would have imagined, from Dr. Pusey's words, that the judge's reason for leaving private opinions untouched, was the simple fact of being unable to know them. This, however, will not be sufficient to shew that a clergyman may hold everything and anything of Popery; and, in fact, the judge demolishes this profound absurdity on the very next page, which ought to have been referred to. It is as follows:—

* Judgment, p. 126.

"But," he (i. e. Mr. O.) further observes, '*with your Lordship, I contend this distinction ought to, and will, receive consideration. Were I to be found teaching Roman doctrine in my public ministrations in your Lordship's Diocese, I should, as I feel, most deservedly expose myself to your Lordship's censure. It is plain that your Lordship, as a Bishop of our Church, could not, and would not, suffer it.*' Why, if the Thirty-nine Articles *do permit the holding of certain doctrines,—if they are so lax in their phraseology as to make it doubtful whether they are opposed to Roman doctrine or not,—whether those Articles actually in terms declare such doctrine, or whether they are capable of being reconciled with it, can make no difference. For if they are capable of being reconciled with it, what right would the Bishop of London have to interfere with Mr. Oakeley for teaching Roman doctrine in his public ministrations?* It is quite clear, therefore, that this is an admission that the doctrines which he claims to hold, but which he abstains from teaching, are the doctrines of the Church of Rome, and, as such, opposed to the Articles of the Church of England. Otherwise, he never could, in what he calls an explanation of his meaning, have expressed himself to the effect which he has done in the passage which I have read."—Pp. 127, 128.

We leave this contradiction of Dr. Pusey to speak for itself.

3. Our author next defines what the judge did say; and from our last quotation it is clear that once more he is inaccurate, for the judge says that if a man has a right to *hold* a dogma, he has a right to *teach* it; and therefore, as he denies the right to teach, he must necessarily deny the right to hold. The two are completely identified. It is as if he had said, you must not justify larceny, because it is not found out. If a man commits a crime in so secret a way as not to be discovered, he will escape; but woe unto him who, following his example, is found out. As he has no right to steal, so shall he suffer. A man may hold anything, but if he declares his belief, and it is false, then our laws shall bear upon him. There are many who by false doctrine are *morally* amenable to our Ecclesiastical Laws, but by a prudent silence they escape; and these are the persons who are indignant with Mr. Oakeley for endangering their safety and making their dishonesty palpable by his own condemnation. If any confidence is to be put in the Dean of Arches, all who *hold* the tenets of Roman theology are traitors to our Church and violators of their oaths.

4. But a complaint is made that the judge misinterprets the defendant. The facts are as follow, and shew rather a misrepresentation on the part of Dr. Pusey. First, Mr. O. says that he claims to *hold*, not to *teach*; and he states in his letter to his Diocesan, that, in his pamphlet on No.

XC, he has "VERY FULLY" explained the distinction in a note, which he quotes. Now in this note he speaks only of "*abstaining in sermons and other acts of public ministration from the statement of theological opinions**," &c.; and, naturally enough, the judge understands him to imply that he would teach in any other place; and this conclusion was supported by the fact that the mere publication of his letter to the Bishop was actually a teaching of his sentiments. It will be evident, that, if the judge has misinterpreted Mr. Oakeley, the fault is in him, because, professing "*very fully*" to explain a distinction, he actually does not explain it, but merely makes an observation which tends to obscure the point at issue. It would save much confusion if these Tractarians would write intelligibly, and condescend to the infirmity of those who are anxious to understand them.

5. At first sight, it is hard to discover why Dr. Pusey accuses the judge of misinterpreting, unless it be merely for the sake of fault-finding. The fact, that the judge conclusively identifies teaching and holding, and says, that, if a man may hold without violating the Articles, he may also teach, will shew us that if Mr. Oakeley even held unsound doctrines he would be condemned. It is not, in any sense, important that it should be proved that he claims to teach. The solution, however, of the Doctor's reasons peers out in the latter part of the passages which we have quoted. No one can say, we are told, whether the judge would have condemned him, if he had not misinterpreted this word. This is the secret of the charge, and it is evidently inserted with a view to throw the decision on a *blunder*. It is positively false to make such an assertion. It is clear from Dr. Pusey's own words, and from those of the judge, which he quotes, that the condemnation does not rest on this point at all. First let us hear Dr. Pusey from the passage above. "*He*" (the judge) "*lays down that the very publication of his letter to his Bishop is such proclaiming and teaching.*" And, again, in this same letter we read, "Yet there is another class of passages, in which the judge confines himself to the act of the publication of the letter to the Bishop as in itself constituting the offence, apart from any course of action or any teaching anywhere, in any way, *except so far as the letter itself involved it*;" and after quoting some passages he says,—

"And, certainly, *whatever a person avows that he holds, that, in proportion to his influence, he does, in a way, teach.* Since people do, and must, follow the guidance or the track of others, any de-

* P. 12.

† English Churchman, p. 643.

"claration, on the part of one to whom, from office, or character, or any other ground, others look, has its influence, more or less, upon those who so look to him. The very avowal is to them a recommendation."—*Ibid.*

Now let us refer to the judge, in a passage which Dr. Pusey quotes. "But I sit here to decide whether he has, in this pamphlet, set forth and maintained doctrines which are opposed to those of the Church of England as contained in Thirty-nine Articles, and the Canons and Constitutions Ecclesiastical of the Realm*." Here then is the definite duty of the judge. And again, we read, "If he does not teach them in his public ministrations, is not the pamphlet which is now under the consideration of the Court, sufficient to shew that he publicly maintains and affirms them? And *that* is the question which the Court is called on to decide†." This passage will be made more strong by a reference to the Articles and their pleading; and it is well in our examination to remember that the question before the court was not what the court might will to talk about, but as to certain definite charges against the form of which no objection was made. So far is it then from Dr. Pusey being right in his assertion, that no one can say how the judge would have decided, if he had not misinterpreted his friend—that the decision had no reference to this interpretation, but was made on the broad basis that Mr. Oakeley's publication maintained and affirmed doctrines at variance with our Articles. We will say no more on this head, but it may throw light on the whole question if we give a brief abstract of the judgment. The charge is made on the evidence of a certain pamphlet; and the judge is "bound to adhere to its contents, both in respect of the proof of the charge and of the defence," and "cannot travel out of that pamphlet‡." Discussing the contents of the pamphlet, the court rules that this claim to hold is actually a claim to teach under certain limitations, and that actually to publish the claim, is to teach; and again, that, if a man can hold a doctrine, he may teach it, so that a claim to hold, is a claim in itself to teach. The court then ruled that the Thirty-nine Articles are the rule of the Church of England by which the doctrines of the pamphlet are to be tested. As, therefore, the author claims to hold all Roman doctrine, and defines Roman doctrine to be all doctrine ratified by councils, including Trent, it is best to compare Trent with our Articles; and as the issue is diametrical opposition, Mr. Oakeley is condemned for holding doctrines diametrically opposite to those which he has sworn to maintain. We do not profess to do justice to the completeness of the decision by this analysis, but we think that its value will be best seen by tracing it backwards through its several stages.

* Judgment, p. 123.

† Judgment, pp. 128, 129.

‡ P. 117.

The Articles of the Church of England contradict the Canons of Trent, therefore, we cannot teach both ; therefore, Mr. Oakeley's claim to teach all Roman doctrine proves him to hold false doctrine. But if Tractarians say we only claim to *hold*, the court answer, if you can hold you can teach.

It is a difficult thing to escape these difficulties, and so Dr. Pusey finds it; to whose remarks we must return.

6. There is a new kind of logic laid before us, which is more prevalent than syllogistic in its reasoning. For instance, we have the following argument, "as the judge disclaims the control of private consciences, and "as he charges Mr. Oakeley with proclaiming certain doctrines ; therefore, when he precludes private interpretations of the Articles, he only "means to exclude such as are publicly made." The logical sequence of this conclusion we cannot discover, but it may originate in our dulness of comprehension. It is to be hoped that our readers are more clear-sighted than is our good fortune ; but, at all events, we understand each sentence. As to the first point, the conscience of a clergyman, when translated to paper, or made vocal, ceases to be private, and is as amenable *actually* to the laws, as the conscience is ever *morally* amenable. When we sign Articles, then our conscience is amenable ; but, as we have shewn above what the judge said on this head, as well as exhibited the half-truth of the second, we have only to deal with the third sentence, for we can scarcely call them premises and conclusion. It is professed to be argued, that when a private construction of the Articles is condemned, Lord Stowell, as well as the present judge, only mean thereby to forbid any private construction, "so as publicly to contravene them." Happy men to be thus set right, and to be amended, but we are afraid that the correction fails.

"Speaking of the Articles, Lord Stowell further says: 'The purpose "for which these articles were designed, is stated to be, "the avoiding " "the diversities of opinions, and the establishing of consent touching " "true religion.'" *It is quite repugnant, therefore, to this intention, "and to all rational interpretation to contend, as we have heard this "day, that the construction of the Articles should be left to the private "persuasion of individuals, and that every one should be at liberty to "preach doctrines contrary to those which the wisdom of the State, "aided and instructed by the wisdom of the Church, had adopted,'—* "Mr. Stone had argued that a certain construction for which he contended should be put on the Articles of the Church. In the present case Mr. Oakeley does not openly contend, (though he leaves it "to be inferred from the statement in his Pamphlet), that the construction of the Articles ought to be left to the private judgment of indi-

"viduals. And whilst Mr. Stone claimed a liberty to preach doctrines contrary to those which the combined wisdom of the Church and State has adopted, Mr. Oakeley disclaims any right to teach the doctrines which he maintains. In all other respects, however, the language of Lord Stowell applies directly and immediately to the circumstances of the case under consideration. *We ought not to be left to any construction of the Articles of our Church, which may arise from the different opinions of persons concerning them. No minister of the Church of England has a right to put his own private interpretations upon the Articles, which he has sworn to, and which he has subscribed.* Mr. Oakeley, indeed, has probably subscribed them more than once or twice*."

"Sitting here to administer the law, the court cannot for a moment admit that Mr. Oakeley is entitled to put his own construction upon the Articles of the Church, in order to justify the holding and maintaining of doctrines contrary to the views of that Church. And, therefore, in contrasting the doctrines of the Church of England with those of the Church of Rome, the court will confine itself to the consideration of the words of the Thirty-nine Articles themselves, which are to be taken in their plain, pure, grammatical construction†."

The judges appear to condemn every private interpretation, not merely such "as publicly contravene" the Articles; and Sir H. J. Fust is rash enough to put it on the ground of the oath which is taken, and we presume an oath binds a silent as well as a vocal conscience. In a previous passage he speaks of such conduct as hardly reconcilable with "integrity‡." From these passages Dr. Pusey is not yet at liberty to affirm that a clergyman may hold repugnant doctrines. To some new policy must he therefore resort.

7. Lastly, after all these arguments about holding and teaching, and private construction, of the Articles, we are gravely informed that "the judge distinctly stated that he did not sit to pass judgment upon Mr. Oakeley for his mode of subscribing the Articles." Either Dr. Pusey is sadly at a loss to comprehend judicial language, in which case he ought not to have written so much on a judgment, or he is unable to give a clear and fair view of things. The judgment thus speaks:—

"With respect to the sense in which Mr. Oakeley considered himself entitled to sign the Thirty-nine Articles, it does not properly belong to the present consideration; and the Court can only refer to it inci-

* Judgment, pp. 143, 144.

† Ibid., p. 151.

‡ P. 135.

"dentally, and *for the purpose of shewing upon what grounds Mr. Oakeley contends that he has a right to continue to hold the doctrines which he maintains. I am not sitting here to pass a judgment upon him for having subscribed the Thirty-nine Articles in any other sense than that which the language of the Articles would warrant, and necessarily import: but I sit here to decide whether he has, in this Pamphlet, set forth and maintained doctrines which are opposed to those of the Church of England, as contained in the Thirty-nine Articles, and the Canons and Constitutions Ecclesiastical of the Realm. If he shall be found so to have done, upon a fair construction given to the different parts of his Pamphlet, then I have nothing to do with the reasons which he may have assigned to himself as an excuse for signing the Articles in a sense which he calls ultra-Catholic, but which, from other portions of the Pamphlet, will appear to be in the sense of the Roman Church.*"—P. 123.

As the judge repeatedly observes, his duty was to decide on one question, whether or no the pamphlet maintained doctrines repugnant to the Church of England as defined in the Articles. He had nothing to do with the ultra-Catholic sense, or any other sense directly; and yet, as every one knows who has read the decision, it turned on the question of the Articles. It made no difference in what sense the Articles were signed; the question was, are doctrines now maintained which are repugnant to the Articles in their grammatical sense? Judicially, one question exists, and it must be decided by an incidental reference to the documents of either Church. We presume, if the Court had observed that they had nothing to do with the sense in which some of the Canons of Trent were received, but must abide by the plain meaning, every one would have known the drift of the sentence; and yet, in this passage, we find Tractarians professing that the Articles were not in question. They were not the judicial question, but they were the rule which decided the question, and their interpretation has been settled by the court as in every past instance and precedent. If Dr. Pusey* thought otherwise, why has he wasted so much labour on this very question of the Articles? If the Articles are not in question, and subscription be not opened, why dwell on private consciences and published consciences, and leave room, without any sufficient necessity, for men to accuse him of having these two consciences in his own person, and of fostering them in his followers.

Passing from these errors, we find a few quotations to prove that the

* Mr. Oakeley professes to believe that subscription was left untouched by this case. See Claim, p. 24.

judge believed that Mr. Oakeley claimed to teach as well as hold. As we have granted above that such was the view taken by the court, and that it was backed by incontrovertible arguments, it only remains for us to remind our readers that this was not all which the judge ruled, for he ruled *that the Canons of Trent did contravene irreconcilably the Articles of England*, and, therefore to sign and swear to both *ex animo* is impossible. If any evidence is necessary that the judge all along distinguished between holding and teaching, it will be found in the quotation of Lord Stowell's judgment; for, repeatedly, the Court made remarks, that Mr. Stone claimed what Mr. Oakeley did not, but that the judgment nevertheless applied to one as much as the other.

And here we will quote from Dr. Pusey's own explanations of his sentiments, that every Churchman may judge how far such sentiments are compatible with honesty. It is important to know his position, and weigh their sobriety. It may truly be said that he sins against himself and is unfair to himself.

"What Mr. Oakeley did mean to disclaim was, *every sort of teaching every where, what was ordinarily considered to be distinctive Roman doctrine*, i. e. 'doctrines allowed,' he says, 'as I conceive by the 'Articles, but foreign to the views and habits of our Church.' And I may add that I believe that what Mr. O. meant to claim, *without going into any statement as to his personal opinions, one way or the other, was, not by virtue of his subscription to renounce anything which had been formally decreed by the Roman Church*, and this is distinguished on the one hand, from what, in the Roman Church, are regarded as matters of discipline, and on the other, from any popular abuses on any matters of formal doctrine. In a word, what he meant, I believe, in his original declaration might have been more accurately expressed by 'not renouncing' rather than by 'holding' such doctrine. * * * * Such received *explicitly*, all which they knew the Church to have received; *implicitly*, whatever she does receive, *whether they knew what it was or no*. I mean that their habit of mind is expressed by the confession recommended to dying persons, as a remedy against temptations to doubt, 'Credo quicquid credit Ecclesia.' Now persons of this habit of mind, apart from any definite *reception* of doctrine which they might not *see* to be doctrine actually held by the Church, *will still shrink from committing themselves to a denial of that which might, after all, prove to be of authority*. Until it should be cleared up, what is the mind of the whole Church upon such doctrine, *they wish themselves to remain in a state of abeyance upon it, neither rejecting it, nor yet making it part of their belief*. * * * * *They consider our Church to be in a state of appeal*, waiting for a time when the differences

"between her and the rest of the Western Church shall be cleared up, if God will. They do not, then, formally accept what is now looked upon as distinctive Roman doctrine, *yet neither would they formally reject it, for fear, if it should prove to be true, they might be rejecting the truth.* Such would, e. g. neither reject invocation of saints, nor yet do they actually practise it; they do not make a definite doctrine 'of purifying process with pain after death' a part of their belief, nor yet do they disbelieve it. * * * I ought to say further, (although it will pain some), that, considering how large a portion of the Church the Roman communion contains, to how great a degree the doctrines it formally receives are held in the Eastern, how much holiness she has had, and what holy books (the fruit of the Spirit of God) she has produced, *they shrink from declaring that to be untrue, which she has formally declared to be true.* Unsatisfactory as this state of mind may be to persons, on the one side or the other, who definitely believe or disbelieve these points, upon which *these minds are in a state of abeyance*, still I know that among them are very valuable persons; pious, devoted, conscientious, loving, liberal, laymen, or in the ministry of our Church, of both sexes, young and old, who yet wish, according to their abilities, to do what in them lies to the glory of God in our Church.

"And this statement will answer the question which you yourself put. You ask for 'a plain, definite, and formal statement,' of what those for whom this letter is written require. I would say, at once, their desire is 'to be allowed, unfettered, to receive all which the Ancient Church received, as matter of faith, and to be required to deny nothing, which has been affirmed by councils extensively received, even although their reception by the whole Church is still at issue.' They wish not to be formally committed to any negative statement, which should make our reconciliation with the rest of the Western Church ultimately impossible*."

Mr. Oakeley says that such was his view†, now we will shew our readers that this is untenable, and that Mr. O. went beyond this. Dr. Pusey talks of being in *abeyance*; but is this the language of his friend? On the contrary, he claims to hold all Roman doctrine, identifies himself with Mr. Ward‡, declares that this view is not merely speculative§, but "*very practical* ||"; "I regard it," says he, "as a point of duty to my own communion, to extract, nay, and if so be, to extort the most

* English Churchman, No. 145. pp. 643. 643.

† See his letter to Dr. Pusey, English Churchman, No. 145.

‡ Letter to Bishop, pp. 12, 13.

§ Ibid. p. 17.

|| Ibid. p. 18.

"Catholic meaning possible from her apparently anti-Catholic determination *," &c. He is not able "to draw a line between the earlier and the later decisions of the Catholic Church †;" and, after speaking of the "fatal speculation" on justification, he writes, "*Shall I suppose the Church to have been silent on such emergencies? On the contrary, I believe her to have been ready, at Trent as at Nicæa, with her scholastic definitions, and her preclusive anathemas, and so in times intermeditate ‡.*" Dr. Pusey draws a distinction between East and West. Mr. Oakeley boldly identifies Trent with *the Church*. Dr. P. professes not to reject nor to believe; Mr. O. holds one council as much as another. He believes every dogma of Trent as much as the decrees of Nicæa. It makes us shudder when we thus bring the doctrines of the two into comparison. Again, Dr. Pusey refuses formally to reject, lest they should prove true; Mr. Oakeley ridicules the idea of any doubt, and talks of "that *unutterably sacred Presence*" at Trent. The case is this, that Dr. Pusey easily forgets what his friend had written, draws his inferences from his own wishes, and, on these grounds, his attacks on the judge. It is very true that Mr. Oakeley claims not to renounce, but he does a little more; he asserts his belief in strong terms, and in words which cannot be mistaken. Thus much is evident from the pamphlet before the Court; but it is more evident, if possible, in the "claim to hold," &c.; for instance, "If our Lord has left a Church on earth, that Church must be, *toties quoties, the authorised expositor of His Word, and I see no Church but the Roman which even claims to fulfil this office for the Christian world §.*" Again, "I do not (as has been said) *deny my right to teach them, if I can hold them. I waive it ||.*" Yet we read, "the negative is all which he meant to claim ¶;" and in a later passage, "he may be accused of *indifference*, but he cannot be charged with teaching." Mr. Oakeley repudiates such an idea, and what contradictions can be clearer than these of Dr. Pusey and his friend? No doubt they believe alike; but it is convenient for the one to understate, while the other is explicit. The Court, therefore, is misrepresented under the form of a plea for the defendant. The Tractarians abandon their outwork and return upon their inner defences. They had exposed themselves by advancing too far, and retreat with dishonour; and, somewhat like the character given of the Athenians, they fall, shake themselves, and declare they have never fallen.

But let us say a word on the tenability of this "state of neutrality

* Letter to Bishop, p. 19.

† Ibid., p. 19.

‡ Ibid., p. 20.

§ Ibid., p. 5. || P. 6.

¶ English Churchman, No. 145, p. 643.

"as to Roman doctrine." 1st, It is such a state of *neutrality* which has for some years been replenishing Rome with men and women from our Church, and, therefore, the idea is a practical absurdity, for their neutrality is all on one side*. 2ndly, If the Articles do not forbid, they allow; and, as Mr. O. says, I claim a right, but I waive it. But this we have shewn above from the judge's argument and decision. We may, however, just observe to our logical friends, that, as our Articles, which concern Rome, are *negatives*, they are universal in their negations, and, therefore, permit much less escape. It would be difficult to define how much addition to an affirmative position would overturn it, but every one will see that a single exception to a *negative* destroys its truth at once. Yet, Dr. Pusey absurdly argues, that negations permit this reservation, in spite of common sense and common logic. 3rdly, This brings us to the sense of the Articles, and here the Court rules that many are diametrically opposed to those of Trent. Contradictories cannot be true together; and if Rome affirms a particular, and we deny it, one must be true and the other false. How then can one man believe both, and hold a negation, and yet believe the thing denied? No honest man will try such a course. It will seem at once an utter impossibility. Rome or England, Trent or Truth, must be the grand incontrovertible distinction. But why need we insult common sense by arguing against such an absurdity. Let us hear what Mr. Oakeley thinks of his position. "Here is a Clergyman and Fellow of a College in Oxford, conscious to himself that, except he can subscribe the Articles without renouncing any one authorized Roman doctrine, he cannot subscribe them at all. Moreover, the view of subscription which he adopts, has the following *serious disadvantages* lying against it. *If honest men, throughout England, were polled, not twenty, perhaps, would pronounce it clearly allowable. The apparent meaning of the Articles themselves is against it; the sense of Catholic Europe is against it; several Bishops of the Anglican Church have apparently denounced it; and now here is a large majority in the Convocation of Oxford declaring that it is inconsistent with good faith†.*" Again, "I have been accused of catching at straws; I answer, that such is ever the wisdom, and the duty, of persons in a

* It has been ever the Tractarian policy to "unprotestantize" our Church; and, as Mr. O. said, they considered our Church in a transition state, and, therefore, did not owe her the same duty as if she had been settled. His idea was to "*leaven*" us, and prepare us for better things. See "Claim," p. 12, &c.

† Claim, p. 16.

"desperate condition, such as I have never denied my own to be."* This neutrality is to place our Church *"as the handmaid of the Church of Rome."* Here are the views of one whom Dr. Pusey identifies with himself, and if his position is desperate, why does not the other perceive it. All men, from highest to lowest, condemn your policy as dishonest and evasive, why will you cling to it with pertinacity, and defend it with sophistry? Far better would it be for men never to have been born than to outrage universal opinion by a whole life of subterfuge. No, such a course is untenable. You may assert it, re-assert it, and you may find some of your own to believe it, but neither Rome nor England sympathises with you. In the present position we know not which Church most spurns your defence.

Your position is in every way inexcusable. Born in light, you are aiming to obscure it. Once your boast was of 'universal consent' as to doctrines, at least now receive it as to a simple question of interpretation. All men, but a section of Tractarians, perceive the wide difference between our Church and Rome. Mr. Newman has felt it long, and at last has acted openly. Why will you alone, of all mankind, profess to believe our Articles lax, and vague, and empty. It is not tenderness of conscience which supplies you with this facility, but habitual sophistry, which has deadened the moral sense, and a want of energy which allows you to be motionless while all the Christian world is giving you an impetus. Some want your presence; others bid you no longer insidiously destroy your Church. Pray God, whom you have misrepresented, to lead you to recant your errors and confess your sins; and pray him to give you grace, by a long life of laborious service, to undo that mischief, and atone for that injury, which you have done that Church and the Truth. Disband your party, and become individually followers of Christ.

(To be concluded in our next).

* Claim, p. 18.

NOTICES OF NEW PUBLICATIONS.

The Last Day. London: Nisbet & Co. 1846.

As a specimen of typography alone, this little book is eminently worthy of notice and admiration; it is beautifully printed on satin paper, every page having elaborately-designed and diverse-coloured borders, into which are introduced texts from Scripture, bearing upon the subject-matter of the work, on which, however, we have to bestow higher praise than any which mere artistic excellence can call forth. To say that it has a moral aim and purpose, and that its tendency is decidedly good, is scarcely sufficient; it is a homily—a pious exhortation—a solemn warning to mankind at large, to renounce their evil ways, and to be prepared for

“The day of wrath, the dreadful day,
When heaven and earth shall melt away.”

Under the semblance of a vision, our author takes a view of different groups of the great human family engaged in their every-day occupations or amusements, and supposes them startled and confounded at the sound of the last trumpet. Alas, how few of them are prepared for the coming of the Great Judgment! The different pictures are faithful exemplifications of human life, and the book altogether is quite a treasury of “pure gold,” drawn from “the rivers of wisdom.”

Records of Apostacy from Protestant Churches to the Church of Rome.
A Lecture delivered to the Church of England Reading Association,
at Cheltenham. By the Rev. J. E. Riddle, M.A., Minister of St. Philip's, Leckhampton. London: Hatchard; Hamilton & Adams.
1846.

THIS is a concise and valuable lecture, the design of which “is simply to unfold a page of ecclesiastical history. It is a dark page, no doubt, but one which may teach us some valuable lessons.” We are much indebted to the author, and earnestly recommend this tract to such of our readers as are astonished at the late conversions; for although Mr. Riddle does not enter on our modern apostacies, yet he shews the causes which have had their effect in enticing souls from the simple truth. The elements which have had power in former times have also influence in these days; and to know that these are not the elements of revealed truth, but the snares of worldly sentiments, is very beneficial for the doubting and faint-hearted.

“This religious element, or the influence of devout feeling, as developed in the cases of Spangenberg and Stolberg, has in it something positive and good, which is able to bear along many persons, either in a right direction or in a wrong one. It is to be feared that there are not a few persons who, from the want of that principle of

Christian stability, 'a sound judgment in all things,' are liable to be turned aside in proportion as circumstances may arise to favour this course, into the paths of inviting and plausible error. And it is a characteristic feature of modern conversions to Popery, that they have arisen, not so much from those sordid and inferior motives which may be expected to prevail from time to time with isolated *individuals*, but from higher impulses, which are adapted to work upon *whole classes of men*, according to some distinct bias or turn of mind, or some peculiar rank or position in society.

"This remark holds good, not only with respect to that *religious element* of which we have been speaking, but also with reference to some other elements which are undoubtedly at work, viz. an *æsthetic element*, or the influence of *taste*, and a *political element*, or the influence of attachment or opposition to certain *civil institutions or forms of government*.

"The *æsthetic element*, or the influence of *taste*, is one of most subtle and extensive operation. Towards the latter end of the last century there sprang up on the Continent a romantic, or rather imaginative school of poetry and art, which has been not a little productive of conversions in favour of Popery. This school, the opposite of the philosophic, or school of pure reason, falsely so called, is distinguished by its love of the *mysterious and marvellous*, its fondness for *fiction and adventure*, and consequently, by its sympathy with *deeds of chivalry*, with the *spirit of pilgrimage and crusade*, the splendour of *superb architecture*, the charms of *music and painting*, and many of the *ecclesiastical doings and institutions of the middle ages*, not even to the exclusion of *lying miracles and the legends of pretended saints*. This revival of *medieval taste* has become one dangerous pathway to Rome. It was trodden, for example, by that well-known and accomplished scholar, Frederic Schlegel, who professed his adherence to the Romish Church at Vienna, in the year 1808; and it seems also to have presented an appropriate allurement to Zacharias Werner, a dramatist and poet, who joined the papal communion in the year 1811, at Rome."

The fervency of the imagination demands some principle which will steady, and solemnise, and invest sacred things with their proper gravity.

The Bromsgrove Greek Grammar. New Edition. London: Simpkin & Marshall. 1845.

The Bromsgrove Greek Grammar, abridged for Beginners. London: Simpkin & Marshall. 1845.

"THE present edition has been greatly enlarged, and in some degree remodelled; and, though still contained within a small compass, it is not intended for the young scholar only." As Mr. Jacob, the editor, has been willing to correct the faults of the previous edition, much advantage may be expected from this impression. We might have been tempted to deprecate any idea of compelling a boy to commit to memory such a grammar, with its very full details, however valuable and necessary they might be for those who mean to be scholars. The passage above quoted, and the Abridgment, disarm us; and we cannot but congratulate the Bromsgrovians on their grammar, reserving to ourselves the power of preferring Wordsworth's, even though, in some points, it is inferior in arrangement and completeness of its contents. Mr. Jacob has done justice to himself and his Sheffield school, and let him receive the due meed of praise.

The Millennium. A Sermon by the Rev. T. Rankin, Curate of Huggate, and Chaplain to the Right Hon. and Rev. Lord De Saumarez. London: Whittaker. 1846.

A THOUGHTFUL and well-written sermon on a very difficult subject. The author denies the principle of interpreting literally a symbolical book, and identifies the Millennium with the blessed effects of a copious outpouring of the blessed Spirit, as on Pentecost. Some of our readers may differ from this view, but, nevertheless, the spirit of the sermon will not sound harsh on their ears. There are phrases from which we must dissent, while we speak generally in favour.

CORRESPONDENCE.

ANCIENT CEREMONIES AND SUPERSTITIONS.

No. XVIII.

To the Editors of the Christian's Monthly Magazine and Review.

REVEREND AND DEAR SIRS,

THOUGH I have before alluded to the frequent typographical errors, ascribable in part to bad writing, and partly to the writer's not having an opportunity of correcting the proof sheet, yet I have not thought it necessary to send with each letter a list of errata, considering that your readers would make for themselves the necessary corrections. In No. XVI, however, an error occurs, which I am inclined to notice, in consequence of not wishing "reverence" to be accounted "nonsense" in these insubordinate and latitudinarian days! In line 11, for "superstitious nonsense," read "superstitious reverence." Again, in line 4, for "181," read "831." And, at the close of the letter, "ideals" must be transformed into "ordeals." Perhaps the printer's mind was occupied with the consideration of the "ordeal" lately undergone by a modern "Ideal."

52nd Section. In this succeeding section I pass on to the *tenth* century, which is notorious for the gross licentiousness of the pontiffs of Rome. And in this century we read of claims to an authority, conveyed from St. Peter. This was suitable to such an age of ignorance and of vice among all degrees of the clergy. Towards the close of this century, the festival of "All Departed Souls" was instituted by Odilo, abbot of Clugni, in order that all the souls in purgatory might have the benefit of the prayers of the Church. A special reverence began to be paid to the Virgin Mary; and in honour of the Virgin was instituted what the Latins called "the lesser office," as well as the institution of "the Rosary and Crown" of the Virgin. The custom, also, of abstaining from flesh on the Lord's Days, in honour of the Virgin Mary, may also be referred to the same period.

In this century, also, arose the philosophic sects of "Realists" and "Nominalists," so conspicuous in the succeeding age, and in those which follow.

Nothing further need be mentioned in this century as applying to the subject of ancient ceremonies and superstitions, unless it be the custom of "baptizing bells," and giving them names. A great bell, intended for a church at Rome, was thus baptized by Pope John IV, about the year 965.

53rd Section. *The sacrifice of the Mass* is the superstition which more especially requires to be noticed in the *eleventh* century. Although this was not formally established before 1212, yet, in the *eleventh* century, do we read of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper transformed into a sacrifice; and "*power to sacrifice*" given to the priests at the time of their ordination. I have before spoken of transubstantiation being received in the ninth century; but the sacrifice of the mass is quite distinct, though clearly springing from the former. It is evident, from the writings of the Fathers and of the early historians, that nothing was publicly advanced on the subject of the sacrifice of the mass before the *eleventh* century; and it is in vain for the Romanists to endeavour to shut out the light of truth with the darkening shutter of a bold falsehood, in claiming the support of tradition and of the Fathers for the *apostolicity* of their figment. The doctrine, also, of transubstantiation became so generally received in this century, that, in 1059, it was affirmed in the Lateran Council, under Nicolas II, that "the bread and the wine are the very body and blood of Christ, and that he is sensibly felt, broken, and crumbled by the teeth of believers." (*Vide* Berenger, or Berengarius, in his reply to Lanfranc's Treatise de Corpore et Sanguine, J. C. Both Berenger and Lanfranc were Latin expositors of the 11th century. Berenger was the Archdeacon of Angers, and was forced through fear, when brought before the councils held in 1059, 1078, and 1079, respectively, to make three successive recantations of what he had written against transubstantiation. He subsequently retired to the Island of Cosme, where he died in 1088).

The next subject of importance may be stated to be the assumption, in this century, by the Roman pontiffs, of the exclusive right of being distinguished as *Popes*, or *universal Bishops*. And according to Gregory VII, the successor of St. Peter, in the Church of Rome, was the Vicegerent of Christ all over the world; and from him, not only bishops and pastors, but kings and princes derive their authority.

The Sprinkling of Holy Water appears to have been another superstitious ceremony peculiar to this period, though it was at this time confined to the consecration of churches. This custom was Jewish, as well as Pagan; inasmuch as a bunch of "hyssop" was used for the sprinkling of the "lustral."

About the middle of this same century, the "Redemption of Penances" was introduced; and "Pecuniary Mulcts," "Donatives," and "Pilgrimages" were accepted as an equivalent. "Indulgences," also, were extended to those in purgatory.

Urban II, towards the close of this century, established, that, on every Saturday, a mass should be said in honour of the Virgin Mary; and he instituted, at the Council of Claremont, "the Sabbath of St. Mary." The same Pope, aided by Peter the Hermit, originated the *First Crusade*; though other Roman pontiffs, and especially Gregory VII, had long contemplated the rescue of the Holy Land from the power of infidels and of Mahomedans. At the Council of Placentia, (at which were present 200 bishops, 4000 of the clergy, and 300,000 laymen), Pope Urban II succeeded in exciting the Italians and French to enter on this holy war. About 1099 Jerusalem was taken by Godfrey, with the remainder of an army of 800,000 persons. The subsequent reign there of Godfrey, and of his brother Baldwin, was the cause of the exportation of an immense quantity of relics, by which the reign of superstition was strengthened.

Peter the Hermit, not only in the crusade affair thus aided Urban II by his en-

thusiastic zeal, but he also introduced into Europe an old Saracenic practice of *repeating rapidly a certain number of sacred words on a certain number of little balls*. Such is the origin of "chaplets," or "pater-nosters." What are termed "the office" and "hours" of the Virgin Mary were also introduced in this century by Peter the Hermit.

About this period the celebration of divine worship in the *Latin tongue* became general throughout all Europe. The Spaniards had long resisted the attempts of the Roman pontiffs; but Gregory VI succeeded in persuading Sancius and Alphonso, kings of Arragon and of Castile, to adopt the Roman form in the place of their own Gothic liturgy.

The same Gregory, in a council assembled at Rome in the year 1075, prohibited the marriage of the clergy; though this establishment of the celibacy of the clergy was strongly opposed by many among them.

It will be perceived that I am hastening more rapidly towards the close of these letters, fearing that the subject may become tiresome to your readers. Glad am I, however, to find that your Magazine becomes more and more valued by those among whom it is circulated. In the hope that you will experience increasing encouragement for its continuance,

I have the honour to be,

Reverend and dear Sir,

Your faithful servant,

Δόκιμος.

Haselbury, 29th Sept. 1845.

No. XIX.

To the Editors of the Christian's Monthly Magazine and Review.

REV. AND DEAR SIRS,

SINCE so little of interest and value remains to be considered on the subject of these letters, it is my intention, in the next letter, to bring to a close the communications which refer to the origin of Popish and Tractarian ceremonies and superstitions.

Sect. 54. In the *twelfth* century we find the effects of the First Crusade in the lucrative trade carried on by the sale of *relics*. The Roman pontiffs were not behind their subjects in the acquisition of wealth, since, in 1190, the sale of *indulgences* became a fruitful source of gain. This wicked practice was first general among the Roman bishops; but towards the close of the present century the Popes engrossed to themselves the sale of *remission of sins* for a stipulated sum. And it is rather remarkable, that, almost coterminous with the above source of crime, the doctrine of *works of supererogation* arose! An immense treasury of the superabundant merits of the saints was assumed to exist; and power to distribute these was claimed by the Roman pontiffs. I must not omit to refer to this century, likewise, an increasing dependence on *tradition*; inasmuch as the writers of the twelfth century evince a *servile deference* to the expositions and views of the primitive Fathers. Instead of appealing to the Sacred Scriptures, we find among some writers of this period an almost exclusive reference to the ancients in support of their opinions. (Vide Enthyimius Zigabenus, Gilbert Porretan, Peter Lombard, Leuen Abelard. Peter Lombard, bishop of Paris, was the celebrated author of the "Four Books of Sentences," from which he was called "the Master of Sentences;" and his disciples were called

"Sententiarii." Abelard was the well-known author of the method called "Scholastic;" he was opposed by the celebrated St. Bernard, abbot of Clairvaux. From this period we may date the threefold division into "Ancients" or "Biblicists," "Dogmatics," and "Scholastics").

In this century, also, the *Canonization of the Saints* was decreed by Alexander III; and none were subsequently admitted into the calendar without the express consent of the Pope.

Sect. 55. I pass on now to the *thirteenth* century. At the commencement of this period "*dispensations*" were added to "*indulgences*."

The origin of the *inquisition* I have before traced to the *ordeals*; it will be therefore sufficient to remark here, that, under Innocent III, and through the instrumentality of the Spaniard, Dominic, a formal inquisitorial court was established, and which at length was erected in almost every country of Europe.

In 1215, at the fourth council of Lateran, Innocent III succeeded in introducing, among other superstitious rites and ceremonies, *Auricular Confession* to the priest, which he enforced as of Divine authority. It is also supposed that he was the first to use the word "*transubstantiation*," though the doctrine must be ascribed to a much earlier period. Then it was that a small box was ordered to be kept for holding the host. About 1220 Honorius III commanded the *Adoration of the Host*; and by Gregory IX the use of the *little bell* was added, as a signal for kneeling. And, about 1250, the use of the cup to the laity was formally denied, on the ground that the blood was contained in the host, or assumed body of Christ.

In 1260 the sect of the *Flagellantes*, or *Whippers*, sprung up in Italy, and were soon to be found in every part of Europe. Here we have clearly the origin of certain *penances* imposed in subsequent centuries. The Flagellantes taught that the favour of Heaven, and forgiveness, might be obtained through self-imposed punishments. Such is the foundation both of Popish and of Tractarian *asceticism*. Little seems to be known of the Dominican "*Tribunal of Penance*."

Sect. 56. In the following century, the *fourteenth*, many new monastic orders arose. The sects, also, of the *Thomists* and *Scotists* sprung up in this century. Innocent V and Benedict XII instituted many profane festivals, which continue to be observed by the Papists. The sect of the Flagellantes was still numerous, and whipping was esteemed as the highest order of devotion, and even accounted as a means of grace of the same efficacy with the sacraments.

There remains one additional superstition to be noticed as belonging to this century. About 1360 the custom arose of "*Walking the Host*," and of carrying it *under a canopy in procession*.

Taking my leave of three centuries in the present letter, I have the honour to be,
Rev. Sirs, with much respect,

Your faithful servant,
Δόκιμος.

Haselbury, 18th Dec. 1845.

MISCELLANEA.

THIS incomparable Reply of the Vice-Chancellor of Oxford to Mr. Golightly speaks for itself, and is a satisfactory answer to many of the common calumnies circulated against that University.

“ TO THE REV. C. P. GOLIGHTLY, &c. &c.

“ *Wadham College, Jan. 14, 1846.*

“ MY DEAR SIR,—I have to acknowledge your letter of the 5th instant, in which you direct my attention to some publications of the Regius Professor of Hebrew; and by your referring to Tit. xvii, sect. iii, § 2 of the Statutes, you suggest to me the duty of requiring from him a renewal of his subscription to the Articles of the Church of England, previously to his preaching again in his turn before the University.

“ You owe me no apology for bringing a very serious subject to my notice, especially when acting, as you profess to be, under a belief that ‘the welfare of the University is at stake;’ though I could certainly have wished that a copy of your letter had not, while it was under my consideration, appeared in the public journals. I have thought it my duty to consider carefully, not only your citations, but many other passages of the publications to which you refer; and if I entertain some doubt of the correctness of your reasoning in some instances, I have no doubt that many other passages, supposing them to represent the Professor’s sentiments, would abundantly warrant an appeal to the test provided by the statute.

“ When, however, I observe, that in the letter of October last, signed with Dr. Pusey’s initials, to which you make particular reference, the writer not only plainly intimates his readiness to subscribe the Articles, but gives a studied exposition of the grounds on which subscription might be made, however distinctly and strongly those grounds have been condemned by every one (I believe) of our spiritual governors who

have noticed them, and however incompatible, in my judgment, they are with the real and hitherto recognised meaning and purport of subscription, I am led to the conclusion that the application of the statute would, in the present case, be ineffectual ; and, being so, would be worse than useless. A subscription, founded upon the principles maintained in the 90th number of the 'Tracts for the Times,' abandons its proper character, and may be made indifferently by the partisan of any erroneous doctrine whatever. Such subscription could manifestly afford no satisfaction to the University ; it would cease to be that criterion of the soundness of the subscriber's faith, which is the express object of the statute ; and, as I am unwilling to be the means of trifling with so formal and solemn an act, I have resolved to forbear any present recourse to it

" Under the immediate circumstances which prompted your appeal to me, there is the less reason for such a step. For if, unhappily, erroneous doctrine should at any time be delivered from the pulpit of the University, the statutes provide a remedy, and one which cannot be rendered inoperative by an unsatisfactory subscription to the Articles.

" I am,

" My dear Sir,

" Yours faithfully,

" B. P. SYMONS,

" *Vice-Chancellor.*"

THE
CHRISTIAN'S MONTHLY MAGAZINE.

THE TENDENCY OF MR. NEWMAN'S ESSAY.

LETTER V.

To the Editor of the "Christian's Monthly Magazine."

SIR,

IN my first *Provincial Letter*, which bears the date of Jan. 6. 1841, I said: "With the object of distracting and ruining the Reformed Church of England during the reigns of Elizabeth and James, the Jesuits, as we believe on very good evidence, advanced, in various simulated characters, various plausible and captious arguments against both her doctrine and discipline. Of course, no suspicion of secret Jesuitism ought to attach to persons so morally estimable as the Leaders of the Tractarians: but it is their INFELICITY to act the precise part, which I myself, were I a Jesuit in the secret employ of Rome, most assuredly *should* act*."

Whether the last five years have confirmed or confuted my estimate of the tendency of tractarian labours, the Public will judge.

I am truly sorry to acknowledge, that my estimate of the tendency of Mr. Newman's *Essay on Development* is even more unfavourable than was my estimate of the tendency of the unhappily notorious *Tracts* and other kindred Productions, by the now fully revealed, though long concealed, Popish *Conspiracy* (I thank Mr. Froude for the word) in the very bosom of the English Church.

Were I an infidel, and did I possess the species of intellect which

* My *Provincial Letters* have been published in two small volumes by Mr. Painter, 342, Strand.

Mr. Newman possesses, the *mode*, which, in the present day, I should select for the most effectual propagation of Infidelity, would be the *precise mode* adopted by that gentleman in his recent Work.

Far am I from asserting that he is *himself* an Infidel: yet he *alone* can tell *what* his own sentiments *really* are. As I remarked in my last Letter, he has put *certainly* out of the power of any other human individual. In the year 1833 (the very year in which the imposture of Tractarianism commenced), Mr. Newman, as he now confesses, said of the Romanists: "Their communion is infected with heresy: we are bound to flee it as a pestilence. They have established a lie in the place of God's truth: and, by their claim of immutability in doctrine, cannot undo the sin they have committed." Declarations to the same effect he confesses himself to have been making at various times in various successive years: and now, at length, he winds up the whole disgraceful management, by the infatuated, though providentially ordered, statement; that he had been deliberately asserting what he himself at the very time totally disbelieved. His *plea* is: that "he was not speaking *his own* words, but was only following almost a *consensus* of the "Divines of his Church." And the *reason*, which he assigns for the fraud, is: that "such views were necessary for our position;" the position, to wit, of himself and his associates; and that the language so strongly vituperative of Popery, which he *then* employed as veritably exhibiting *his own real sentiments*, must be ascribed, "to a hope of appearing himself to persons whom he respected, and to a wish to repel the charge of Romanism*."

Now, when a man has thus openly told us, that he scruples not to deliver, *as his own*, sentiments which are *not his own*, if such a deception should be thought "necessary for his position": he has so totally destroyed his own credibility, that, in future, we can entertain no *certain* belief in *any* exposition which he may please to make of his opinions. He *may*, no doubt, tell us the truth: but, since he has *also* told us that he scruples not to utter untruths when he deems them necessary to his existing position; we never, in any particular instance, can be *certain* that he is honestly declaring his *real* sentiments. Hence, at present, he *may* be truly a Romanist: but no assertion of his can *now* carry with it any reasonable *conviction* to that effect, simply because he has suicidally destroyed all claim to our confidence and belief.

Of course, I shall not assert that he is any other than a veritable

* Advertisement prefixed to Essay on Development, pp. vi—ix.

Romanist: for I am not only ignorant of his true sentiments, but there is likewise an impossibility of my ever certainly knowing what they are. But I can have no scruple in repeating: that, were I an Infidel and wished to propagate Infidelity, I should undoubtedly, if I thought it "necessary to my position," adopt, so far as I possessed a sufficient measure of sophistry, the precise plan, which Mr. Newman has adopted in his *Essay on Development*.

From such an estimate of the tendency of his Work, it obviously follows: that, while I think it not a little dangerous so far as Infidelity is concerned, I think it, save with mere uninquiring and indiscriminating dupes who are prepared to believe any thing, totally innocuous so far as concerns its ostensible object, the *Advancement of Popery*. With your permission, I will shew the grounds of this two-fold estimate.

I. A mode of arguing, very common with the Romish Priesthood, is: to put, in immediate juxta-position, a morally certain truth, and (which we scripturists deem) a morally certain falsehood; and then to maintain, with whatever plausibility they can command, that the two rest upon the same basis of evidential demonstration. The conclusion, which they would draw, somewhat in the mode of a *reductio ad absurdum*, is: that, would we be consistent, we must accept both, or reject both. This mode, I remember, is employed in one of the *Tracts for the Times*: and, in one of my *Provincial Letters*, I expose its shameless unscrupulousness, as exhibiting a perfect indifference to the danger of propagating Infidelity, provided only the cause of Popery might, with weak minds, be thereby advanced.

Now, with an equal disregard to the danger of Infidelity (I will not say, with a wish to promote it, because I know not what Mr. Newman's wish may be), this sort of argument, if, by the courtesy of controversy, we may call it *argument*, pervades nearly the whole of the *Essay on Development*. I shall exhibit, in a sort of climax, some specimens of it, with their respective probable consequences.

1. It is difficult to give the first specimen without an air of the ludicrous.

Mr. Newman gravely assures us: that, "scanty as the Ante-Nicene notices may be of the Papal Supremacy, they are both *more* numerous and *more* definite than the adducible testimonies of the Real," or (as he clearly means) the *Material*, "Presence in the Eucharist." Whence he cogently presses upon some half-believers: "You accept the lesser evidence; you reject the greater." Pp. 20, 23.

Here, a protestant humourist would be apt to tell Mr. Newman: that,

although the odiousness of comparisons had become a proverb, he freely admitted the inoffensiveness of a comparison between the respective evidential merits of two non-entities.

The arguments, I suppose, must have been used to convince some halting Tractarian (such a one, for instance, as our learned Professor of Hebrew), that, if he avowedly held upon supposed sufficient evidence the doctrine of the *Material Presence*, he stood pledged to hold upon its still higher evidence the doctrine of the *Papal Supremacy*.

No doubt, the present specimen is perfectly innocent so far as respects the scriptural Protestant, who believes not a syllable about the Papal Supremacy, and whose faith is, that the Divine Redeemer is *sacramentally* present in the consecrated elements, *spiritually* present in the worthy recipient only, and *corporeally* present in heaven: but still his *mode* of treating it, namely his utter disbelief of *both* doctrines alike, is the same *in kind* as the too probable treatment which other more fearful specimens of Mr. Newman's familiar reasoning will experience at the hands of the scoffing Infidel.

Let us, however, proceed.

2. The gentleman assures us: that, "as no one has power over the "issues of his principles," he is bound to maintain the *equal* credibility of the Creed which bears the name of Athanasius and the Creed which Pope Pius (subsequent to the Council of Trent) has thought fit to suffix to the ancient Niceno-Constantinopolitan Creed; inasmuch as the *latter* rests upon just as good evidence as the *former*. Pp. 9, 11, 29.

This is precisely *our* opinion, replies the Socinian: and we thank you for the candid admission. You have given us an argument, which we shall not fail to use in our holy labour of proselyting. We bless either your simplicity or your dishonesty, as the case may be, in fancying that you could *thus* establish the Creed of Pope Pius. Instead of leading us to believe *both* Creeds; you fully satisfy us, and every reasonable inquirer with us, that, *evidentially*, we ought to believe *neither*.

3. Again: Mr. Newman would enforce upon his pupils the absolute necessity of admitting the *Papal Supremacy*: because, so far as the *primitive* acknowledgment of it is concerned, it rests upon just as solid a basis as the *Doctrine of the Trinity*. You admit, he argues, the *Doctrine of the Trinity*. Would you be consistent, you must admit also the *Papal Supremacy*. Nay, so far as primitive evidence is concerned, there is actually "*less* difficulty" in admitting the *supremacy* than in admitting the *Trinity*. P. 167.

Our obligations to you, quoth the Socinian, are immeasurable. *You*, my young friends of our excellent academical establishments, hear what

the equally talented and honest sage of Littlemore declares. I suppose I need scarcely say, that you will *now* be fully satisfied as to the utter baselessness of the *Doctrine of the Trinity*. Mr. Newman is deservedly the oracle of his followers: and you hear his virtual admission, that this long litigated doctrine was the invention of a later age or (as our revered Dr. Priestley called it) a prominent *corruption* of Christianity.

It is almost superfluous to mention our indignant protestant denial of Mr. Newman's popish assertion: I exhibit it, purely to shew the *tendency* of his Work, and to vindicate my own avowal, that, if I wished to beat a drum for recruiting the ranks of Socinianism and Infidelity, I would, so far as my powers of sophistry extended, write and publish just such a book as the *Essay*.

But we must descend to a still lower depth than Socinianism, in our Hell-ward-bound progress.

4. If we can believe Mr. Newman to be in earnest, he assures us: that the Incarnation of Christ; the Mediation; the Atonement; the Mass; the Merits of Martyrs and Saints; the Invocation and *Cultus* of them; the Centre of Ecclesiastical Unity in the Holy See; the Authority of Councils; the Sanctity of Rites; the Veneration of holy places, shrines, IMAGES, vessels, furniture, and vestments; Penance; Purgatory; Indulgences; the Real or Material Presence in the Eucharist; Adoration of the Host; the Virtue of Relics; Original Sin (somewhat oddly collocated in the list); and the Merit of Celibacy; are all in the way of well developed evidence, so closely compacted together, as to be quite inseparable. "You must accept the *whole*," says our hierophant *totidem verbis*, "or reject the *whole*: reduction does but enfeeble; and amputation, mutilate. It is trifling to receive all, but something which is as integral as any other portion: and, on the other hand, it is a solemn thing to receive *any* part; for, before you know where you are, you may be carried on, by a stern logical necessity, to accept the *whole*. Moreover, since the doctrines altogether make up *one* integral religion, it follows: that the several *evidences*, which respectively support those doctrines, belong to a *whole*, and must be thrown into a common stock, and *all* are available to the defence of *any*." Pp. 154, 155.

At length, then, says the joyous Infidel, we have effectively a full confession, that Christianity is a gross imposture, which rests upon no evidence worth a single straw. Protestants or Biblicals or Scripturists, as they claim to be, gratuitously accept *some* of these particulars and gratuitously reject *others*. But, as Mr. Newman justly observes, nothing can be more absurd and more untenable than this system of picking and

choosing. A stern logical necessity requires: "that *all* should be received, or *all* rejected. Protestants are the most inconsistent and irrational of mortals. We Infidels and our valued friends the Catholics (we cheerfully give them that cherished name of exclusiveness) are alone rational, alone consistent. In the *result*, we differ: but, in the *principle*, we quite agree. We must have no protestant picking and choosing. ALL OR NONE, says the stern necessity of Logic, as judiciously administered by Mr. Newman. The Papists take ALL: we take NONE. For this determination, we may fairly plead, as our oracle from Littlemore ably states the question, the joint sanction of both Papists and Protestants. The Protestant declares, that *the greater part* of the long catalogue of doctrines and practices rests upon no valid evidence and is unworthy of the least credit. The Papist pronounces, that it is illogical to take *some* and to leave *others*: for they *all* rest upon an equally good foundation of evidence. It is *our* rare privilege to agree with *both*. With the Protestant, we say: that very many of them rest upon *no* evidence. With the Papist, we say: that the evidence for *one* is just as good as the evidence for *another*. The result is a full and acknowledged confirmation of the justice of *our* opinions. Our friends the Catholics *receive all*: we, by a stern logical necessity, based upon what we deem a *total*, and our friends the Protestants a *partial*, want of evidence, *reject all*. We could not anteriorly have hoped for such aid: but, now that we *have* received it, let honour be given where honour is due. To Mr. Newman be the praise and glory of firmly establishing our system. From the Protestants singly we could have derived little assistance; for *they*, we admit, *can* make out at least a plausible case. The true θεός ἐν μνημονίῃ has nobly come from Littlemore.

5. Yet again, Mr. Newman assures us: that Original Sin and Purgatory rest upon an equality of evidence; so that the law of testimony, when fairly followed out, either "admits both or excludes both." P. 17.

Here, no doubt, Socinians, Pelagians, Infidels, and Atheists, will all concur in lauding the candour of Mr. Newman: but their decision upon the alternative, which he offers them, requires not the formality of a direct statement.

It need scarcely be repeated, I trust, that the perpetually asserted *Equality of Evidence*, as respects *Indubitable Truths* and *Mendacious Fictions*, is, in itself, nothing better than a gross and palpable falsehood, whatever may have been the gentleman's motive for broaching it. My only concern with it is to shew, that the obvious *tendency* of the *Essay* is the *promotion of Infidelity*: nor does Mr. Newman's apparently intended apology for his conduct make it in any wise less mischievous.

Nay, indeed, the apology itself is so constructed as only to *increase* the malignity of the poison. "No one," says he, "has power over the issues of his principles; we cannot manage our argument, and have as much of it as we please and no more." The English of this is: that Mr. Newman's extreme love of Truth carries him onward, without stint or stay, to the most startling conclusions; but that the conclusions *must* be valid, *because* pure Truth is the premiss.

6. In the old chaunt of the Pagan Mysteries, the Bull was hymned as the father of the Dragon, and the Dragon as the father of the Bull. Some such process of alternating generation characterises, according to Mr. Newman, the two theories of Popery and Infidelity. "Men," he teaches us, "may pass from Infidelity to Rome, and from Rome to Infidelity, from a conviction, in both courses, that there is no tangible intellectual position between the two."

As proceeding from such a man, the *confession* is remarkable, though the *ground* of it be his intense hatred of Scriptural Protestantism. Whether Popery be ever a development of Infidelity, I will not pretend to determine: but, in deeming Infidelity a strictly legitimate development of Popery, I quite agree with Mr. Newman. In all thinking minds which either know not Scripture or disregard it, the sternness of logical necessity, if I may borrow a phrase from the *Essay*, develops Popery into Infidelity.

Nor is this, as Mr. Newman rightly judged, a mere conjectural speculation: it is an absolute *fact*; and *that* too upon a scale of portentous magnitude.

I might here allege the working of the French Revolution and the open profession of Unbelief on the part of Archbishop Gobel at the head of his apostatising Clergy: but I shall rather adduce the distinct testimony of the late unhappy Blanco White.

"Having," says he, "to preach, in the execution of my office, to the royal brigade of carabineers who came to worship the body of Saint Ferdinand, preserved in the King's chapel (sic:) I chose the subject of Infidelity, on which I delivered an elaborate discourse. But the fatal crisis was at hand. At the end of a year from the preaching of this sermon, I was bordering on Atheism. If my case were singular; if my knowledge of the most enlightened classes of Spain did not furnish me with a multitude of sudden transitions, from sincere faith and piety, to the most outrageous Infidelity: I would submit to the humbling conviction, that either weakness of judgment or fickleness of character had been the only source of my errors. But, though I am not at liberty to mention individual cases, I do attest, from the most cer-

"tain knowledge, that the history of my own mind is, with little variation, that of A GREAT PORTION OF THE SPANISH CLERGY. The FACT is certain. I make no individual charge. Every one, who comes within this general description, *may still wear the mask*, which no Spaniard can throw off without bidding an eternal farewell to his country." Practical and Intern. Evid. against Cathol, pp. 7, 8.

Mr. White then goes to shew what led to this fearful amount of Infidelity: in other words, he explains, how, in the mind of an intellectual Romish Priest, Infidelity is a natural development of Popery. For a season, he escaped from this snare of Satan: but early impressions, produced within the pale of the Popish Church, recurred, as we all know, with redoubled force; and, awful to relate, he died a confirmed Infidel.

I cannot refrain from here mentioning, that, what he says respecting the Spanish Clergy, was confirmed to me by a thoroughly intelligent and trust-worthy military officer respecting the Portuguese Clergy. This gentleman, while serving with his regiment in Portugal under Sir Henry Clinton, had frequent conversations in Latin with the Divines of the country. "Certainly," he remarked to me, "they never, *totidem verbis*, professed themselves to be infidels: but, most undoubtedly, their peculiar looks, and smiles, and shrugs, impressed upon my mind the full conviction that they *were* such."

In truth, this is not to be wondered at: for, when it is familiarly argued, as Mr. Newman and the Romish Priests argue, that solemn *Scriptural Truths* rest upon no better evidence than silly *Popish Fictions*, and, thence, that they must be either *jointly accepted*, or *jointly rejected*: it is easy to understand; that the vendors of such monstrosities may be judiciously given up to the strong delusion of believing, at least for a time, their own lie; and thus may choose that part of their own shameless alternative, which rejects simultaneously *Revealed Truths* and *Baseless Fables*.

II. But it is time for me now to take up the second division of my subject. Eminently mischievous as Mr. Newman's Work may be in promoting the cause of Infidelity, I deem it, *exceptis excipiendis*, to wit, those unstable and half-read youths who implicitly swallow whatever that gentleman may please to tell them, quite innocuous, with every thoughtful person, so far as the *Advancement of Popery* is concerned.

1. Romish and Medieval Fables, of course, are undiscoverable in Holy Scripture: and, as might be expected, they are equally invisible in the Documents of the Primitive Church. If it were possible to be amused

with a most awful and soul-destructive delusion, a rich harvest of amusement might be reaped from the vain struggles of Popish Writers.

(1). Thus, when I courteously invited Mr. Husenbeth to give me some *tangible proofs* from the existing documents of the Primitive Church: instead of *producing* them, he doubted my intellectual sanity, because I was unprepared to believe; that, although they could not be found in the *extant* documents, they must assuredly have abounded in sundry documents now unfortunately lost.

(2). My other antagonist, Bishop Trevern, who repaid my perhaps ultra-politeness (as some, at least, of my friends deemed it) with the most virulent abuse, adopted a different expedient. The required proofs, sure enough, could be just as little found in our extant Primitive Documents as in the Bible: but, instead of accounting for their absence by the supposition that they *must* have occurred in Documents which have perished, the Prelate of Strasburg was sure that they never could have been given in *any* Documents. The reason of this was: that the doctrines, for which I had impertinently and (I confess) somewhat pertinaciously required evidential proofs, were never, in the Primitive Church, committed to *writing* at all, but were only delivered *orally* to the initiated through the mechanism of the *Disciplina Arcani*.

(3). Next comes Mr. Newman: and *his* plan exhibits yet another variety. The Primitive Christians, he alleges, were so much taken up with "the actual superstitions and immoralities of Paganism before their eyes," that they "were not likely to entertain the question of the abstract allowableness of images in the Catholic Ritual," or "to determine the place of St. Mary in our reverence," or "to recognise Purgatory," or "to acknowledge the sovereign jurisdiction of a Pope," or "to inculcate the meritoriousness of Monachism," or "to denounce the protestant view of Justification," that sore heart-burning of every Papist and Tractarian. P. 145. The *truth* of these sundry assertions of Mr. Newman, whether negative or positive, is quite a different matter from the *propounding* of them to his disciples. I am not at present concerned with *it*. My business is purely with the gentleman's *admission*, which is precisely the same as that of Dr. Trevern and Mr. Husenbeth. Any attempt to account for the *non-appearance* of a proof is a necessary admission of its *non-existence*.

2. But still it were a scandal to pious ears, if the point were hopelessly relinquished. Mr. Newman's first offering, therefore, to his adopted Church, is the *Essay on the Development of Christian Doctrine*.

Whether the hearts of "the proper authorities" misgave them, when

he "offered to them his Work for revision," so that "the offer was declined on the (perfectly civil) ground that it was written and partly printed before he was a Catholic, and that it would come before the reader in a more persuasive form if he read it as the author wrote it:" I shall not pretend to determine. Be this as it may, Mr. Newman, in reply, very properly "submitted every part of the Book to the judgment of the Church:" so that, however his indiscretion may have committed *himself*, at all events, the prudent *Church* stands in no wise pledged. Advert., pp. x, xi.

(1). Now there certainly is such a thing as Development. *That* point must be at once conceded.

For instance: a Scriptural Doctrine may be most honestly and soundly held; and yet the holder of it, if requested to state it in writing, will probably not express himself with such scholastic precision, as to prevent an ingenious lawyer from driving (as the phrase is) a coach and six through it. Precision of this sort is acquired only by controversy: and truly, under any other aspect than that of eliciting truth and dispelling error, the *thus* necessary evil of controversy is to be deprecated; for, sure enough, it is not the best moral sugar in the world. When a clear Scriptural Doctrine, then, comes to be *precisely*, instead of *loosely*, expressed; so that the misapprehension or misrepresentation of it is, as far as the conventionalities of language are concerned, thereby rendered something like impossible: we may safely, I suppose, call the process a *development*.

(2). But Mr. Newman's *Development* is of a totally different nature and quality.

Its great utility and its surpassing excellence consist in the *Extraction of Something out of Nothing*.

Hence it is, with my specified *exceptis excipiendis*, that I deem it a very harmless Work as respects the *Advancement of Popery*.

But I have my doubts, whether his proposed Developing Process be equally harmless in regard to Infidelity. I speak, be it observed, of the Developing Process itself: not of the favourite Argument built upon the Premiss, that *The Evidence for Scriptural Truth and the Evidence for Human Fabrications are equal*.

The *Argument* has already been discussed: I now speak of the *Developing Process*, which partakes of the Infidel flavour of the Argument, though doubtless more subdued, and therefore more latent.

What I mean is this.

The whole Process of Development, as exhibited by Mr. Newman, is so superlatively absurd, that I could readily understand its drift if it had

been conducted by an Infidel, while I really cannot understand its drift as conducted by a professed Christian. A covert Infidel, though, while writing at his desk, he might scarcely be able to keep his countenance, would naturally enough enjoy a sly hit which should turn Popery into ridicule under the masque of defending it: for *this* would be nothing more than a *Crumbè Recotta* of the *Gergo* (as the Italians call it) said to have been systematically practised by the initiated medieval unbelievers. But, how a grave Divine, of no ordinary repute among his followers, could, in sober earnest, unless indeed "it were necessary to his position," develop such a marvellous system of development, passages, I must freely confess, my own comprehension.

3. I must, however, substantiate by *facts*, these perhaps not very flattering remarks. Accordingly, I shall exhibit some specimens of the process, as conducted by the author himself: a spicilegium only, out of the largeness of a carefully cultivated estate.

(1). If we may believe Mr. Newman to be serious and not engaged in the mischievous occupation of mere banter, the resurrection of God's Saints in the body, their future glorification, the sanctity of relics, the real or material presence in the Eucharist, the merit of virginity, and, lastly, the prerogatives of Mary the Mother of God, are all successive and legitimate developments of the Lord's assumption of our nature. Pp. 370, 371.

A more splendid specimen of the *Quidlibet ex quolibet* was, I suppose, never beheld even in the land of popish wonders. I need only remark, that the *sole* truth in the whole *oatena*, namely, the corporeal resurrection of the dead and the future glory of the saints of God, is NOT a development of the Incarnation, but a matter of distinct and express scriptural revelation: *therefore*, we believe it. As for the other developments, they are either the covert mockery of an infidel, or the sickly dreams of a demented visionary.

(2). The worship, again, of the Virgin Mary, which the Papists distinguish by the name of *Hyperdulia*, was the legitimate development of Christ's proper divinity.

"In the first ages," however, Mr. Newman very truly teaches us, "there was no public or ecclesiastical recognition of the place which St. Mary holds in the economy of grace. This was reserved for the fifth century."

But still, though the *Hyperdulia cultus* of the Virgin, as Mr. Newman is wont delicately to call the gross and disgusting Mariolatry of his apostate Church, was unaccountably no practice of the first ages, it may be established, not only by the process of development as tardily

called into action in the fifth century, but also by the authority of Scripture itself.

Such an establishment may well startle us blind Protestants, who have hitherto been struck by the remarkable silence of Holy Writ respecting the Blessed Virgin, she being mentioned, I believe, only once, and that in a mere cursory manner (Acts i, 14), subsequent to our Lord's solemn committal of her to the care of the beloved disciple in the awful day of the crucifixion: for, as we readers of the Bible have been accustomed to note, the risen Saviour, instead of *first* shewing himself to his mother, is not recorded to have ever shewn himself to her *at all*. Mr. Newman, nevertheless, a rare exception to his general rule, claims to establish *this* development of the fifth century *from Scripture itself*.

"There was a *wonder in heaven*," says he: "a throne was seen, far above all created powers, mediatorial, intercessory; a title archetypal a crown bright as the morning star; a glory issuing from the eternal throne; robes pure as the heavens; and a sceptre over all. And who was the predestined heir of that majesty?—The vision is found in the Apocalypse: a woman clothed with the sun, and the moon under her feet, and upon her head a crown of twelve stars. The votaries of Mary do not exceed the true faith, unless the blasphemers of her Son came up to it. The Church of Rome is not idolatrous, unless Arianism is orthodoxy." Pp. 405, 406, 407.

Mr. Newman, then, actually fancies, that the apocalyptic *symbolical* woman in the apocalyptic *symbolical* heaven is the *literal* Virgin Mary (after her *assumption*, as the Romanists speak) in the *literal* heaven!!!

Of course, I cannot expect, that *protestant* expositors of Prophecy, with the exception of Mr. Maitland and Dr. Todd and the novel school of futurists, will be honoured with the patronage of Mr. Newman: but ere *he himself* undertook to expound the Apocalypse, he might at least in the present case, have profitably listened to a Bishop of his own communion.

"Here," says Signor Pastorini or Bp. Walmsley, while commenting upon the very vision, in which Mr. Newman has discovered the popish apotheosis of the Blessed Virgin: "here is a *great sign* or a noble *figurative representation* of the Christian Church."

Truly, our author had better have stuck to his development. Bad is the best: but the development, I take it, is the better of the two.

There is, however, yet a further development of "the prerogatives of Mary," which, considering the station of the developer, Mr. Newman has, somewhat disrespectfully, altogether pretermitted.

"The *WHOLE*," says *he*, "may be expressed in the words: *Unica spes mea Jesus; et, post Jesum, Virgo Maria. Amen.*" P. 445. In English, this runs: "Jesus is my *only* hope; and, after Jesus, the Virgin *Mary.*"

Now Jesus *may* be, as I charitably trust he still *is*, the *Unica spes*, the *only hope*, of our unhappy fallen brother. But what, in the progress of development, says Pope Gregory in his Encyclical Letter of so late a date as the year 1832?

"That all may have a successful and happy issue," quoth his developing holiness *ex cathedra*, "let us raise our eyes to the Blessed Virgin, who *alone* destroys heresies, who is OUR GREATEST HOPE, yea, THE ENTIRE GROUND OF OUR HOPE."

Mr. Newman is content with the development of the fifth century, which makes the Virgin a sort of *subordinate* hope conjointly with Christ the *greater* hope: and unless we will worship her, under this aspect, with *hyperdulia*; he pronounces us to be worse than Arians.

But, as our American brethren speak, Pope Gregory *goes far a-head*. He first develops the Holy Virgin, whose pure spirit would be shocked, with even this *minor* blasphemy, into OUR GREATEST HOPE: but immediately correcting his expression, not as if it were blasphemous, but only as being a plain disparagement to the *absolute exclusiveness* of her dignity, he rapidly proceeds to the final development of her into THE ENTIRE GROUND OF OUR HOPE!!!

This, I do suppose, is the *Ultima Thule* of what Mr. Newman calls *The Development of Christian Doctrine*, and on which he has painfully written what now (if we may trust Papal infallibility) turns out to be a manifestly defective *Essay*. That gentleman's development only gives our Lord an assessor, reserving to *him* the glory of being our UNICA SPES. But Pope Gregory's development thrusts our Lord from his throne altogether: and, without the slightest, even mere complimentary, mention of him, roundly, *in verbo Papæ*, pronounces the Virgin to be THE ENTIRE GROUND OF OUR HOPE.

Well and wisely may Mr. Newman say, touching the Principle of Development "No one has power over the issues of his principles: we cannot manage our argument, and have as much of it as we please and no more." P. 29. The argument is a restive steed, which tries all the equestrian skill of Mr. Newman himself, and which, with bit in teeth, has fairly run away with poor Pope Gregory. Albeit a born Yorkshireman, I should be afraid to trust myself upon the back of such a vicious ill-conditioned beast.

3. Take another specimen of this eminently fructifying principle.

The revealed deity of the Son and the Holy Ghost is consistently developed into their worship. "In like manner," proceeds Mr. Newman, "the doctrine of the Beatification of the Saints has been developed into their *Cultus*; of the *Theotocos* or mother of God, into *Hyperdulia*; and, of the Real Presence, into *Adoration of the Host*." P. 50.

What means the gentleman by *the beatification of the Saints*?

Does he mean their admission into eternal blessedness by the fiat of God? or does he mean their canonisation by the Pope?

If the *latter*: the development, when the popish doctrine of *Intention* is considered, of Papal Beatification into Romish Worship (for that is the plain English of the delicate word *Cultus*), will readily be acknowledged, as an effect legitimately proceeding from an adequate cause. If the former: the proposed theological development stands closely allied to Mr. Horne Tooke's ingenious etymological development of the Greek *ὄσπερ, ἵναρ, ὅπερ*, into the Teutonic *King Pepin*.

So again: the Real or Material Presence, in what, by virtue of Transubstantiation, has ceased to be bread and wine, quite logically, I admit, develops itself into Adoration of the Host. But, before the development was insisted upon, Mr. Newman would have done well to give us an evidential proof of the alleged fundamental *fact* of Transubstantiation.

Not to mention a host of ecclesiastical writers, whose testimony I have honestly cited in my *Difficulties of Romanism*, and whom Mr. Newman, so quietly though so totally, pretermits in his *Essay on Development*, that a person who had read nothing on the subject, save that thoroughly *one-sided* Performance, would never dream that such witnesses existed; I shall *here* satisfy myself with only adducing the language, which Theodoret, even so late as the fifth century, has put into the mouth of his personified Orthodoxy, in opposition to the vagary of an Eutychian Heretic, who seems to have been the first that struck out a fancy, closely allied, at the very least, to the Transubstantiation of a later age.

"The Lord," says the Orthodoxy of the fifth century, "honoured the visible symbols with the name of his body and blood, *not changing their nature*, but adding grace to nature." Theod. Dial. i. Oper. vol. iv, p. 18. Paris, 1642.

And again; "You are caught in your own net," says Orthodoxy to the transubstantiating heretic Eranistes; "for the mystic symbols, after consecration, *pass not out of their own nature*. But they remain in their former substance and shape and appearance: and they

"are seen and touched, such as they were before. And they are understood to be what they were : and they are believed and venerated, as being those things which they are believed. Compare, therefore, the *image* with the *Archetype* ; and you will perceive their resemblance : for the type must needs be similar to the *truth*." Dial. ii. Oper. vol. iv, p. 85.

Mr. Husebeth, in defiance of the whole drift of the argument, and (as the most charitable supposition) in disgraceful ignorance of the familiar Greek idiom, attempted to rid himself of this fearful passage, by a false and grammatically impossible translation ; but Mr. Newman, I conclude, will not care to risk his Oxford scholarship upon so hopeless an expedient.

In my *Difficulties of Romanism*, I have honestly given, in the first book, such evidence, scriptural and patristic, as the Romish writers have been able to produce : and then, in the second book, I have given the overwhelming counter-evidence, which I have myself been able to collect. No plan, I apprehend, could have been more fair : and I regret, that, in his *Essay*, Mr. Newman should have followed a directly opposite plan. Yet, as a developer of the Adoration of the Host from the unestablished doctrine of Transubstantiation, he has actually made an observation and propounded a question, which Abp. Tillotson himself might have envied.

"Physical facts," says he (*not* the Archbishop), "are present. They are submitted to the senses : and the senses may be satisfactorily tested, corrected, and verified. To trust to anything but sense, in a matter of sense, is irrational. Why are the senses given us, but to supersede less certain, less immediate, informants ?" P. 179.

Valid or invalid, this is the precise basis of Tillotson's famous argument against Transubstantiation. Did Mr. Newman write as a covertly sneering Infidel, or as a veritable Transubstantiation-believing Papist ?

But, yet further, the alleged character of Mary as the *Mother of God* is developed, according to our author, into her *Hyperdulia*, or into that superlative Worship which is inferior only to the Scriptural Worship of the Almighty.

Now, even if we admit the propriety of the title, it is not easy to discern the logical, and still less the *scriptural*, propriety of the development. Where, either in the Bible or in the practice of the Primitive Church, have we a shadow of that gross idolatrous worship paid to the Blessed Virgin, which is the standing sin and disgrace of the Romish Church ? Even in the degenerate fourth century, when the Collyridian

Heretics anticipated the Romanists in their Marian Idolatry, Epiphanius could indignantly say: "Let Mary be held in honour; but let the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost, be worshipped. As for Mary, let no one worship her." Epiph. cont. hæ. lib. iii, tom. ii, hæ. 79. See also hæ. 78.

The germ, however, of Mr. Newman's present development, namely, the title of *Mother of God*, as it was alike unknown to Scripture and the Primitive Church, is so likewise palpably improper, not to say heretical, though it may have been invented to guard against another heresy. We may correctly say, that *the Virgin was the mother of him who mysteriously united God and Man in the one person of Christ*: but if we say that *the Virgin was the Mother of God*, we directly contradict that form of sound words the Athanasian Creed, which rightly, because scripturally, teaches, that "Our Lord Jesus Christ was God, of the substance of the Father, begotten before the worlds; and Man, of the substance of his mother, born in the world." As the Son derived from Mary nothing more than his *human* substance, it is something very like blasphemy to call her *The Mother of God*.

4. You will probably, by this time, be somewhat weary of that stark *Quidlibet ex quolibet* Mr. Newman's *System of Development*. I shall therefore conclude with simply giving another specimen, which, after what has been said, will scarcely require the formality of a comment.

Purgatory, he gravely assures us, was a development of Baptism: the intermediate link in the hopeful *catena* being Penance! P. 417.

G. S. FABER.

Sherburn House, January 19th, 1846.

MEMORIALS OF THE DEAD.

**" Practical Religion exemplified by Letters and Passages from the Life of the late
" Rev. Robert Anderson, Perpetual Curate of Trinity Chapel, Brighton." By
the Hon. Mrs. ANDERSON. London: Rivington, 1845.**

**" Letters selected from the Correspondence of Helen Plumptre." London: Nisbet,
1845.**

It seldom happens that the same persons have an opportunity of forming a judgment of two distinct persons, and therefore we are running no small risk in bringing into juxtaposition the names of Robert Anderson and Miss Plumptre. There are, however, reasons which justify the decision, without our having recourse to any parallelism of character. The great point of similarity is, that each of them lived for the glory of God, and died trusting in the mercy of a covenant Father in Christ. The more widely the shades of character may differ, so much the greater is the power of conformation exhibited, and so much the more is that grace of God illustrated, which, out of the quarry of corrupt nature, fashions out such monuments of mercy. For the reviewer, the two volumes afford no ill-suited company, as neither of them pretends to be a biography, or to afford more than a sketch or outline of that full portraiture which can and ought only to be known by the inmost acquaintances. It is quite clear that diaries will never be what once they were, before the custom had become inveterate of committing them to the press before the tears of sorrow have become dry, or the bitterness of first grief diminished. We say not a word as to the wisdom or fairness of unfolding to the world the inmost folds of thought, or of making public the secret commune of a soul with its God. Results are the question with us, and no one can doubt that these records have ceased to manifest that freshness and natural simplicity which, in times past, we could expect. There are, however, many cases in which simplicity of character will never permit a suspicion that these details were written with a view to publication, and such would be the case in reference to anything which Mr. Anderson has written. But had it been otherwise, no fault could have been found with the present work; for it scarcely supplies us with a page of diary. We may, however, add, that the few extracts which are given create a longing for more; and this originates in no morbid anxiety to know the workings of a great mind, or trace the progress of a sanctified soul, but from the genuine and simple character of the record, which speaks volumes of praise towards one who was

admired and courted, and whose chapel bore evidence to his popularity among all classes. The humility of the Christian in this popular preacher shews us that man's applause has an antidote in secret prayer and a knowledge of the heart. Those who deserve not popularity are injured by it; but such as merit reputation by sound sense and powerful talent, are not liable to the same dangers as the affected copyists of great men. If a preacher is vain and weak enough to aim at setting off his own acquirements in the pulpit, which is God's seat, we can only conclude that his vanity is such as to find an occasion in every service and every duty. Vanity is the effect of a light and empty head, and the necessary result of it. But it is an awful thought, that by any the pulpit should be profaned to the use of popular displays, and that the ambassador of an Infinite God should be more eager to display the richness of his own livery, than to exalt and explain the greatness of Divine wisdom. He that stands between the living and the dead should himself be as one living and dead. He is dead to the world that he may live unto God, and may make souls live in eternal joy and felicity. To be a great preacher, in the only sense in which it is right to call a preacher great, is to know the heart by the Word of God, and draw forth things new and old from its stores. We know of but one way in which man can know the heart, and that is by studying his own. As a popular preacher, few men could bear comparison with the late Robert Anderson. He was alike remarkable for the purity of his language and the richness of his ideas. He exhibited all the requisites for a profitable extempore preacher, and few could hear him without being impressed with the reality of his whole discourse. We do not mean that his sermons were purely extempore or unpremeditated: they were written with ink, but they were recorded in his heart, and his tongue pronounced them therefrom. His natural eloquence made him a pleasant orator, and the depth of his mind, and the strength of a prayerful soul, made it impossible for him to be dull and insipid. The key-note of his preaching is thus sounded by him in a letter to his congregation:—

“The other point to which I have frequently and earnestly solicited your attention, is the character of the ministerial office. ‘When I came to you, brethren, I came not with excellency of speech or of wisdom, declaring unto you the testimony of God. For I determined not to know anything among you, save Jesus Christ, and Him crucified*.’ Such was the spirit in which, with God’s assistance, I endeavoured to enter upon the labours of the Christian minis-

"try; and it has been my continual prayer, that I might be found to preach 'not myself, but Christ Jesus the Lord; and myself your 'servant for Jesus' sake*.' In the lectures to which I have already referred, I took occasion to remind you that God's house is emphatically entitled 'a house of prayer†,' and that you come there not wholly or chiefly to hear a sermon, but to speak to God, and to hear God speak to you. I am, indeed, fully impressed with the importance of preaching, as one of the means of grace possessed by the Church for the conversion and instruction of souls. But in all the discourses which I have been permitted to deliver to you, I have endeavoured, by plainness and simplicity of speech, to impress upon your hearts and consciences this instructing lesson, viz., 'that when 'you leave the church, you are to consider, not what may be your 'judgment respecting the sermon, but (if I may so express myself) 'what judgment the sermon pronounces respecting yourselves.' And permit me to add, that if you would yourselves bear testimony to the faithfulness of my labours in the pulpit, you must shew not only that you have 'received the word with all readiness of mind,' but that you are also searching the Scriptures daily, 'whether these things 'are so‡.' For, believe me, my Christian friends, it is there, even to the Oracles of God, that I earnestly desire to conduct all, whether old or young, rich or poor, who are committed to my charge, in order that they may view the grand doctrines of the Gospel, not as they are metaphysically discussed in the writings of man, but as those doctrines are exhibited in the Bible, where they will ever be found to be closely associated with everything that is suited to inform our understandings, to subdue our wishes, and to animate our affections.

"As long as it shall please God to give me strength to continue my ministrations among you, it is to these two points that, under the guidance of the Holy Spirit, I shall continually recall your attention, humbly praying that my feeble labours may be blessed to the health of your souls."—Pp. 350, 351.

All our readers will be aware that Mr. Anderson was educated in Haileybury, and was in the East India Company's civil service for some period; but the following extract will place before our readers a brief outline of his after-career:—

"His father's death, and his mother's return to England, had cast a shade over his happiness. His overflowing affection to his mother made him contemplate her widowed state with the love of St.

* 2 Cor. iv, 5.

† Is. lvi, 7.

‡ Acts, xvii, 11.

“ John, when our Saviour committed Mary to his care: from that
 “ moment he considered her as a sacred trust, though he felt it his duty
 “ to remain in India. It was not till he heard of the death of his third
 “ brother, a youth of singular promise, who was drowned at Addis-
 “ combe in 1818, that he considered himself justified, even for a short
 “ time, in leaving his post. His prospects were of the fairest character,
 “ and the situation at that time held by him superior to most of those
 “ of the same standing. Though worldly considerations at no time in-
 “ fluenced him, nothing but the dangerous state of his health would
 “ have induced him to leave the Madras Civil Service. The fact of
 “ his infirm health is best proved by the rejection of a proposal which
 “ he made to insure his life; and his return to India would have been
 “ certain death. The medical friends who attended him in London
 “ considered the disease which eventually proved fatal to him to have
 “ then begun. Before he decided finally to withdraw from the service,
 “ he was induced to become the Assistant Professor of Oriental Lan-
 “ guages, at the East India College at Haileybury. His engaging
 “ manners, his talents, and the reality of his religious profession, soon
 “ gained him the love and esteem of the professors, the respect and
 “ affection of the students, and the friendship of all the neighbourhood.
 “ There are many books in his deserted library, in the first pages of
 “ which are the expressions of gratitude, love, and esteem, which the
 “ students felt towards him. The following is the copy of a letter
 “ bound up with the work presented :—

“ ‘ Dear Sir,

“ ‘ We cannot quit college without requesting that you will allow
 “ ‘ us to leave in your hands some memorial of respect and esteem
 “ ‘ with which you have inspired us by your invariable attention and
 “ ‘ kindness.

“ ‘ We shall carry with us a grateful recollection of those proofs of
 “ ‘ your friendship, and with the most ardent wishes for your health
 “ ‘ and happiness,

“ ‘ We remain,

“ ‘ Your obliged and affectionate friends,

“ ‘ J. THOMASON, R. C. MONEY, M. J. TIERNEY.

“ ‘ May, 1822.’ ”

“ Finding it quite impossible to return to India, he turned his
 “ thoughts towards the ministry, ‘ for which,’ as it is stated in a note in
 “ his brother James’s sermon, ‘ his life and studies had been a continual
 “ ‘ preparation. His wish was granted, and he was admitted to the
 “ ‘ holy order of deacons, on the fourth Sunday in Advent, 1821; and

“ ‘to that of priesthood, on the same Sunday in the following year, by
 “ ‘the Archbishop of Canterbury, then Bishop of London, and ex officio
 “ ‘Visitor of the East India College. Both ordinations were held at
 “ ‘the Episcopal Palace at Fulham; and on the last occasion he was
 “ ‘appointed by the bishop to preach the ordination sermon.’ His
 “ ‘brother’s residence at Brighton induced him to remove to that place;
 “ ‘and, in 1825, the Bishop of Chichester granted him a license to cele-
 “ ‘brate Divine service in Trinity Chapel, of which he became the pro-
 “ ‘prietor and perpetual curate. Its consecration took place on the 21st
 “ ‘of April, 1826. It had formerly been a Dissenting Meeting-house,
 “ ‘but he spared no expense in adorning this ‘Little Sanctuary,’ as he
 “ ‘always called it. Worldly prudence might have checked another, but
 “ ‘the reality of his faith, which never allowed him to see difficulties in any
 “ ‘object that tended to God’s glory, upheld him, and he felt sure that
 “ ‘the work would prosper. His hope was never made ashamed.
 “ ‘Though inconveniently situated and ill-arranged, this holy sanctuary
 “ ‘flourished like a tree planted by the rivers of waters, that bringeth
 “ ‘forth its fruit in due season. Its leaf never withered, and whatso-
 “ ‘ever it did, prospered.’ Reality placed him above all that could
 “ ‘harm him. None could ever say that he preached what he did not
 “ ‘practise. His practice ever gave witness to the truth that was in him.
 “ ‘Where the spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty.’ He never preached
 “ ‘himself or others, but ever held the pure and holy doctrine of the
 “ ‘Church of England.’—Pp. 211—214.

For seventeen years he laboured in the Gospel of love, and manifold are the fruits which God gave him; and, what is more, he was blessed with a knowledge of many such fruits. There are many labourers into whose labours other men enter, and they see not nor know how far their works will follow them; but it was not so with the congregation of Trinity Chapel; and we may remark that this ever seems to have filled his mind with humility and thanksgiving. There is no paradox in this union, as some children of this world imagine; for he who can *heartily* thank God, will not appropriate to his own miserable efforts the praise which is due to his Maker. It is impossible to thank God and ourselves besides; “Not unto us, but unto God be the glory.”

“ During the seventeen years of his ministry, he never absented him-
 “ self but when his health required it. He was ever waiting on his
 “ Lord and Master; he scarcely allowed himself time for necessary
 “ refreshment; he ate it often in haste, to be about his Master’s business.
 “ Mr. Millett thus gives his testimony, in the sermon to which refer-
 “ ence has been already made:—‘I, too, have known how in weariness
 “ ‘and painfulness, in much weakness and distress, he has kept on his

“way; how, leaving wife and family, and denying himself all recreation, he has set forth on his laborious round, to perform his labour of mercy and love to the sick and afflicted, and returned home fainting, and weary, and often unable to take his necessary food, or at night to enjoy the refreshment of sleep.’ He always rose at six o’clock, that he might contemplate the rising sun, which faced his window, and feeling his heart warmed by the Sun of Righteousness, prostrated himself, like Daniel of old, in humility before his God and Saviour. None ever thought more humbly of himself. In writing to a very dear friend on the subject, he says, ‘As a fellow sinner, I feel as deeply as any the weakest of my dear people can feel, how indispensable it is that I should be daily and hourly asking for grace to build up myself on our most holy faith: and as a fellow sinner I am deeply sensible also, how necessary it is, that after all my labours in the Gospel, I should still be looking for the mercy of our Lord Jesus Christ with as much humility and self-abasement and self-renunciation, as if I had never stirred a step in my Redeemer’s service. But unworthy as I am of such an office, still your note reminds me of the sweet encouragement I have experienced, while engaged as a pastor in that Redeemer’s service.’—Pp. 215, 216.

Again, we read,—

“May you, whom God has committed to my charge, be all brought, through my feeble ministration, nearer and nearer to Him, whom you all profess to ‘seek,’ and ‘whom to know is everlasting life.’ And may I deem it my highest privilege to bear, in this ‘earthen vessel,’ the ‘unsearchable riches of Christ’ to all around me! It is true, my beloved friend, that I walk among you all, not as ‘a messenger angelical,’ but as a sinful child of Adam; but it shall be my daily prayer, that, with the aid of that Holy Spirit, whose blessed unction from above is ‘comfort, life, and fire of love,’ I may be enabled to deliver the message evangelical, to the glory of God’s name, and the salvation of souls.

“And I ask of you all in return, that you will join your prayers to mine, earnestly beseeching the God of all grace, for you and for myself, that ‘the trial of our faith may be found to praise, and honour, and glory, at the appearing of Jesus Christ.’ I remain, my dear friend, in the bonds of the everlasting Gospel,

“Your faithful pastor, and affectionately attached friend,

“ROBERT ANDERSON.”—Pp. 217, 218.

After quoting a few extracts from his Diary, the author continues:—

“With such sentiments he came forth, with a radiance on his countenance, from what he used to call his prophet’s chamber, and before

“ he went down to his study his first step was to greet with joyful affection the little ones of his family. His morning salutation in the nursery will never be forgotten by their faithful attendants. The sound of his footstep, the beaming expression of his eye, and the voice that was never heard but in love, was as heavenly music in their ears. It seemed like a seraph’s song, proclaiming Glory to God in the Highest, and on earth peace, good will towards men. But its cheering accents can be heard no more.

“ The shadows of evening encompass the gloom,

“ The abode of the dead, and the place of the tomb.

“ He would then enter his study, which was never closed. And here the servant who arranged it for him has since told me, that she constantly lingered, that she might have the word of kindness and instruction, which he invariably conveyed in his morning greeting, and which was as daily food to her. Surrounded by his little ones, constantly interrupted by the needy, he would compose those holy appeals which warmed all hearts. With the Word of God in his hand, the Church as his human guide, and the law of kindness in his heart, he was ever ready to answer all men.”—P. 221.

And again,—

“ He regarded his home as far more sacred than the house of strangers. The ‘ sacred delight of his home’ was his constant joy. He would ever say that ‘ life was made up of little things, and that he who despised them proved a need be in the foundation.’ He carried this rule into every thing. Neither in his study or his dressing-room was there ever the smallest disorder. He had so regulated all, that he could lay his hand, even in the dark, on any book or paper he might need, and nothing could ever delay him one minute from keeping an appointment. He considered the time of others as sacred as his own. With all this order there was none of that over-strictness which sometimes makes it an annoyance to others. It seemed the natural consequence of the regulation of mind to which all his actions witnessed. At nine o’clock his household gathered around him, and it was his daily custom to read one of the morning lessons, with an extempore exposition, which flowed in a stream of sweet persuasion, gentle admonition, and sound explanation. Prayer concluded the morning devotions, which he always adapted to the chapter, and to the peculiar circumstances of the family.

“ He so combined the reading of Scripture as to include it all in the course of time ; as he considered nothing of more importance than the taking the whole truth as it is in Jesus, and not merely reading

"those parts which suit our peculiar tastes and feelings. There was nothing he warned against more strongly, than the taking the text without the context, and it was his invariable practice thus to deliver the Gospel in all its freeness. During the time of breakfast he scarcely ever sat two minutes together. The door bell never ceased its calls, and no less than thirty were counted one morning. Although many were idle poor, who had no claim upon him, undeserving persons who merited censure, no sound of impatience ever passed his lips. His naturally sweet and lively disposition would make it a subject of innocent mirth. Although he had no time to refresh his own strength, he was ever giving, and none knew the sacrifice of time and comfort. Reality enabled him to rise triumphant over bodily weakness; and the temper which originally, he would say, was hasty, was so tamed, that it could only shew itself in pity and love. It was impossible to persuade him to deny himself to any who called, so fearful was he of losing an opportunity of saying a word in season.

"His whole morning was consequently often interrupted. In the middle of his sermon he would at once rise, and marking with a pencil the next word, would greet his visitor, appearing as if he had nothing else to occupy his thoughts. It was in vain to urge upon him that neither mind nor body could stand under such unwearied labour. His answer was, 'It is better to wear out than to rust out.' In this he followed his favourite George Herbert, and other holy men; unmindful that they did not live in a running stream like Brighton, but in some peaceful lake, tenanted by its own inhabitants, and only occasionally ruffled by some accidental cause."—Pp. 222—224.

Some very pleasing remarks are made on the mutual regard of the pastor and his flock, and on the incessant toils of his station, which we are compelled to omit, and content ourselves with extracts which give a very pleasing idea of these labours, and his constant occupation:—

"Such proofs of offered affection were not uncommon, though, as in this case, he ever felt that such witnesses to love, though grateful to the heart, were not needful for the body. Had all others felt for him in the same way, he and other ministers would be spared many of the interruptions they meet with. Were we to look into our hearts, we should find some selfish feeling, some personal affection, some unreal motive at the bottom of our disregard for the time and feelings of others. It was not unusual for the whole of his mornings to be thus interrupted, so that on meeting his children at dinner at one o'clock he seemed quite wearied. He scarcely allowed himself time for a hurried meal, which he often took as he stood, with his hat in his hand, ready to set out on his labours of love. Four hours, and some-

"times five, he worked incessantly. He has frequently visited fifteen poor or afflicted during the course of the afternoon. When he returned to a late dinner, his voice might always be heard outside the door long before he entered, in some affectionate greeting, either to the poor and humble, or the passing friend. He had ever a word of kindness for all, and it was generally observed, that the simplest observation, or the commonest note, contained some reflection or thought that conveyed instruction."—Pp. 282, 283.

"In the early part of his ministrations at Trinity Chapel he performed the whole service, morning and afternoon; and for many years, besides all the Festivals and frequent communions, both on week-days and on Sundays, he had service and a lecture on Wednesday. He superintended his Sunday-school, and always met the children once a month on a week-day, to examine them and give them an exhortation. He also devoted the evening of the first Tuesday in each month to his Sunday-school teachers, carefully instructing them in sound doctrine, reading them passages from the most approved divines, Leighton, Hooker, and others of the same kind, and closing with an exposition of Scripture and a prayer. A most painful complaint, which he had contracted in India, rendered standing so great an effort, that he was beginning to feel the performance of the whole service a serious trial of his strength, when Providence brought a dear and valued friend to Brighton; one whose joy and delight it was to lighten his labours. For more than twelve years he was his constant assistant. In Mr. Millett he found a friend indeed: one whose humility made him ever prefer to sit at his feet, whose kindred simplicity of mind made them of one heart, whose devoted and unselfish affection was ever ready at his call. His labour was altogether disinterested. To work with Robert Anderson, to be identified with him in his Master's house, was all his desire; and if ever there was one whose faith and patience witness to the truth, it is he. One has been taken, the other left; but the promise of the Lord is with him, and in that day 'when the Lord makes 'up his jewels,' he will not be found wanting among the purest and the brightest."—Pp. 303, 304.

To these we must add another extract, which fills up the sketch of domestic portraiture:—

"Let circumstances be what they might, he would return from labours which would have exhausted the powers of most minds; and in the intercourse of friendship he was the life of the party, though he never forgot, or allowed others to forget, his sacred character. He was always the man of God, and it was observed frequently that

"he was indeed as the 'salt of the earth.' In him it never lost its savour, nor embittered by its sharpness. It purified, but never destroyed. Nothing could ever induce him to remain out after ten o'clock. He bore all the attacks he met with on the subject with the most cheerful but determined resistance. The name of Cinderella was constantly applied to him, but neither persuasion, entreaty, nor mockery, could ever shake him. He felt that if he deviated from his rule his household would be neglected. Reality made him quite fearless of anything that man might say, and reality gained him far more respect and esteem than any departure from the consistency of his walk. On his return home he again gathered his household around him, following the same plan as in the morning. He was careful not to weary by length, and seldom exceeded a quarter of an hour. He felt that a little seed sown in prayer, and left to private meditation, was better than a long exhortation, to which, after the labours of the day, it is almost impossible for servants to attend. It was his custom on Sunday morning to give them each a tract, which he took the greatest pains to select, carefully avoiding all unsound and exciting doctrine. He had a nursery library and a kitchen library, both selected with equal care. His household witness to the advantages they enjoyed. Reality has shewn itself with them. He had ever a kind word, a gentle admonition, a ready sympathy: in all his letters he never failed to send a kind message to each servant, mentioning them by name. They would often say, that if they did but pass him on the stairs, they felt cheered on their way by his look, even if he did not speak, which was seldom the case. Wherever he went the same feeling was manifested towards him. The servants vied with each other in attention. They almost disputed about the pleasure of waiting on him. One observed to her mistress, that she felt as if all were safer when he was in the house: 'I never sleep so sound,' she said, 'so sure am I that God's presence must be here.' Another, who had attended on him in his illness, said he had never felt so hurt as when he had offered him the usual fee, so great did he consider the privilege of waiting on such a heavenly mind."—Pp. 227—239.

Perhaps our readers, while the rule of returning home at ten o'clock is fresh in their recollection, will inquire what were Mr. Anderson's views on the difficult point of society, and one rendered more difficult by the character and the locality of his ministry. An allusion to his gentle manners and charity towards all men is thus accompanied:—

"If we are among those whose thoughts are not as ours, much may

" be learned. There is danger in the easy road of agreement. We
 " think too highly of ourselves, and look with contempt upon others who
 " may differ from us. Spiritual pride is apt to grow. While we care-
 " fully avoid the sin, the person of the sinner should be sacred. We
 " desire to share all we can with them, though we cannot compro-
 " mise our duty to God. The influence of a really good man will
 " always be felt. It is the want of consistency in our conduct which
 " makes the world dangerous to ourselves, and ourselves of no use to
 " others. We are afraid to confess ourselves before men, afraid to com-
 " bat opinions we know to be wrong, afraid of offending. It is not ne-
 " cessary that religion should always be the subject, but surely it should
 " always be the spirit of our conversation. Our conduct should reprove
 " more than our words. Our candle should not be hid under a bushel,
 " but set upon a candlestick. We should communicate light to others,
 " and lose none of our own, which is the character of a pure and holy
 " flame. There are scenes in which no devoted servant of God can
 " take part; but I am persuaded, and I can speak from experience, that
 " where the heart is right with God, a general association among such of
 " our fellow-creatures as are not leading openly immoral lives, is more
 " conducive towards the extending of God's glory, than an ascetic retire-
 " ment from the world. 'Solitude teaches us what we ought to be,
 " 'society what we are.' When I said I speak from experience, I have
 " indeed witnessed the blessed effects of a holy conversation in one who,
 " like Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego, passed through the fire un-
 " hurt, for the Son of God was with him. Praise could not elevate him,
 " for he knew that 'no man living is justified in the sight of God.' Ca-
 " lumny could not harm him, for it fell upon too pure a stream. There
 " was no pollution, no double mind; he could not understand what it
 " meant. 'Do what is right, and trust,' was his constant maxim, and
 " he feared no man. Company could not injure him, for he ever felt
 " that he belonged to the company of the heavenly host. He regarded
 " man as God's work, their souls as precious in his eyes. The weak he
 " helped, the falling he raised, the fallen he grieved over and prayed
 " for. He despised none, for he knew the sinfulness of his own heart,
 " and in his own eyes was the least in God's sight. He had compassion
 " for all. Sin he hated, but the sinner he regarded with his Saviour's
 " love. A well cultivated mind, an extensive acquaintance with all that
 " poetry, history, or biography could supply, the general association
 " with others, and the constancy and faithfulness of his pastoral visits
 " among poor and rich, gave him a knowledge of men and manners
 " which was a weapon for good in his hands. Though he constantly
 " laboured most assiduously among the poor, though his voice was ever

"ready at the call of sickness or sorrow, he never fell into the mistaken view, that the souls of the rich are not of equal importance."—Pp. 138—140.

And again,—

"A grace in manners and a cheerfulness of deportment, which ever cast brightness on all around him, and never degenerated into levity, made his words of more value. The affection and tenderness of his reproof never failed in its effect. He had a power which the Spirit of God alone could give. The reproof was always to the sin, and not to the sinner. He grieved for God's injured honour, and not his own injured dignity. On one occasion, when present at a large dinner party, composed of thoughtless young men, and others whose conversation could not be acceptable to the servant of God, instead of shutting himself up in a cold austerity, he watched his opportunity, and by degrees gave such a turn to the conversation as quite altered its character, and made it pleasant and useful. The master of the house, though a man of the world, and who has long since passed into another and a better, called the next day to thank him; and who knows but that a seed might be sown for good? His only rule was, invariably to return home at ten o'clock. This enabled him to assemble his household, which he never failed to do. If he found that he could do no good, and that the character of the conversation was such as a clergyman ought not to listen to without condemnation, he would then give up that house. This never happened but once. After several vain attempts to improve the tone of conversation, he declined all future invitations. He used to feel that the relaxation of cheerful society, after the labours of the day, was useful; that it was good to hear, as well as always to be giving instruction; that it is not desirable for the clergyman to be always the pope, but that the free interchange of thought and feeling gave enlarged and liberal ideas. He was always ready to discuss opinions freely without losing his temper, and could bear to be contradicted. For seventeen years he laboured in the vineyard of his Lord and Master, and none ever came nearer his Master's image. The rich, the poor, the sick, the well, the prosperous, the afflicted, will equally witness to the holy and heavenly consistency of his character. At home he was a perpetual sunshine."—Pp. 141, 142.

It will not be out of place to introduce a specimen or two of his letters. The first which we shall give was written to a member of his congregation:—

"My Dear Friend,

"I have looked through your little book with care; and I will first

"endeavour to commit to paper the few thoughts that were suggested to me as I was reading.

"1. Do as the excellent Simeon did, *i. e.* NEVER look out for any particular promise, as if THAT were indispensable to your comfort, but remember that among your Baptismal privileges, is your clear title to ALL the promises of God. Launch forth, therefore, upon the *deep* of the *Divine promises*; and possess yourself, as much as possible, of the *fullness of God!*

"2. Always remember that the grand, leading promise to the Church is that of 'the spirit of ADOPTION, whereby we cry ABBA, FATHER!' And be quite sure, therefore, that, in the darkest and most trying dispensation, God is graciously dealing with you, as a Father dealeth with his children, *not* in anger, but in *kind severity*: '*not* for His pleasure, but for your profit, that you may become a partaker of His holiness!'

"3. While '*in the body*,' you must expect to share in all the fluctuations of that earthen vessel which is 'subject,' alas! 'to every skyey influence.' But you may rejoice to know that our salvation rests not, as we are too apt to imagine, upon the strength of our own poor footing, (for, if so, how could we be commanded to rejoice with '*trembling*!'), but upon the unchangeableness and immoveability of the Rock of ages! 'I am the Lord, I *change* not: THEREFORE ye sons of Jacob are not consumed.'

"4. Call to mind, in conclusion, Leighton's beautiful remark, that, as travellers often experience, the *coldest hour* in the *night* is that which is to be followed by the streaks of the dawning light and the warmth of the rising sun!

"I do not apologise for the haste in which I am compelled to write, because you know how I am circumstanced. But commending you, from the bottom of my heart, to God's most gracious benediction,

"I remain, in the bonds of the Gospel,

"Ever most sincerely yours,

"ROBERT ANDERSON."

The following was addressed to the son of a friend going into the navy:—

"My Dear Young Friend,

"Understanding both from your mother and your aunt, that you are now at Portsmouth preparing for your examination, I cannot help writing a few lines, were it only to tell you how heartily I wish you success in this and every following stage of your profession. Nothing, you may be quite sure, can ever weaken the interest which I feel for every member of your family; and when I think of the manner in

" which your dear mother has been supported under the many and severe trials to which she has been exposed since your father's death, I do feel that her sweet and cheerful spirit has borne a testimony, better far than volumes of sermons, to the blessed truth, that the Gospel is not 'a cunningly devised fable,' but that it is indeed 'the power of God unto salvation to every one that believeth !'

" I trust, my dear John, that you may be spared to be a comfort and a help to your mother, and a comfort and a help you will be, if you shall prove a zealous and efficient, and, above all, a Christian officer. The cross which waves upon your Union Jack should serve to remind you, perpetually, of the banner under which you enlisted at your baptism; and I trust that you will never be ashamed to fight under that banner against the enemies of your salvation. Whether at sea or on shore, always remember the vows which are upon you; and whenever you may have an opportunity, deem it your privilege to renew them at the Table of the Lord. I have expressed my hope, dear John, that you will never be ashamed of the banner of the Cross; and of what, I may ask you, ought we to be ashamed, except that we do so little for Him, who has done everything for us? For has not Christ redeemed us with his own most precious blood? And does He not send us His Holy Spirit, to be our guide unto death? Oh, pray then that you may be enabled to live, not to yourself, but to Him who died and rose again for you! Pray, my dear friend, that, wherever you may be, you may have grace to walk worthy of your Christian calling; so that 'no man may despise your youth;' but that you may be an example to others, 'in word, in conversation, in charity, in spirit, in faith, in purity.'

" Believe, me, my dear John, he is the most courageous officer who dares to serve his God; and when I think of all the dangers to which you may be exposed, I know not what better wish I can cherish in your behalf, than that, like the needle in the compass, which is always true to the Pole, you may be enabled always to turn, by fixed believing, towards that 'Star of Jacob,' which, and which only, can guide you towards the haven of everlasting rest!

" Commending you, from the bottom of my heart, to this Divine guidance and care."—Pp. 15—17.

The spirit of love beams forth brightly in the following:—

" I must repeat my conviction as to the purpose of God in His dealings with you. For the more I enter into the depths of His own revealed word, the more I find that in all cases He adapts the trials to our peculiar temperament. We may adopt palliatives, but He seeks not to palliate, but to cure. And to this end it is indispensable that

"the trials should come home to our very inmost souls, that He may shew us to ourselves, and exhibit to us all those 'chambers of 'imagery,' and all those abominations which lurk within us. But even in his very judgments He rememembers mercy, and if you will remember the love of Christ to His Church, you will soon be enabled to exchange irritation for the tenderest compassion, and compassion is akin to love. For does God love us notwithstanding all our infirmities, and can we say we think that we are His, unless we strive to walk by the same rule one towards another ?

"As long, therefore, as you suffer yourselves to be vanquished by an irritable spirit, can you wonder at the coldness and inefficacy of your prayers ? Oh, my beloved friend ! your thoughts must flow in a different channel altogether, or you never can and never will have peace. You must view your trial as God views it, and then how can the object of your anger be otherwise than the object of your tender care, who is the daily object of God's unchangeable love ?"—
Pp. 67, 68.

"Let it be just as you state it: let it be the severest of all possible trials: still if it be a trial, is it not sent of 'our Father which is in 'heaven ?' And why does He send His people trials ? Not to shew them unto Himself, (for He searcheth all hearts, and knoweth every thought), but to shew us unto ourselves: and must it not follow, therefore, that every fresh irritation only serves to prove the necessity of such a trial ? My own growing persuasion is, that literally our very steps are numbered: and if so, it was God's providence that led you to hear ——— preach his sermon, and to hear me deliver my lecture on Saul's proud, and imperious, and wilful spirit. Most assuredly I was thinking only of Saul ; but may not He who giveth the increase have had another purpose to accomplish that day ? Only one word more. When the moment of irritation comes over you, go to your closet and offer up (if it be only) a breathing and a cry 'to 'Him who seeth in secret,' and I feel assured that you would be enabled to enter more and more into the solemn and blessed duty of dealing with the weaker vessels as Christ dealeth with his Church."—
Pp. 68, 69.

The following is extracted from a letter written in 1819, from Madras, to his mother, on the occasion of his brother's death, who was drowned at Addiscombe. It shews the early bent of his mind:—

"That a youth so lovely, so virtuous, should have been cut off in the flower of his youth, must cause tears of bitterest agony to flow, and to flow unrestrained ; but let us, my own, my best-loved mother, discern, even through our tears, that hand of mercy, which in every

“dispensation of Providence is extended towards us; for merciful indeed has been the blow, (irreparable as it may now appear), if it shall have saved *him*, whom we now lament, from sorrow, sickness, and death, beneath a foreign sky. And let us be assured, my mother, that the hour will soon come when our hearts, being disposed by the soothing influence of time, ‘who comes with healing in his wings,’ to listen to that still small voice of religion which whispers peace to the disconsolate, every word of that praise which now only adds stings to our misery, shall be treasured by us all with holy joy, as a sure and certain pledge that a spirit so lovely and so pure must have winged its flight from this vale of tears to those blessed regions, where sorrow entereth not, and where joy fadeth not away, where ‘the wicked cease from troubling, and the weary are at rest.’ Oh my dearly loved mother, I have experienced before, and I have now been doomed to experience again, how inadequate is anything but the blessed voice of the Gospel to whisper comfort to the broken-hearted. To be told that, ‘in the midst of life we are in death,’ a truth every day of our life only serves most certainly to establish, would be but a wretched assurance, were we left ‘to mourn without hope’ in this dark pilgrimage; but when we listen to the voice of that inspired volume, which assures us that when this earthly tabernacle shall be dissolved, there remaineth for us a house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens, and that these few and evil days of our pilgrimage, which pass away like a shadow and never continue, will soon be exchanged for ‘an inheritance that fadeth not away;’ THEN have we reason to kiss the rod of our present affliction, and to exclaim, in the words of our blessed Saviour in the garden of Gethsemane, ‘Not my will, but Thy will be done.’—Pp. 87—89.

In a letter written to a lady in affliction he says:—

“I need not remind you, my dear friend, that, be our particular trial what it may, it is His visitation. But let me only ask this simple question. Did your dear sister love Christ? If you all feel that she did, and that it was His abiding grace which supported her under all her sufferings, then how blessed is the Scriptural argument, that ‘we love Him because he first loved us!’ How blessed is the thought, that the love which warmed her heart was only the return of His unutterable love! and how unspeakably blessed is the persuasion, that her disembodied spirit is now bathing itself in the waters of light and life which issue from the throne!—Pp. 101, 102.

It would be impossible to give more than a mere idea of the valuable materials of which this memoir consists. It is rather too irregular in order, and we might point out one or two other defects which

shew themselves to a critic's eye; but we prefer to dwell on that which illustrates the character of the man. We will not even speak of the few points in which we differ from him. If they were mistakes, they were only mistakes, not faults, which obscured the loveliness of Christian reality. He was a sound Christian, and a sincere lover of his Church. May the Lord of His mercy raise up many such dressers of His vineyard! His widow thus remarks on his illness and death:—

“It may be interesting to those who are in search of truth, to know how such a devoted servant of God would walk through the valley of the shadow of death. He that lives well, will die well. The same springing faith, which carried him through all difficulties and trials in this world of woe, never failed. He ever kept the faith, and, steadily contemplating the end of this life but as the beginning of life eternal, he ‘slept in Jesus.’ It was in the early part of 1841 that his strength began to fail; but though disease was rousing into action, though he could no longer go forth on his labours of love with that light step which seemed to impart the life that gave rise to itself, he never rested from his work. On the contrary, it seemed as if the spirit quickened as his flesh grew weak. The sword was indeed too sharp for the scabbard. The gradual, though slow decay, almost imperceptibly increased during the winter and summer of 1842. He occasionally took excursions with his children; but though he made every exertion to enhance their pleasure, he could scarcely triumph over the exhaustion of nature. It was about this time that the spasms, from which he afterwards suffered so fearfully, began. No complaint ever passed his lips. He would retire into the solitude of his own room, that none might know his sufferings, and as soon as the paroxysm was over, return to his family with a brightness and serenity which left no trace of bodily conflict. He never thought of himself. Though the elastic step was gradually losing its lightness, his elastic spirit rose above all bodily ailment. He would still bring joy and gladness, and shed a bright flame of love on all around him. His affections were like a gushing river, ever flowing and encircling every rock, every stone, every pebble; irrigating all as it swept along, and sparkling from the sunbeams that illuminated it. It was no dull stream. Though nothing ever ruffled its waters, though nothing could disturb its course, it had a life-giving spring in it, that never left corruption: it cleansed as it flowed, but never embittered the draught.

“During the oppressive heat of one of the hottest summers ever known, when none but those who were obliged could venture out before the evening, he would be visiting poor and sick for four and five hours, and often return too much exhausted even to speak. His

"Master's work was to be done, and though quite unable to enjoy all social intercourse, he was always ready at the call of sickness or sorrow. Many a time has he returned quite worn out, his feet blistered from the extreme heat of the pavement, and had just sat down, when a summons from some sufferer has reached him, and he would immediately obey. Sometimes he would say, 'I really cannot go; my hours for labour are over, and my strength spent:' and then his spirit of love to the brethren would arouse itself, and, regardless of his own sufferings, he would go forth, often finding little real call for such self-denial. It was, however, impossible for human nature to withstand much longer against the inroads of disease, and he was persuaded, with the greatest difficulty, to go to Tunbridge Wells, to his sister-in-law, Lady Hill. He had only intended remaining a week, but, as he wrote in one of his letters, 'How true is it that in trifling matters as well as great, though man proposes, it is God that disposeth!' for he was taken extremely ill on the second night of his arrival, and was detained a month. In writing home he says, 'I feel like a weaned child in consenting to this separation from my home; but as I have talked so much of obedience, and as I mean to lecture dear Douglas on the same subject, I feel that I must submit.'"

Early in 1843, he was compelled to leave Brighton, and have recourse to London aid; but his days were told, and, on March 22nd, 1843, he was received into eternal glory by a merciful God. Cordially do we commend this volume to our readers, not with a view to raise their estimation of his character, for that is unnecessary, but because we feel that no Christian will arise from its perusal without deriving much benefit. Its whole tone breathes piety and love to man. It abounds with practical lessons, and that true spirit of holy doctrine, which must appear in the children of God. "He that hath the Son of God, hath life."

It is a high position in the Christian world to be assigned to any one, when they are placed in juxta-position with the late Robert Anderson; but we have no fear that any disappointment will occur to the readers of Miss Plumtre's letters at our course. They are in a tolerable volume, and are mere correspondence, simply explaining themselves, and well worth perusal are they. We never remember to have seen any modern correspondence of an equal character. It is really very difficult to lay the book down when once commenced, and it is very easy to read a second and a third time with advantage. It is perhaps well to read the character in the correspondence; but we can hardly excuse the editor for withholding from us a longer sketch of her life. The particulars

which are given us scarcely do more than sketch the outline of a simple Christian, while the letters give ample evidence of zeal, talent, and every grace which, portrayed in Christian biography, might have led many to follow the departed as she followed Christ. The letters are of such value, that of necessity we desire more; and even now it is much to be wished that Mr. Plumtre, the editor of this volume, would, in the retirement of Eastwood Rectory, send to the press a volume such as we have hinted would be beneficial. We will extract from the Preface a part of the short account to which we have alluded:—

“Her natural character was that which the world highly commends, and which made her at once the ornament and delight of her family. Her elasticity of spirit, force of expression, and affability of manners, would have secured her notice in any society; but her God had designed for her some better thing than the admiration of the world—“even ‘that by the cross of Christ the world might be crucified to her, ‘and she to the world.’ Henceforth to her ‘to live was Christ, to die ‘was gain.’ The Letters will shew her Christian experience to have “been, ‘a very unusually deep insight into the evil of her own heart.’ “The subtle and intricate workings of corrupt nature, suggested or fostered by the tempter, she deeply knew and unreservedly declared. “But, at the same time, the finished work of Christ was ever the sweet “resting-place of her faith, and the subject of her praise. However “deep the pit into which she had fallen, there was no question as to the “power or the love of Him who had delivered and would deliver. If, “with the spouse, she exclaimed, ‘I am black’ in my own utter guilt “and defilement, in the same breath she would add, ‘but comely’ “‘through His comeliness, which He hath put upon me.’ Another peculiar feature of her Christian character was her ‘intense delight in “‘the Word of God.’ None could know her by personal intercourse or “correspondence, but this must have been suggested; she enters into “the spirit of the text, ‘Thy words were found, and I did eat them; “‘and Thy word was unto me the joy and rejoicing of mine heart:’— “and why? ‘For I am called by Thy name, () Lord God of Hosts.’ “It was the voice of a heavenly Father speaking unto her as his beloved child: it was the Good Shepherd calling his own sheep by name, “and the sheep hearing his voice and following him. When in tolerable health—and she never was very strong—at least three hours each “day were given to prayer and searching the Scriptures in her own “room; and by early rising, and strict method and punctuality, she “found time for this as well as her many other avocations. This she “spoke of as ‘God’s time,’ and any interruption would have been met

“with the observation, ‘should a man rob God?’ To those who stood round her on the day of her death she said, ‘I hope you will all love “and value the Word more, when you remember what food and joy “and comfort it has proved to me.’”

An extract from a letter addressed to the Rev. J. H. St****t, needs no apology for its introduction ; but we can hardly account for the peculiar omission of letters which every one will supply for himself. As Mr. Haldane Stewart has supplied the letter, he could not reasonably object to his name being given in full. In other cases, we can make allowance for Mr. Plumptre’s delicacy in writing his relative’s initials only ; but to this, until further informed, we must take exception.

“While the burning seraphs around the throne are animating each other in the praises of the Highest, surely it is the privilege, the sip of heaven, for redeemed sinners to imitate these happy beings, ere they arrive where they are, stand where they stand; put new songs of praise in their mouths, as they tell of the great things which have been done for them; swell the chorus which fills heaven with the smoke of incense, and make the walls re-echo with the glad Amen. These considerations have led me, together with my dearest brother and sister, with whom I am now staying, to long for some communications with you, our much-loved friends; more particularly during the last week, in which our precious Lord has been pleased to manifest much of the riches of his grace and truth. It has been my pleasing task several times to communicate to you the event of a child being born into the world. A far more pleasing one is now allotted to me. I have to tell you of our beloved child born into heaven, of a day having dawned upon her, which shall know no night. New and delightful sounds greet our ears; we are assured of the life of our child, not by cries of distress, but by her raising her voice in eternal hallelujahs. She is welcomed, not to the bosom of a worm, but to that of the eternal God. She is received, not to the gaze of anxious nurses, but to the admiration and delight of thousand thousands of glorified spirits. Surely then, my beloved friends, I have never had so much cause to call upon you to praise the Lord with us, and to exalt his name together. Our fondly cherished little Fanny Helen kept this blessed birthday the sixth of last month, having been carried by a short and easy way through the wilderness into Canaan, in the space of eight months. She was all that was most lovely, healthy, and promising; and one with whom it appeared dangerous to trust hearts, so prone to idolatry. That gracious God who watches over us for good every moment, saw our sin and folly, and

"how did he deal with us? Did he curse our blessing by turning it
 "it into a curse for us? Ah! no, he gently housed the treasure, with
 "which we could not be trusted, in his own bosom, whilst he himself
 "more than filled the craving void. The messenger of love and mercy
 "was the croup, which in a few days changed the strong and healthy
 "child into a corpse; I should have said, a glorified spirit. Nature has
 "indeed smarted very much; the maternal feelings, especially, have
 "been put on the rack; but my dearest Fanny has found a mother's
 "feelings for *herself* in her God, and as one whom her mother com-
 "forteth, so hath her God comforted her. Do you not think, my be-
 "loved friend and minister, that we are privileged to feel an assurance
 "that our beloved child is with the Lord? that she is praising the
 "Lamb that was slain to wash her from the sin in which she was born?
 "May we not conclude, that our prayers for her have been, as it were,
 "more than answered? that the angel Gabriel has been caused to fly
 "swiftly, to fetch home the child that was so lately presented to our
 "God? May we not think that while we were speaking, our prayer
 "was answered, and our child received into the Church *triumphant*?
 "We long to have our hearts much encouraged on this subject, for, as
 "you may imagine, Satan has fiery darts on this ground, as on every
 "other, and some there are in Zion who hold opinions which chill the
 "very heart and quench the fondly-prized hope. Yet would I desire
 "that you may not, from any partiality or feeling, shun to declare unto
 "us the ways of God, so far as they have been revealed unto you.

"And now, my beloved friend, let me congratulate you on the glo-
 "rious event of having a child born for eternity, one who shall assuredly
 "brighten your joy and crown of rejoicing in the day when Jesus
 "maketh up his jewels. With delight have we heard of what the
 "great Shepherd and Bishop has been pleased to effect through you, in
 "the taking home of one of his loved wanderers to himself, and giving
 "him an abundant entrance into the kingdom of grace and glory.
 "Were this the only fruit of your indisposition and removal into a
 "foreign country; were this all that you are to reap from days of lan-
 "guor, painful separations, and many things trying to the flesh, it is
 "fruit, it is a harvest which the highest angel might rejoice to reap,
 "might glory to gather. Could we form any due estimate of the
 "worth of a soul, of the joys of heaven, of the bitter pangs of eternal
 "death; but, above all, could we weigh but a few grains of that load of
 "anguish which bowed down an incarnate God, which made his soul
 "exceeding sorrowful even unto death, which caused him to be sore
 "amazed, and very heavy, when he travailed in soul for his children;

"surely we should count it our joy, our high privilege, to be sent by
 "any; the roughest road, to find and bring to our God one of these
 "precious blood-bought souls; in which we might be the instruments
 "of giving our once-suffering God to see of the travail of his soul; of
 "causing joy and gladness in his dear presence, of translating a soul
 "from a kingdom of bondage, darkness, and death, into glorious
 "liberty, the light of life, joys eternal and unspeakable."

The devotional fervour of the following deserves our especial notice:—

"The weary pilgrim is relieved in finding that he is not peculiar in
 "his distresses; that the travellers Zion-wards have the same enemies
 "from without, the same fears and conflicts from within; that no
 "temptation hath befallen him but such as is common to all the be-
 "loved children of God: but for my own part, I must confess, there is
 "scarcely a truth in God's word I find more difficulty in realising than
 "this; yea, I am *very unwilling* to believe that my most precious Lord
 "meets with such a dwelling in any heart as mine. Ah, how often is
 "every room in his wretched inn filled with unhallowed guests, while the
 "Lord of Glory has not where to lay his head! But I am returning to
 "a subject which I said I would leave; most probably it is that you
 "may think me grown *more humble*. There is but one subject on
 "which I can trust my heart or pen to dwell; one dear theme, to which
 "we shall, through eternity, tune our golden harps, It is Jesus, the
 "Friend of sinners, the Lord of glory! This name is as ointment
 "poured forth, ever sweet, ever refreshing to the fainting traveller. Oh,
 "ye seraphs, touch my lips with a live coal from the altar; teach me
 "how to speak of him, whose praises it is your heaven to celebrate!
 "Where shall I begin the wondrous theme? Shall I speak of that
 "lowly God-man, who, before the highest parts of the dust of the earth
 "were laid, contemplated, with delight, a time of sojourning with
 "worms of the dunghill? Shall I speak of that love which forced him
 "from a Father's bosom, emptied him of all his glory, brought him from
 "his throne and sceptre, to lie helpless in a stable? which made him
 "exchange hallelujahs for curses, the adoration of thousand thousands
 "for the scorn and derision of men? Shall I speak of that love which
 "gave his back to the smiters, and his cheeks to those who plucked off
 "the hair; which drank the cup of trembling, even to the dregs; which
 "trod the wine-press alone, bore a beloved Father's curse, and died a
 "million deaths in one? Oh, love past finding out! Angels, ye would
 "praise your God for it; but it is a mystery whose depth ye cannot
 "fathom. Worms, for you he died. Alas, ye feel it not; or, if ye

"would praise him, sin damps your hallelujahs, checks your songs.
 "But the hour is coming, (yea, with some of our dear departed brethren,
 "now is), when we shall be enabled to praise him.

" 'Then in a sweeter, nobler song,
 I'll sing his power to save;
 When this poor lisping, stammering tongue
 Lies silent in the grave.' "

"Your time of trial, if not yet past, is nigh at hand, my beloved friend.
 "Oh, will you not trust love like this? What could have been done
 "more for you, that Jesus has not done? And what good thing will he
 "now withhold? He has given you grace to feel your need of him;
 "and remember what is linked unto grace, in a chain which *never can be*
 "broken: 'He will give grace *and glory*.' He has an inheritance in-
 "corruptible, undefiled, and that fadeth not away, *reserved* in heaven
 "for you; and you are kept for it by *the power of God*. Oh, how safe!
 "how happy! Who is like unto thee, O people saved by the Lord!"

Our space forbids any further extracts, and we will leave each volume to speak for itself to the Christian heart. The names of Anderson and Plumptre are still kept before us by living likenesses of their zeal and love, and we trust that many will still arise from the same families, who shall perpetuate the Christian reality of the lives and deaths of these departed and glorified saints. Let us not, however, speak of those that live, but pray for them and the whole Church, that it may be with Christ in his eternal kingdom, and that we may not be led away by controversial zeal to rend that body on earth, which is one with its Saviour, and which should be holy and peaceable, even as He is holy.

AN ESSAY ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE.

By JOHN HENRY NEWMAN, Author of "Lectures on the Prophetical Office of the Church." London: Toovey, 1845.

(*Second Article*).

IF there were no other evidence of the development of Christian doctrine, the title-page of the extraordinary work, the discussion of which we are about, for the second time, to enter upon, would supply us with a remarkable instance. In 1837, Mr. Newman informed his followers that the Church of Rome (of which, be it remembered, he had the means of knowing as much as he does now) was "a pitiless and unnatural relative, who will but triumph in the arts which have inveigled us within her reach." He further told them that "Satan ever acts on a system; various, manifold, and intricate, with parts and instruments of different qualities, some almost purely evil, others so unexceptionable that, in themselves, and detached from the end to which all is subservient, they are really 'Angels of Light,' and may be found so at the Last Day." In 1845, we read in another work of the same writer, that "the author has joined the Catholic Church," and that "it is scarcely necessary to add that he now submits every part of the book to the judgment of the Church, with whose doctrine, on the subjects of which it treats, he wishes all his thoughts to be coincident." A more marvellous instance of development has, we can safely affirm, rarely taken place, especially in an age remarkable for light, and for the clearness with which the points in dispute between the two Churches have been set forth. We venture to assert, that Mr. Newman has had *throughout*, from the very first of his publications, the whole of the evidence before him, that he *must* have weighed and sifted it a thousand times, and that, after all this weighing and sifting, he has a thousand times pronounced it to be overwhelmingly in favour of the Reformed Church of England. And yet at last, after perverting every doctrine of the communion to which he nominally belonged, and to which he has so often professed his allegiance, he has ended by declaring her formularies and her articles inconsistent with the truth; and the shifts by

which he had for twelve years maintained his position in the Church and the University utterly vain and untenable. Such sudden changes and wonderful developments in the mind of an individual whose eyes God has at length opened to behold the "Blessed Vision of peace," may, if received and allowed, explain the wonderful variations of tone and doctrine which have accompanied the Development of the Faith in the Church Catholic. And truly, if Mr. Newman's view be correct, of all the marvellous works of God, none is or can be so marvellous as that Church which he has established among men to be the "pillar and ground of the truth." If it has reached its full growth by this time, of which Mr. Newman by no means assures us, it has been by strange and devious ways that it has attained it. The vine which is to cover the whole earth has grown by fits and starts, with no steady and regular progress. Its trunk and branches, instead of shewing forth the straight and healthy growth of the tree of the Lord's own planting, exhibit strange contortions, and are entangled in inextricable confusion. Those doctrines which were to form, as it were, its very life-blood, which eventually were to change and regulate anew its whole appearance, are not only not to be found on the surface of Scripture, not only not spoken of by the writers of the early Church, but are at first sight contradicted by the whole tenor both of Scripture and of primitive tradition.

Now, as this doctrine of development is one of the most recent shifts by which Romish controversialists are attempting to explain the manifest discrepancy between their system and what is, at any rate, the *primé facie* teaching of Scripture, it may be well to examine it somewhat in detail, and to discover, if possible, under what conditions, and subject to what limitations, the Gospel of Christ is permitted to be developed by the Church of Christ. Mr. Newman's view may be summed up in very few words. He has started, unconsciously it may be, but certainly, with the hypothesis that the developments of the Church of Rome are right; and then he has set himself to work, by the help of Romish controversialists, to gather together all the passages of Scripture, and of the early Fathers, which seem in the least to contain the germ of that teaching of which the canons of Trent are the full-blown flower.

The first thing that strikes the mind in the work before us is, that the author has not in the smallest degree kept before his mind the difference between the authoritative development of a doctrinal system by a Church, or body of men, and the development of truths in an individual mind, according to the proportion in which that mind is enabled to comprehend and receive them. Again, the development of a great principle, such as is the Gospel of Christ, that is to say, its application, with-

out change of nature or character, to various aspects of society and various stages of civilisation,—such a development is essentially different from progressive explanations of separate doctrines, suppression of truths no longer regarded as necessary, or introductions of novelties as of immediate application to particular circumstances. We do not pin our faith to that school of divines, who deny the use of anything in leavening the mass of mankind with a religious feeling, which has not an express warrant in the Word of God; yet we cannot but think that the adaptation of Church government, the division or alteration of Church offices and Church discipline, in order to suit new and complicated arrangements of society, are matters very distinct from the remodelling of doctrines, and the introduction and extension of truths, as necessary to salvation, of which scarcely the remotest hint can be adduced from the Word of the Most High. It will be necessary for us to look into these distinctions which we have suggested a little more closely: firstly, because we think that they may enable many to find their way out of the maze in which Mr. Newman's work may have set them wandering; secondly, because they may serve to point out how the author himself has been led to stray out of the straight path of truth and orthodoxy; and thirdly, because it is evident that the ground Mr. Newman has taken will not be lightly abandoned, and will assuredly be held by the large body of skirmishers which the Church of Rome always maintains, even though she may prudently refrain, as in the present case, from giving her direct sanction to them. To deny the doctrine of Development in *every* sense in which the word may be employed, would be a self-evident and practical absurdity: and therefore the same skill which played upon the term "Church" until every device was laid bare and refuted, has chosen another word on which to display his skill, which offers an almost equal facility of misconstruction. Development is a fact and a truth in this or that case, and in a certain sense,—therefore in every case and in every sense,—therefore in the particular case and particular sense in which it is convenient for me to use it;—and (for fear of awkward consequences from too large an extension) in this case, and in this sense alone, we can discover no other form of fallacy on which the argument of the present work can be more concisely put: and those who have followed the Anglican shuffles of this subtle writer will be at no loss to trace the resemblance in their Romish completion and perfection. For ourselves, we retire from the perusal of the work, more than ever convinced, that on no ground can the English Churchman take his stand, but on the Holy Scriptures alone: that if he keep his stand firmly there, no power of earth or hell can move him: but that, if he once leave this sure ground for a path

which seems more direct or more tempting; he will soon find that he is walking

Per ignes
Suppositus cineri doloso.

He will slip at every step; and happy, oh, how unexpressedly happy will he be, if at the last he shall have grace—be it through much tribulation—to recover his stand upon the solid ground which, in an evil hour, he forsook. We are convinced that Mr. Newman may be met, exposed, and oftentimes refuted, on the testimony whether of the Fathers, or of Councils, or tradition, in any shape or form. But the argument will never be clear or convincing, because, after all, the authorities in question possess no binding power over the heart and conscience. The fact that there *is* in truth much to be said on both sides in this field of inquiry will shake unstable minds, and weaken the firmest. But once bring the matter before the only tribunal which has the right to judge of it, even the infallible Word of the All-wise God, and then all doubt ceases. The scales fall from the eyes of the earnest seeker after truth, the mists of error roll away, the delusions of Satan become of none effect, the chains fall off the prisoner; for, according to God's promise, the truth hath made him free. May He of his mercy grant this freedom to the unhappy men whose sad bondage we have had of late to record and lament!

The first point of distinction to which we would direct the attention of our readers is that which separates development, as the external variations and changes of a system of doctrine, from the development of the impression which such a system makes upon an individual mind: and on this head we will first adduce Mr. Newman's own words, from which it is evident that he has in a great measure lost sight of the distinction; or rather, that he has been betrayed by the analogy which, to a certain extent, exists between the two kinds of development, into a belief of their sameness; *i. e.*, that he has fallen into the old logical fallacy of attempting to identify by a single point of resemblance, the point of resemblance being in this case scarcely more than the word "development" itself.

"If Christianity is a fact, and can be made subject-matter of exercises of the reason, and impresses an idea of itself on our minds, that idea will, in course of time, develop in a series of ideas connected and harmonious with one another, and unchangeable and complete, as is the external fact itself which is thus represented. It is the peculiarity of the human mind, that it cannot take an object in, which is submitted to it, simply and integrally. It conceives by means of de-

“ finition or description ; whole objects do not create in the intellect
“ whole ideas, but are, to use a mathematical phrase, thrown into series,
“ into a number of statements, strengthening, interpreting, correcting
“ each other, and with more or less exactness approximating, as they
“ accumulate, to a perfect image. There is no other way of learning or
“ of teaching. We cannot teach except by aspects or views, which are
“ not identical with the thing itself which we are teaching. Two per-
“ sons will convey the same truth to another, yet by methods and
“ through representations altogether different. The same person will
“ treat the same argument differently in an essay or speech, according
“ to the accident of the day of writing, or of the audience, yet it will be
“ the same.

“ And the more claim an idea has to be considered living, the more
“ various will be its aspects ; and the more social and political is its na-
“ ture, the more complicated and subtle will be its developments, and
“ the longer and more eventful will be its course. Such is Christianity ;
“ and whatever has been said in the last chapter about the development
“ of ideas generally, becomes of course an antecedent argument for its
“ progressive development.

“ It may be objected that inspired documents, such as the Holy
“ Scriptures, at once determine its doctrine without further trouble.
“ But they were intended to create an idea, and that idea is not in the
“ sacred text, but in the mind of the reader ; and the question is,
“ whether that idea is communicated to him, in its completeness and
“ minute accuracy, on its first apprehension, or expands in his heart and
“ intellect, and comes to perfection in the course of time. Nor could it
“ be maintained without extravagance that the letter of the New Testa-
“ ment, or of any assignable number of books, comprises a delineation of
“ all possible forms which a divine message will assume when submitted
“ to a multitude of minds.

“ Nor is the case altered by supposing that inspiration did for the
“ first recipients of the Revelation what the Divine Fiat did for herbs
“ and plants in the beginning, which were created in maturity. Still,
“ the time at length came, when its recipients ceased to be inspired ; and
“ on these recipients the revealed truths would fall, as in other cases, at
“ first vaguely and generally, and would afterwards be completed by
“ developments.

“ Nor can it fairly be made a difficulty that thus to treat of Christian-
“ ity is to level it in some sort to sects and doctrines of the world, and
“ to impute to it the imperfections which characterize the productions of
“ man. Certainly it is a degradation of a divine work to consider it
“ under an earthly form ; but it is no irreverence, since the Lord him-

“self, its Author and Owner, bore one also. Christianity differs from other religions and philosophies, in what it has in addition to them ; not in its nature, but in its personal characteristics ; being informed not in kind, but in origin ; and quickened by what is more than intellect, by a Divine Spirit. It is externally what the Apostle calls an ‘earthly vessel,’ being the religion of men. And, considered as such, it grows ‘in wisdom and stature ;’ but the powers which it wields, and the words which proceed out of its month, attest its miraculous nativity.

“Unless then some special ground of exception can be assigned, it is as evident that Christianity, as a doctrine and worship, will develop in the minds of recipients, as that it conforms in other respects, in its external propagation or its political framework, to the general methods by which the course of things is carried forward.”

Now, such a development as is here spoken of is one with which we are all conversant : it is indeed no other than that expressed by St. Paul when he said, “When I was a child, I spake as a child, I understood as a child, I thought as a child ; but when I became a man, I put away childish things.” The change which passes over the mind of the child as he goes through the various stages of his existence, until he arrives at the stature, mental and bodily, of the full-grown man, is no more certain to take place than is the changed aspect in which spiritual things must appear to the human mind in the course of its spiritual growth. The young Christian cannot, in the common order of things, feel the certainty and the comfort of the Spirit’s presence in his heart, in the same way in which the aged servant of God has learned to know and appreciate it. An increased anxiety to do the will of Christ will bring with it an increased acquaintance with Christ’s doctrine. It is not, be it remarked, by means of elaborate theological studies, by comparison of the opinions of various writers, or even by the closest technical study of the Holy Scriptures themselves, that this development will take place in the mind of the true Christian, of him whom God is leading along the way of everlasting life. Such studies, though far from incompatible with a growth in grace, are also far from necessarily promoting it. To know, not with the lips or with the intellect, but in the inmost heart and soul, the only true God, and Jesus Christ the Saviour, whom He has sent, this is the only real development of Christianity in individual minds. The elaborate working out of deductions and corollaries from doubtful and disputed passages, the construction of theories and systems of doctrine by means of comparisons and analogies, and forms of argument, all this is far from being a development in the mind or in the heart of a man. All this may take place, *has* already taken place in multitudes of in-

stances, and been but the unreal fiction of the brain. Men have studied all phases of the moral character, have speculated largely and learnedly on natural religion, on the moral sense and conscience, have given them each their right place in the scheme of Christian doctrine, while they have utterly failed in bringing them home in any practical way to their own hearts. The sins, and errors, and weaknesses, on which they have speculated, and the remedies for which they have theoretically canvassed, which they have offered—and perhaps not in vain—for the acceptance of others, have lain unused and neglected as far as themselves have been concerned. In such there has been no development; the truths of the Gospel have never reached beyond the outworks, have never touched the *man*. And this is the point on which we would lay the stress of the present argument. If the development of Christianity on the individual mind be, as we unhesitatingly pronounce it to be, the growth of that practical knowledge of Christ, and Him crucified, which alone can influence the heart and impart right motives of action, then does Mr. Newman's position, as far as it affects the main purposes of his treatise, utterly fail him. The development which he adduces in illustration or analogical proof of that larger system of it for which he contends, is not a development of Christian doctrine, but of the heart and affections, the soul and spirit of the Christian, under that doctrine. The doctrine continues unchanged;—like its Divine Master, the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever. The mind which is subjected to its influence, grows beneath it into the full stature of the man of God. Shall we say, then, that the doctrine develops? Surely not. As well might we assert that the rays of the sun are developed, when the plant on which it shines expands and grows beneath its genial warmth, as assert that those truths, which are so fixed that an angel from heaven cannot alter them, and so plain that he who runs may read, are developed by the frail capacities of man's intellect. The distinction lies in this, which Mr. Newman appears to recognise, but in fact does not: they are developed in, and not by man: they are brought *home* to his inmost soul by the Holy Spirit of God: they are *felt* in the heart, they work upon it, they change it, instead of being merely the words of the lips, the expression of the conceptions of the intellect. Surely this is a mighty difference, affecting not only the argument of Mr. Newman's treatise, but the whole controversy in all time past, present, and future,—between Christ and Antichrist. Failing to perceive this grand truth of Christ's religion, that the faith which realises it is a faith which touches the heart and moves it, too powerfully to be resisted, to good and holy deeds, to an unflinching service of its Master in heaven, men have missed the real goodness of the tidings of great joy. The latter has

killed them, because they have neglected the life-giving Spirit. From this one fruitful source of misapprehension has arisen every possible kind of perversion, or, as Mr. Newman would say, development. The one key to all Scripture mysteries is the great principle of justification by faith. This once lost sight of, all becomes dark and vague, and either measureless, or pregnant with false and mischievous meaning. All Scripture, formerly so harmonious that each author and each passage, and almost each text fitted into and explained the other, becomes at once a string of contradictions, requiring man's subtle devices to reconcile and bring it into order. And hence arise all those developments, of which Romanism presents us with one system, Arianism with another, Socinianism and the like with yet another. We would not be thought harsh or indiscriminate in bringing these various heresies together. Doubtless they differ much in magnitude and in danger; but in this point at least they all agree, that they are human systems, invented to obviate difficulties arising purely from man's misapprehensions; that is, they are developments. And such must be all elucidations of Scripture by the individual intellect, which either add to or take from the plain written word, which are constructed independently of the ruling principles of the Christian doctrine, the analogy or proportion of faith, and which do not proceed from an inward individual perception of that analogy, and its living power in the heart.

We trust we have set this point in its true light, and that our readers will now appreciate at its real value Mr. Newman's argument from the development of Christian doctrines by the individual mind to their development by the Catholic Church. To this second head we would now apply ourselves, and we shall find as little or less difficulty in it than in the first. Let us hear Mr. Newman again :—

" 2. Again, if Christianity be an universal religion, suited not to one locality or period, but to all times and places, it cannot but vary in its relations and dealings towards the world around it, that is, it will develop. Principles require a very various application according to persons and circumstances, and must be thrown into new shapes according to the form of society which they are to influence. Hence all bodies of Christians develop the doctrines of Scripture. Few but will grant that Luther's view of justification had never been stated in words before his time; that his phraseology and his positions were novel, whether called for by circumstances or not. It is equally certain that the doctrine of justification defined at Trent was, in some sense, new also. The refutation and remedy of errors cannot precede their rise; and thus the fact of false developments or corruptions involves the correspondent manifestation of true ones. Moreover, all

"parties appeal to Scripture, that is, argue from Scripture; but argument implies deduction, that is, development. Here there is no difference between early times and late, between a Pope *ex cathedra* and an individual Protestant, except that their authority is not on a par. On either side the claim of authority is the same and the process of development*.

"Accordingly, the common complaint of Protestants against the Church of Rome is, not simply that she has added to the primitive or the Scriptural doctrine, but that she contradicts it, and moreover imposes her additions as fundamental truths under sanction of an *anathema*. For themselves they deduce by quite as subtle a method, and act upon doctrines as implicit and on reasons as little analyzed in time past, as Catholic Schoolmen. What small prominence has the Royal Supremacy in the New Testament, or the lawfulness of bearing arms, or the duty of public worship, or the substitution of the first day of the week for the seventh, or infant baptism, to say nothing of the fundamental principle that the Bible and the Bible only is the religion of Protestants! These doctrines and usages, true or not, which is not the question here, are surely gained, not by a mere exercise of argument upon words and sentences placed before the eyes, but by the unconscious growth of ideas habitual to the mind.

"3. And, indeed, when we turn to the consideration of particular doctrines on which Scripture lays the greatest stress, we shall see that it is absolutely impossible for them to remain in the mere letter of Scripture, if they are to be more than mere words, or to convey a definite idea to the recipient. When it is declared that 'the Word became flesh,' three wide questions open upon us on the very announcement. What is meant by 'the Word,' what by 'flesh,' what by 'became?' The answers to these involve a process of investigation, and are developments. Moreover, when they have been made, they will suggest a series of secondary questions; and thus at length a multitude of propositions is the result, which gather round the inspired sentence of which they come, giving it externally the form of a doctrine, and creating or deepening the idea of it in the mind.

"It is true that, so far as such statements of Scripture are mysteries, they are relatively to us but words, and cannot be developed. But as a mystery implies in part what is incomprehensible, so does it in part imply what is not so; it implies a partial manifestation, or a represent-

* Vid. Proph. Office, vii, where this parallel is insisted on, though with a different object.

"ation by economy. Because then it is in a measure understood, it can so far be developed, though each result in the process will partake of the dimness and confusion of the original impression."—Pp. 96-98.

Now, the point to be kept in view here is, that Mr. Newman evidently and wilfully confounds the development of Christianity, as contained in the Holy Scriptures, in its *application* to the circumstances and case of the times, with its development as a system of truth. The first is a true, a real, a necessary development; the second is false at every step. That phraseology may differ, that truths may be expressed in various terms, according to the reigning philosophical language of the day, is undoubted; and if this be a development of any use to Mr. Newman, he is welcome to the admission. But, in fact, this makes against him, for, as by a known law of the human mind, the language, the speculations, the forms of speech of one age, generally recur at stated intervals, and are reproduced by another; so this boasted development will prove an ever-changing mode of statement, in place of being what Mr. Newman would affirm it to be, a fresh step on the ladder of everlasting truth. We should no more ascend by all our development in this direction, than does a criminal in his never-ceasing mounting on the treadmill. But this is not what Mr. Newman intends. He means, notwithstanding all his specious language about the advance of truth by means of "the slow process of thought, the influence of mind upon mind, the issues of controversy, and the growth of opinion," no less than this: that the Bible does not contain truths, either in form, or in quantity, or in quality, suited for every age, and that, therefore, they must be changed, multiplied, decreased, or modified, according as the wants of the day may appear to suggest. The power to effect all these changes and modifications, we find afterwards to reside, by Christ's appointment, in the Church of Rome. But as this appointment and charge to develop is itself a very remarkable development, we must leave all consideration of it for some future opportunity, when we hope to consider the scheme more in its details. At present we would rather pursue it in its broader outlines. Now, we do not hesitate to say, that the difficulties, which must encounter Mr. Newman in anything like a practical statement of his view, are insuperable. If the developments of which he speaks are merely to suit outward changes, varied natural circumstances, or a new philosophical diction, then they cannot be of any real doctrinal importance, and as such are scarcely worth arguing. If, on the other hand, they involve necessary doctrine, then what becomes of all those who had not the fortune to live in the great ages of development? If salvation be anything real, possessing a true meaning for either God or

man, it must be a certain end produced by certain means; and as God is all-wise and all-powerful, He must have so adapted those means as that they are neither too much nor too little for the end to be attained. And as, again, He is all-good, He would not allow them to be so revealed to man, as that he could not grasp them in the fulness of their essence. It is then manifestly impossible that His will could receive any development which should affect its character as a mode of salvation. It might be more systematised, and we know that heretical attacks required this, but this of itself does not answer to Mr. Newman's view of development. Nothing new could be added, nothing fresh elicited, nothing old removed, which could in any way affect the salvation of men, except at the risk of impugning the wisdom, the power, and the goodness of the Almighty Author of all Scripture. We say this fearlessly, because it is self-evident that so it is; and we apply it to the argument before us confidently, because we know that it must overthrow it.

It is true that Mr. Newman asserts, that all just developments of Christian truth have their germ in Scripture and the primitive Fathers; but he acknowledges that this germ is sometimes invisible, except by the aid of authoritative interpretations of the Church. Every one who has read his works will have perceived at once how practically false his assertion is; how he sometimes distorts Scripture, and more often omits all allusion to it whatever, when he is about to establish the main perversions of the corrupt Church to which he has allied himself. To prove the first portion of this, as to the distorted quotations from Scripture in favour of the chief dogmas of Rome, we need only quote the following passage of concentrated error:—

"It may be added that, in matter of fact, all the definitions or received judgments of the early and medieval Church rest upon definite, even though sometimes obscure sentences of Scripture. Thus Purgatory may appeal to the 'saving by fire,' and 'entering through much tribulation into the kingdom of God;' the communication of the merits of the saints to our 'receiving a prophet's reward' for 'receiving a prophet in the name of a prophet,' and 'a righteous man's reward' for 'receiving a righteous man in the name of a righteous man;' the Real Presence to 'This is My Body;' Absolution to 'Whosoever sins ye remit, they are remitted;' Extreme Unction to 'Anointing him with oil in the Name of the Lord;' Voluntary poverty to 'Sell all that thou hast;' obedience to 'He was in subjection to His parents;' the honour paid to creatures, animate or inanimate, to *Laudate Dominum in sanctis Ejus*, and *Adorate scabellum pedum Ejus*, and so of the rest."—P. 112.

In truth, the state of the whole matter is so plain, that we are almost ashamed of the ostentation of parading it; that while it is quite clear that Christianity, as a polity, can lawfully accommodate itself to the circumstances and wants of nations, (as our own Church at the present day, by her system of lay agents in England, and catechists in the colonies), so it is equally clear, that even in this she may not go beyond her charter, by giving to men authority which Christ never gave, nor by taking away that which the same sole author of power has clearly imparted. Thus, a true Church of Christ knows nothing of sacrificing priests, or infallible popes, but it can as little give up the authority which the Lord committed to the ministry of his word. Again, while it is clear, that a Christian Church may suit the language in which it declares the doctrine of the Gospel, to the understanding of the people with whom it deals, it may not tamper with the Word committed to its trust, so far as to change one jot or tittle of that which was once delivered to it. There would be but one ground for admitting such a power, and that would be the express authority of the Scriptures themselves. Mr. Newman is not so blind to the necessity of producing such an authority as entirely to neglect it, but we need scarcely say how miserably he fails in his attempt. We give it, together with his own sum of all his previous argument on "the probability of development in Christianity:"—

"7. Lastly, while Scripture nowhere recognises itself, or asserts the inspiration of those portions which are most essential, it distinctly anticipates the development of Christianity, both as a polity and as a doctrine. In one of our Lord's parables 'the kingdom of heaven' is even compared to 'a grain of mustard seed, which a man took and hid in his field; which, indeed, is the least of all seeds, but when it is grown it is the greatest among herbs, and becometh a tree,' and, as St. Mark words it, 'shooteth out great branches, so that the birds of the air come and lodge in the branches thereof.' And, again, in the same chapter of St. Mark, 'So is the kingdom of God, as if a man should cast seed into the ground, and should sleep, and rise night and day, and the seed should spring and grow up, he knoweth not how; for the earth bringeth forth fruit of herself.' Here an internal element of life, whether principle or doctrine, is spoken of rather than any mere external manifestation; and it is observable that the spontaneous, as well as the gradual character of the growth is intimated. This description of the process corresponds to what has been above observed respecting development, viz., that it is not an effect of wishing and resolving, or of forced enthusiasm, or of any mechanism of

“ reasoning, or of any mere subtlety of intellect ; but comes of its own
 “ innate power of expansion within the mind in its season, though with
 “ the use of reflection and argument and original thought, more or less
 “ as it may happen, with a dependance on the ethical growth of the
 “ mind itself, and with a reflex influence upon it. Again, the Parable
 “ of the Leaven describes the development of doctrine in another re-
 “ spect, in its active, engrossing, and assimilating power.

“ From the necessity, then, of the case, from the history of all sects
 “ and parties in religion, and from the analogy and example of Scrip-
 “ ture, we may fairly conclude that Christian doctrine admits of formal,
 “ legitimate, and true developments, or of developments contemplated by
 “ its Divine Author.

“ The general analogy of the world, physical and moral, confirms this
 “ conclusion, as we are reminded by the great authority who has already
 “ been quoted in the course of this Section. ‘ The whole natural world
 “ ‘ and government of it,’ says Butler, ‘ is a scheme or system ; not a
 “ ‘ fixed, but a progressive one ; a scheme in which the operation of
 “ ‘ various means takes up a great length of time before the ends they
 “ ‘ tend to can be obtained. The change of seasons, the ripening of
 “ ‘ the fruits of the earth, the very history of a flower is an instance of
 “ ‘ this ; and so in human life. Thus vegetable bodies, and those of
 “ ‘ animals, though possibly formed at once, yet grow up by degrees to
 “ ‘ a mature state. And thus rational agents, who animate these latter
 “ ‘ bodies, are naturally directed to form each his own manners and
 “ ‘ character, by the gradual gaining of knowledge and experience, and
 “ ‘ by a long course of action. Our existence is not only successive,
 “ ‘ as it must be of necessity, but one state of our life and being is ap-
 “ ‘ pointed by God to be a preparation for another ; and that, to be the
 “ ‘ means of attaining to another succeeding one, infancy to childhood,
 “ ‘ childhood to youth, youth to mature age. Men are impatient, and
 “ ‘ for precipitating things ; but the Author of Nature appears delibe-
 “ ‘ rate throughout his operations, accomplishing his natural ends by
 “ ‘ slow successive steps. And there is a plan of things beforehand
 “ ‘ laid out, which, from the nature of it, requires various systems
 “ ‘ of means, as well as length of time, in order to the carrying on its
 “ ‘ several parts into execution. Thus, in the daily course of natural
 “ ‘ providence, God operates in the very same manner as in the dis-
 “ ‘ pensation of Christianity, making one thing subservient to another ;
 “ ‘ this, to somewhat further ; and so on, through a progressive series
 “ ‘ of means, which extend, both backward and forward, beyond our
 “ ‘ utmost view. Of this manner of operation, everything we see in the

“‘course of nature is as much an instance as any part of the Christian
“‘dispensation.’”—Pp. 112—114.

It is quite evident to every unprejudiced mind, that in the passages of Scripture quoted in support of the theory of development, it is the extension of the kingdom of Christ over the hearts of men which is spoken of, and not any extension or explanation of Christian doctrine. Taking then the argument, as stated by Mr. Newman himself, we would first, from “the necessity of the case,” declare the impossibility of developments in his sense of the word. For He, without whose gracious declaration of His eternal will we should have been in hopeless darkness, would not have mocked us with a revelation, many of the most important features of which were left to human subtlety and ingenuity to explain and draw out. Secondly, from “the history of all sects
“and parties in religion” we find that, whenever men have once failed in implicit reverence to the will of God as declared in his holy Word, they have per force been led to develope, *i. e.*, to explain away every portion of it which militated against their perverseness. And therefore, from this view of the case, we can only connect development with error and perversion. And, thirdly, “from the analogy and example of Scripture” we may fairly conclude, and, without fear of reasonable contradiction, assert, that Christian doctrine admits of no development whatsoever, in the sense of the word as employed by Mr. Newman; that it has been fully developed for all generations in the Word of God; and that all that remains for us to do, is to strive to apply it with power to the souls of ourselves and our brethren. Without such personal application, all doctrine is useless; with it, it needs no human development: like the leaven of the parable, it will spread within us, assuaging passion, lowering pride, exciting love to God, until it has leavened the whole lump.

CLERICAL CELIBACY.

IN his "Sights and Thoughts on Foreign Churches and Peoples," Mr. F. Faber has introduced his Middle Age man (we beg pardon—his very old Mediæval friend) as urging nineteen reasons for Clerical Celibacy. And Mr. F. does not adduce nineteen in opposition. Neither shall we; not one; for whatever some bachelors may suppose, and other bachelors profess to think upon the subject,—the married clergyman is content to know that for any number of reasons adduced by men—by any men—on that side of the question,—at least the same number with a nought at the end of it might be brought forward by any one whom the All-wise should make "the man of his counsel" and instruct in the mysteries of his designs. He made marriage the *first* relation between the beings whom he endued with a reasoning immortal soul. He was under no necessity to do this. He might have created two men to place in Paradise, and left the creation of the woman till disobedience had lost them Eden. The first relation had then been that of brothers. It would be an insult to the reason of man to suppose seriously that his sex has pride enough to fancy the sin would not then have entered into Paradise. Or the Almighty might have created the woman first. And as the ages of the dispensation of one redemption have been opened by the miracle of a Virgin Mother, so might the ages of the demonstration of our insufficiency have been opened by a similar one. The first relation of the human being might have been that of mother and son. It would have demanded no more power to be put forth than the calling forth the great world of worlds from nothing—for it would have demanded no more than the moulding of the little world of Man out of the dust. But it was not to be so. This was to be the earliest relation. And man was to leave the parent for the wife. The Word who made him and who became flesh and dwelt among us, hath neither enjoined nor recommended to any class of his disciples the peculiar spirit which would here hold itself aloof from and above that nature which He blessed in Paradise. It is written above that no counter reason to those urged for clerical celibacy will here be sought or urged. Let it not be supposed this is done. The counter reasons are in the bosom of the All-wise Father; him who said to Job, "*Who is*

"this that darkeneth counsel by words without knowledge?
"Where wast thou when I laid the foundations of the earth?
"Who hath put wisdom in the inward parts? or who hath given under-
"standing to the heart? Shall he that contendeth with the
"Almighty instruct him? he that reproveth God, let him answer it."
 Far better it is for man, when he can abstain from fancying himself to be "wise above what is written." His purity is, to reply like Job—*"Behold, I am vile; what shall I answer thee?"* In adopting from heathendom—and, as usual, exaggerating still higher—a reverence for vows of celibacy, the proud Church which has called herself Christendom has brought herself under the whirlwind of Jehovah's next "demand" from Job, *"Wilt thou also disannul my judgment? wilt thou condemn Me, that thou mayest be righteous?"* These being the parties opposed—nineteen or ninety reasons may well be answered by counter-reasonings. The purpose of our paper is simply to illustrate all arguments for clerical celibacy—constrained or recommended by authority of course we mean—by one broad fact—the mode in which Mr. F. Faber's "infallible Church" maintains her infallibility on a point she has once decided. Facts are enough to shew the inevitable inconsistency of her consistency and impurity of her boasted purity. Our pen has simply been taken in hand to refer to Stephens's Central America (v. ii, p. 114) and present the following extract.

The traveller, at a *Bullfight*, sits between a padre and a lady. A storm comes on. "A *matador de cochizos* extended his poncho over my head, and escorted me to the house where I made a great discovery which everybody in the village knew except myself. The lady whom I had supposed to be as *Señorita* was a *comprometida*, or compromised, or to speak plainly she was the *compagnera* of the padre who sat on the other side of me. I have omitted to mention that a great change, or, as it is sometimes called, a new reformation is now going on in Yucatan; not like the reformations got up by disorderly laymen which have at times convulsed the whole Christian world, but peculiar and local, and touching only the domestic relations of the padres. It may be known to many of my readers that in the early ages of the Catholic Church priests were not forbidden to marry. In process of time the Pope to wean them from worldly ties enjoined celibacy and separation when marriage had already taken place. The priest resisted, and struggled and threatened to undermine the whole fabric of Church government: but the Pope persevered and for eight centuries throughout those countries in which the spiritual domination of Rome was acknowledged, no priest has been allowed to marry. But in Yucatan

" this burden was found too heavy to be borne. Very early from the
" necessity growing out of local position some special indulgences had
" been granted to the people of this country, among which was a dis-
" pensation for eating meat on fast days; and under the liberal spirit
" of this bull or some other that I am not aware of, the good padres
" have relaxed considerably the tightness of the cord that binds them to
" celibacy. I am about making a delicate and curious communication.
" It may be considered an ill-natured attack on the Catholic Church;
" but, as I feel innocent of any such intention, this does not trouble me.
" But another consideration does. I have a strong liking to the padres.
" I have received from them nothing but kindness, and, wherever I have
" met with them, have found friends. I mean barely to mention the
" subject and pass on; though I am afraid that by this preface I am
" only calling more particular attention to it. I would omit it altoge-
" ther, but it forms so striking a feature in the state of society in that
" country that no picture can be complete without it. Without further
" preface then I mention, but only for the private ear of the reader,
" that, except at Merida and Campeachy, where they are more immedi-
" ately under the eyes of the Bishop, the padres throughout Yucatan to
" relieve the tedium of conventual life have compa  eras, or, as they
" are sometimes called, Hermanas politicas or sisters in law: or, to
" speak with the precision I particularly aim at, the proportion of those
" who have to those who have not is about as the proportion, in a well-
" regulated community, of married to unmarried men. I have not told
" the worst. The greatest enemy of the padres cannot say more. I
" do not express any opinion of my own on this matter, but may remark
" that with the people of the country it is no impeachment of the padre's
" character, and does not impair its usefulness. Some look upon this ar-
" rangement as a little irregular, but in general it is regarded only as an
" amiable weakness; and I am safe in saying that it is considered a re-
" commendation to a village padre, as it is supposed to give him settled
" habits, as marriage does with laymen; and to give my own honest
" opinion, which I did not intend to do, it is less injurious to general
" morality than the by no means uncommon consequences of celibacy
" which are found in some other Catholic countries. The padre in
" Yucatan stands in the position of a married man, and performs all the
" duties pertaining to the head of a family. Persons of what is con-
" sidered respectable standing in villages do not shun left-hand mar-
" riages with padres. Still it was to us always a matter of regret to
" meet with individuals of worth, and whom one could not help esteem-
" ing, standing in what could not but be considered a false position. To

“ return to the case with which I set out. The padre in question was “ universally spoken of as a man of good conduct, a sort of pattern “ padre for correct steady habits, sedate, grave, and middle-aged, and “ apparently the last man to have had an eye for a pretty campagnera. “ The only comment I ever heard made was upon his good fortune, and “ on that point he knows my opinion.”

The same creditable custom is repeatedly afterwards referred to by this traveller. In spite of his lively style we would willingly have spared ourselves the transcription of this passage—and for our own parts had been well content to have given in an abridgement the simple statement of the facts. But we feel, that, in spite of the tone of levity indulged, the author's own words picture most seriously the results upon the spirit, both of strangers and of her own people and of her own ministers, which result from the dilemma into which that Church has run, —which boasts not only of infallibility—but of the mark of **SANCTITY**. If every one of her Saints Canonised had really been a wonder worker, as by her own infallible rule of canonisation each must be avouched to be—nay, more and better, if every one were really a Saint in the sense wherein the term is used in God's own word,—the mark of the Church herself could not be the mark of sanctity, so long as her own decree is the source of this polluted stream. Can we wonder that casuistry in such a Church has had its name pass into a byword? Can we read with surprise that the works of Azorius, Sanchez, Lers, Laynann, Filiucci, Tamburini, and others of their order were obliged to be interdicted by the Pope himself? that the Index of prohibited books was swelled by the insertion of the Moral Theology of Baunius?—that Baunius of whom another Jesuit, Haller, said, as was said of Diana of Palermo by Lobkowitz, Abbot of Mont Serrat, in a blaspheming but bitter jest, “ Behold the man who taketh away the sins of the world.’ The art of diluting every sin into a seeming weakness—and of exalting this in certain cases into a seeming virtue has been perfected. Sin after sin vanishes; but the sin which cannot be hid is that of doing away sin by such processes as these. Paul wisely predicted to young Timothy (1 Tim. iv, 3) the nature of that delusion which in these latter days is before our eyes misleading the young and imaginative.

THE PROTECTOR.

Oliver Cromwell's Letters and Speeches, with Elucidations. By Thomas Carlyle. 2 vols. 8vo. London: Chapman & Hall. 1846.

THERE are few men, even in the present times, who are calculated to sit down and calmly review the proceedings of past ages, so as to give to posterity an impartial narrative of facts without distortion or unfairness. Prejudice seems natural to man, and it is scarcely to be anticipated that much history will be written without bias towards extreme or party opinions. It is thus in the volumes before us; they are a valuable addition from original sources to the extant histories of the last years of the reign of Charles I, of the Commonwealth, and of the Protectorate; but their usefulness is much impaired by the attempt of Mr. Carlyle to make his hero almost more than man, and to defend every action of his life as arising solely from the most excellent intentions, and the purest motives. If historians, who have preceded him on this subject, have gone to extremes in the opposite direction, the lesson, presented to him by their manifest errors and inconsistencies, has been altogether lost, inasmuch as he travels in the old beaten track, and, though with an evident desire to be considered as an impartial witness in favour of Cromwell, yet he has marred his design by the frequent extravagant apologies he has offered for the deeds of the man, which hitherto have been regarded (in some instances, perhaps, too unfavourably) as positive crimes. The appearance of the present volumes is a step, however, towards the construction of a future history of the commotions which England saw in the seventeenth century. Thus far they are most useful, since they will serve as landmarks, by which a more experienced navigator will direct his course and save him much labour in searching out facts and dates by which he may steer. No man would have been better calculated to accomplish this work than Mr. Carlyle, had he been able to approach his subject with impartiality. There is a nervousness in his style of writing, which, albeit it is not always of the plainest, is yet calculated to lay hold upon the attention of readers of the most common capacity: there is even an attractiveness in its very strangeness, although now and then it savours too much of the high-flown ideal and vapid style of some German writers; yet a man of the meanest compre-

hension cannot rise from the perusal of a page of any of Mr. Carlyle's books, without affirming that he has met with a writer of giant intellect, of clear discrimination, and of extraordinary power. But if he expects to find always a sound judgment in connexion with these great capabilities for authorship, he will be disappointed, and more frequently will read on merely to amuse his mind than with any hope or expectation that he will extract information, which shall be so nicely balanced and adjusted as to improve his judgment, and to expand his usefulness as a Christian citizen. We hold the opinion that the study of historical events will be of little use or effect, unless it be commenced and continued upon this principle; and that all narratives, which fall short in this respect, are comparatively useless. In this view, Clarendon's History of the Rebellion must ever be considered as one of the most important books in English literature, and a thorough acquaintance with his writings will do more to form the character of the student, and to improve his judgment, than any work of Mr. Carlyle's on which we have as yet fallen. He had his party views, it is true, mixed up as he had been with the events of the times in which he lived; and having taken part with the Stuarts, and having acted as the adviser of Charles I, it was not probable but that his bias would be towards the party he had stood by when falling, and to which he held through evil report and good report till he died. Of course, his adhesion in this quarter could do nothing else than prejudice him against the Puritans and their proceedings; but "he had the head of a great man," and withal, he has ever had the credit of having had the heart of a just man; and, consequently, he is more free from the accusation of eulogising his own party at the expense of truth, than many of those who have given a detail of the events of those spirit-stirring times. It has, however, been an evident object with Clarendon and others, who have followed him, to represent Oliver Cromwell in as an unfavourable light as possible to posterity; and through this intention and evident determination, his character has doubtless been as needlessly as it has been severely impugned respecting circumstances, which could never warrant the abuse that has been launched out against him, and by which all his deeds have been more or less misinterpreted and misrepresented as the invariable offspring of a sordid and wicked hypocrisy, rather than as the effects of necessity and not of choice.

Mr. Carlyle has come to the consideration of his subject, burning with indignation against those, who have preceded him in delineating the character of the Protector. As they have erred on the one side, so has he fallen into the same mistake on the other; so, throughout his labours, his language is constantly that of an individual who, having

been excited by the hostility of those who have attempted to portray the character of Cromwell, has rushed to the opposite extreme of overstatement and laudation, with a view to extricate him from the mass of inconsistencies with which he has been unnecessarily charged. In many points he has laboured successfully to place his character in a more favourable light than that which we have been accustomed to look upon it. Certainly, he shews, that Cromwell could not have been the positive hypocrite he has ever been accused of being. No man could have penned the letters, which form the substance of each of the volumes before us, but one who had learned the truth. Many of the actions of this great man were most evidently as totally opposed to the mind and intent of the Almighty as light is opposed to darkness, or as heat is to cold, but, throughout his career, he had evidently the *fear* of God before him, and he felt that he was commissioned to do his will. Mr. Carlyle's efforts in this respect are invaluable: he makes the man speak for himself; he puts before his reader letter after letter, in which he acknowledges the hand of God in the result of the battles he fought, and in the wonderful deliverances which were wrought out for him and his army; and we cannot, for our own part, believe that hypocrisy could ever reach such a point, as habitually and constantly to dissimulate with such nicety as never to fail of convincing that the writer was in earnest. That he was self-deceived, we can easily imagine. The best of men are not free from this taint of their natural corruption; and there is not an instance upon record, of an individual, of the highest possible Christian attainments, who has not himself had, or his friend for him, to lament that he has constantly been subject to the delusions which the vanity of his heart has created to ensnare and overcome him. We rise from the perusal of these volumes, with the belief that Cromwell was imbued with a spirit of true religion. The excesses of his army were often fearful, but it would be absurd to hold him answerable for them; and of this we are sure, without attempting to apologise for the faults of the man, that England never prospered more than whilst it was under his iron yoke, and that popery never had received a more severe blow than he dealt it; that Ireland never had greater prospect of deliverance from the trammels of its foe, and of becoming tranquillised, than when he held the reins of power. However we may differ from the views which he entertained,—however incorrect we must hold his theory to have been,—however we must regret the most fearful act of his life, that of urging the death of Charles I, and of hurrying it on with indecent haste,—yet it is now, thanks to Mr. Carlyle, impossible to maintain the long cherished idea that he was a professed dissimulator, and a thoroughly bad man; and, therefore, (to use the words of an able co-

temporary *, with whose views on this and many other subjects we find ourselves frequently coinciding),

“To have removed from his portrait much that disfigured and marred its true expression, was a task well worth undertaking; and, on the whole, we regard Mr. Carlyle as very successful in his generous enterprise. It lessens the value of his work but little, that he chooses to express himself in language of unmeasured praise, of what he calls the last noble heroism that earth has witnessed, the Puritanism of England in the seventeenth century; and that he regards Cromwell as gloriously embodying and personifying that strange ‘manifestation of the Godlike,’ because Mr. Carlyle, by exceptions and qualifications, soon shews that what he means by Puritanism is something very different from what any other man, either in the days of Cromwell or our own, has ever called Puritanism, and because—allowing him to give his own meaning to the word—he has the rare merit of redeeming himself from any participation in the views which he ascribes to his hero. We admire the earnestness with which our author vindicates all that is good—with which he contends for what he calls ‘the reign of God against the reign of the No-God, whom men call ‘devil;’ but when he adds, that this is ‘what all true men in their several dialects and modes have always striven for,’ he assuredly adds a proposition in which no one of his admired Puritans would agree; in other words, what he praises as Puritanism, is what all articulately speaking men, and what the Puritans themselves who did not speak articulately, have in their several moods and dialects hitherto declined to call by that name. With respect to Cromwell and the Puritans, we believe in their earnestness and sincerity—we believe, too, that, for the most part, like earnest and sincere men of our own, and of all times, they meant when they spoke to express thoughts which were passing through their minds, and not to play a game of painted words, which might be regarded as a substitute for thoughts. But they, like other earnest men, often wished to awaken feeling, rather than to communicate thought; and then like the Irvingites and other professors of the Babylonish, they used for this purpose the instrumentality of words alone. At an early stage of such a professor’s career, it is easy to imagine much self-deception; then comes a shrewd adaptation of means to ends; and any material addition of thoughts would but diminish the magical effect of words. It would not be merely a useless squandering of a description of wealth at no time very abundant, but would be positively mischievous.”

There is another matter to which we feel ourselves called to allude,

before we enter upon the further examination of Mr. Carlyle's volumes, upon which we cannot but congratulate him most heartily. In almost every one of his former productions we have had continually to lament the evident want of knowledge on his part that all things are overruled by a superintending Providence, and that nothing cometh of chance, as well as the lamentable deficiency he has ever manifested when he has touched upon the deep mysteries of religious truth. At times we have been led to entertain the notion that his views were not only obscure, but that they were the outpourings of a mind much misled by infidel principles. We could point to many passages as proofs in his book called "Past and Present," which throughout is spoiled by gross inconsistencies, which could not have arisen but from a manifest ignorance of Divine knowledge.

If Mr. Carlyle came to his present subject with the continuance of the ideas which caused him to hazard sentences of such doubtful construction, that subject has been of incalculable benefit, not only to his mind, but to his soul. The strain in which he writes is far opposite to any thing we have yet met with from his pen. We now find that he acknowledges "doubtless there is a God that judgeth the earth;" and whether he has learned this, and deeper things, which we cannot but fancy he has, from the contemplation of the life and character of Cromwell, or not, it is an augury of a happier state of things for himself, and of much greater utility to his readers at large. For what may not such a mind as his effect, whose powers are of such a character that they may be mighty either for good or for evil. We do not think that a few months since Mr. Carlyle would have written such a passage as the following, which we find (Vol. 2, p. 38) in connexion with the narrative of the Protector's course of action previously to the battle of Dunbar, A.D. 1650, and which we think corroborative of the change our author's sentiments have undergone:—

"And so the soldiers stand to their arms all night; being upon an engagement very difficult indeed. The night is cold and wet;—2nd of September means 12th by our calendar. The harvest-moon wades deep among clouds of sleet and hail. Whoever has a heart for prayer, let him pray now, for the wrestle of death is at hand. Pray—and withal keep his powder dry! and be ready for extremities, and quit himself like a man! Thus they pass the night, making the Dunbar peninsula and Brock rivulet long memorable to me. We English have some tents; the Scots have none. The hoarse sea moans bodeful, swinging low and heavy against those whinstone bays: the sea and the tempest are abroad: all else asleep but we. And *there is One that rides on the wings of the wind.*"

We might select many other passages even of a stronger character

than this, which we have taken up cursorily, but we must hasten on to give some account, from the materials to our hand, of the life and character of Mr. Carlyle's hero.

" Oliver Cromwell was born at Huntingdon in April, 1599, and was the fifth of a family of ten children. His father's family was descended from Thomas Cromwell, Earl of Essex in Henry the Eighth's time. His mother, Elisabeth Stewart, claimed kindred with the royal house of Scotland. ' Uncontradicted tradition, and old printed royalist ' lampoons,' says Mr. Carlyle, ' call his father a brewer. The brook ' of Hinchin, running through his premises, offered clear conveniences ' for malting or brewing; in regard to which, and also to his wife's ' assiduous management of the same, one is very willing to believe ' tradition. The essential trade of Robert Cromwell was that of man- ' aging those lands of his in the vicinity of Huntingdon; the grain of ' them would have to be duly harvested, thrashed, brought to market : ' whether it was as corn or malt that it came to market can remain ' indifferent to us.'

" The family was of the rank of substantial gentry, and duly connected with such in the counties round for three generations back. Robert had sat in Parliament, and there seems to have been but little truth in the royalist jokes that speak loweringly of the family. This question of gentry would, in most circumstances, be of small moment, so many are the avenues by which men of real talent emerge to their natural position in society. In Cromwell's case it is of more moment, as the early bias of his mind might be expected to lean towards royalty, from the devoted affection of the elder branch of his family to their princes. Sir Henry, the golden knight, as he was called, the grandfather of Oliver, had inherited, under a patent of Henry the Eighth, the lands of Hinchinbrook. It was a suppressed priory of Benedictine Nuns, founded by William the Conqueror; and here, on her return from visiting the University of Cambridge, Queen Elizabeth did the gallant knight the honour of sleeping on the 18th of August, 1564. In the year 1603 the old knight died, and the priory descended to Sir Oliver, the uncle of the future Protector, now a boy of four years old. In this year came King James to take possession of his English throne. It was a gay and strange process; and had we time, it would delight us to transcribe some of its most remarkable scenes from the old tract, giving what is called ' A True Relation of the Entertainment of his Royal Majesty.' It was, in truth, a joyous progress. The king, coming to his English crown, thought the wealth which was to come with his inheritance absolutely unlimited, and there seems to have been no restraint what-

“ever on the royal expenditure. Wherever he came, numbers of all ranks crowded to welcome him. From one nobleman's seat to another the progress assumed, for the most part, the joyous glitter and bustle of a hunting excursion.

“Wherever he went, the sons of the gentry came, and—perhaps it was felt as a grievance, for the fees were heavy—had to bear the honour or the burthen of knighthood. On the 27th of April, the king removed from Burleigh, the seat of the Cecils, to Sir Oliver Cromwell's; and on his way, let us record, that he dined at that worthy and worshipful knight, Sir Arthur Mildmay's. The dinner was a good one. ‘Every thing was most delicious for taste, proved more delicate by the art that made it seem beauteous to the eye—the lady of the house being one of the most excellent confectioners in England, though I confess many honourable women very expert.’ The visit to Cromwell's seems to have been a scene of more than ordinary ceremony. Wriothesly, Earl of Southampton, who had been found guilty at the same time with the unfortunate Earl of Essex, was, on James's accession, released from the tower, and by a new patent restored to his dignities. He now bore the sword of state before James, as he past ‘to Maister Oliver Cromwell's house, where his majesty and all his followers, with all comers whatsoever, had such entertainment, as the like had not been seen before since his setting forward out of Scotland. There was such plenty and variety of meats, such diversities of wines, and those not rife ruffe, but even the best of the kind; and the cellars open at any man's pleasure. Neither was his provision for the little time of his majesty's stay; but it was made ready fourteen days, and after his highness's departure, distributed to as many as had a mind to it.’”

“The King was visited, whilst at Sir Oliver's, by the heads of the University of Cambridge, who presented to the king a volume of poems, intituled ‘Sorrow's joy,’ in which the grief and gladness of Cambridge were musically expressed for the death of the best of queens, and the accession of the best of kings. Maister Cromwell's gifts to the king were of another kind; they consisted of a fair-wrought standing cup of gold, of goodly horses, fleet and deep-mouthed hounds, divers hawks of excellent wing; and ‘at the remove, he gave fifty pounds amongst his majesty's officers.’”

In the early part of his life Mr. Carlyle represents the youthful Oliver as spending a great portion of his time at his uncle's,—and after combating the history of Heath, as to his early pursuits and habits, brings us to the celebrated Hampton Court Conference, the news of which had reached the house of Cromwell's father.

"In January, 1603-4, was held, at Hampton Court, a kind of Theological Convention, of intense interest all over England, and doubtless at Huntingdon too; now very dimly known, if at all known, as the 'Hampton Court Conference.' It was a meeting for the settlement of some dissentient humours in religion. The Millenary Petition, what we should now call the 'Monster Petition,' for the like in number of signatures was never seen before,—signed by *near* a thousand clergymen, of pious straitened consciences: this and various other petitions to his Majesty, by persons of pious straitened consciences, had been presented; craving relief in some ceremonial points, which, as they found no warrant for them in the Bible, they suspected (with a very natural shudder in that case) to savour of Idol-worship and Mimetic Dramaturgy, instead of God-worship, and to be very dangerous indeed for a man to have concern with! Hampton Court Conference was accordingly summoned. Four world-famous doctors, from Oxford and Cambridge, represented the pious straitened class, now beginning to be generally nicknamed Puritans. The Archbishop, the Bishop of London, also world-famous men, with a considerable reserve of other bishops, deans, and dignitaries, appeared for the Church by itself Church. Lord Chancellor, the renowned Egerton, and the highest official persons, many lords and courtiers, with a tincture of sacred science, in fact the flower of England, appeared as witnesses, with breathless interest. The King himself presided; having real gifts of speech, and being very learned in Theology,—which it was not then ridiculous but glorious for him to be. More glorious than the monarchy of what we now call Literature would be; glorious as the faculty of a Goethe holding *visibly* of Heaven: supreme skill in Theology then meant that. To know God, Θεός, the MAKER,—to know the divine laws and *inner* harmonies of this universe, must always be the highest glory for a man! And not to know them, always the highest disgrace for a man, however common it be!"

With the review, to which we have alluded, we are inclined to think that it was far more probable that young Cromwell was, "according to the old biographers, employed in robbing orchards and hunting for birds' nests, rather than in speculating on the objects or the results, or dreaming even of the arguments by which the king and the controversialists amused each other at Hampton Court Conference."

The next topic Mr. Carlyle proceeds to is that of the Gunpowder Plot, in the following words:—

"In November, 1605, there likewise came to Robert Cromwell's house, no question of it, news of the thrice unutterable Gunpowder Plot, whereby king, parliament, and God's Gospel in England, were to

“ have been, in one infernal moment, blown aloft, and the Devil's gospel
 “ and accursed incredibilities, idolatries, and poisonous confusions of the
 “ Romish Babylon substituted in their room!—the eternal truth of the
 “ living God to become an empty formula, a shamming grimace of the
 “ three-hatted chimera! These things did fill Huntingdon and Robert
 “ Cromwell's house with talk enough in the winter of Oliver's sixth year.
 “ And again, in the summer of his eleventh year, in May 1610, there
 “ doubtless failed not news and talk, how the great Henry was stabbed
 “ in Paris streets, assassinated by the Jesuits—black sons of the scarlet
 “ woman, murderous to soul and to body.

“ Other things, in other years, the diligent historical student will supply according to faculty. The history of Europe at that epoch meant essentially the struggle of Protestantism against Catholicism—a broader form of that same struggle of devout Puritanism against dignified Ceremonialism, which forms the history of England then. Henry the Fourth of France, so long as he lived, was still to be regarded as the head of Protestantism; Spain, bound up with the Austrian Empire, as that of Catholicism. Henry's 'grand scheme' naturally strove to carry Protestant England along with it; James, till Henry's death, held on in a loose way by Henry, and his political history, so far as he has any, may be considered to lie there. After Henry's death, he fell off to 'Spanish Infantas,' to Spanish interests, and, as it were, ceased to have any history, nay, began to have a *negative* one.

“ Among the events which historical students will supply for Robert Cromwell's house, and the spiritual pabulum of young Oliver, the death of Prince Henry in 1612, and the prospective accession of Prince Charles, fitter for a ceremonial archbishop than a governing king, as some thought, will not be forgotten. Then how the elector palatine was married; and troubles began to brew in Germany; and little Dr. Laud was made Archdeacon of Huntingdon; such news the historical student can supply. And on the whole, all students and persons can know always that Oliver's mind was kept *full* of news, and never wanted for pabulum. But from the day of his birth, which is jotted down, as above, in the parish register of St. John's, Huntingdon, there is no other authentic jotting or direct record concerning Oliver himself to be met with anywhere, till in Sidney-Sussex College, Cambridge, we come to this—

1616.

“ ‘ *A Festo Annunciationis, 1616. Oliverius Cromwell Huntingdoniensis ad comneatum Sociorum, Aprilis vicesimo tertio* ;
 “ ‘ *Tutore Magistro Ricardo Howlet* : Oliver Cromwell from Hunting-

" 'don, admitted here 23rd April, 1616; tutor, Mr. Richard How-
 " 'let.' "

" Curious enough," adds Mr. Carlyle, " of all days, on this same day
 " Shakspeare, as his stone monument still testifies, at Stratford-on-
 " Avon, died—

" ' *Obiit Anno Domini 1616.*

" ' *Ætatis 58. Die 23 Apr.*'

" While Oliver Cromwell was entering himself of Sidney-Sussex College,
 " William Shakspeare was taking his farewell of this world. Oliver's
 " father had, most likely, come with him; it is but twelve miles from
 " Huntingdon; you can go and come in a day. Oliver's father saw
 " Oliver write in the album at Cambridge: at Stratford, Shakspeare's
 " Ann Hathaway was weeping over his bed. The first world-great
 " thing that remains of English history, the literature of Shakspeare,
 " was ending; the second world-great thing that remains of English
 " history, the armed appeal of Puritanism to the invisible God of heaven
 " against many very visible devils, on earth and elsewhere, was, so to
 " speak, beginning. They have their exits and their entrances. And
 " one people in its time plays many parts.

" Chevalier Florian, in his *Life of Cervantes*, has remarked that Shak-
 " speare's death-day, 23rd April, 1616, was likewise that of Cervantes
 " at Madrid. 'Twenty-third of April' is, sure enough, the authentic
 " Spanish date: but Chevalier Florian has omitted to notice that the
 " English twenty-third is of *old style*. The brave Miguel died ten
 " days before Shakspeare, and already lay buried, smoothed right
 " nobly into long rest. The historical student can meditate on these
 " things."

" Oliver's tutor in Cambridge, of whom legible history and I know
 " nothing, was 'Magister Richard Howlet,' whom readers must fancy a
 " grave ancient Puritan and scholar, in dark antiquarian clothes and
 " dark antiquarian ideas, according to their faculty. The indubitable
 " fact is, that he, Richard Howlet, did, in Sidney-Sussex College, with
 " his best ability, endeavour to infiltrate something that he called instruc-
 " tion into the soul of Oliver Cromwell and of other youths submitted
 " to him; but how, of what quality, with what method, with what result
 " will remain extremely obscure to every one. In spite of mountains of
 " books, so are books written, all grows very obscure. About this same
 " date, George Ratcliffe, Wentworth Strafford's George, at Oxford, finds
 " his green-baize table cover, which his mother had sent him, too small,
 " has it cut into 'stockings,' and goes about with the same. So un-
 " fashionable were young gentleman commoners. Queen Elizabeth was
 " the first person in this country who ever wore knit stockings."

In the year 1617 Oliver's father died, and he became head of the household at Huntingdon, and he goes for a while to London. No record remains to shew how Cromwell spent the next three years; Noble says, he was entered of Lincoln's Inn; but neither the books of this or Gray's Inn, which, Mr. Carlyle asserts, have been searched, make any mention of his having entered therein as a law student. Mr. Carlyle thinks it probable that, during the time of his residence in town, he might have witnessed the last "great and very strange scene" in the life of Sir Walter Raleigh, who was beheaded in Old Palace Yard, Oct. 29, 1618, and "that it is conceivable enough that he would not want for reflections on it."

Oliver about this time became "a visitor in Sir James Bouchier's town residence. Sir James Bouchier, knight, a civic gentleman, not connected at all with the old Bouchiers Earls of Essex, says my heraldic friend, but seemingly come of city merchants rather, who, by some of their quarterings and cognizances, appear to have been 'furriers,' says he:—Like enough. Not less but more important, it appears this Sir James Bouchier was a man of some opulence, and had daughters; had a daughter Elizabeth, not without charms for the youthful heart. Moreover he had landed property near Felsted in Essex, where his usual residence was. Felsted, where there is still a kind of school, or free-school, which was of more note in those days than now. That Oliver visited in Sir James's in town or elsewhere, we discover with great certainty by the next written record of him," viz. the marriage registers of St. Giles's church, Cripplegate; wherein it may still be read—(August 1620),

" ' Oliver Cromwell to Elizabeth Bourcher. 22.' "

He was but twenty-one years and four months old on this his wedding-day, and then returned to Huntingdon to superintend the farming of his estates, and to provide for his widowed mother. Soon after this Oliver Cromwell fell into a melancholy frame of mind, which is thus related by Mr. Carlyle:—

" In those days it must be that Dr. Simcott, physician in Huntingdon, had to do with Oliver's hypochondriac maladies. He told Sir Philip Warwick, unluckily supplying no date, or none that has survived, ' he had often been sent for at midnight.' Mr. Cromwell for many years was very 'splenetic' (spleen-struck); often thought he was just about to die, and also 'had fancies about the Town Cross.' Brief intimation, of which the reflective reader may make a great deal. Samuel Johnson, too, had hypochondrias; all great souls are apt to have, and to be in thick darkness generally, till the eternal ways and the celestial guiding-stars disclose themselves, and the vague abyss of life knit

“ itself up into firmaments for them. Temptations in the wilderness, choices of Hercules, and the like, in succinet or loose form, are appointed for every man that will assert a soul in himself and be a man. Let Oliver take comfort in his dark sorrows and melancholies. The quantity of sorrow he has, does it not mean withal the quantity of *sympathy* he has, the quantity of faculty and victory he shall yet have? ‘ Our sorrow is the inverted image of our nobleness.’ The depth of our despair measures what capability and height of claim we have to hope. Black smoke as that of Tophet filling all your universe, it can yet by true heart-energy become *flame*, and brilliancy of heaven. Courage!

“ It is therefore in these years, undated by history, that we must place Oliver’s clear recognition of Calvinistic Christianity, what he, with unspeakable joy, would name his conversion—his deliverance from the jaws of eternal death. Certainly a grand epoch for a man; properly the one epoch; the turning point which guides upwards or guides downwards him and his activity for evermore. Wilt thou join with the dragons; wilt thou join with the gods? Of thee too the question is asked—whether by a man in Geneva gown, by a man in ‘ four surplices at Allhallowtide,’ with words very imperfect; or by no man and no words, but only by the silences, by the eternities, by the life everlasting and the death everlasting. That the ‘ sense of difference between right and wrong ’ had filled all time and all space for man, and bodied itself forth into a heaven and hell for him; this constitutes the grand feature of those Puritan, old Christian ages; this is the element which stamps them as heroic, and has rendered their works great, manlike, fruitful to all generations. It is by far the memorablest achievement of our species; without that element, in some form or other, nothing of heroic had ever been among us.

“ For many centuries Catholic Christianity, a fit embodiment of that divine sense, had been current more or less, making the generations noble; and here in England, in the century called the seventeenth, we see the last aspect of it hitherto—not the last of all, it is to be hoped. Oliver was henceforth a Christian man; believed in God, not on Sundays only, but on all days, in all places, and in all cases.”

In 1628, Cromwell was elected M.P. for Huntingdon, in Charles the First’s third parliament, after the dissolution of which he sold his property at Huntingdon, and retired to the town of St. Ives; and now commenced the distractions of Charles’s reign, in which Cromwell was to take so prominent a part. In 1634, Hampden’s resistance to ship-money brought matters to a crisis, and from this period Mr. Carlyle’s labours as an elucidator of Cromwell’s letters and speeches commences, with the following

quaint advice to his readers :—"First, not to credit the wide-spread report that these seventeenth century Puritans were superstitious, crack-brained enthusiasts, the most part of them; the minor ruling part being cunning men, who duped the rest, assuming their dialect for the purpose. Cant did not then exist—"that stupendous invention of speech, for the purpose of concealing thought, was not yet made—a man wagging the tongue of him as if it were the clapper of a bell, to be rung for economic purposes, and not so much as attempting to convey any inner thought, if thought he have of the matter talked of, would at that date have awakened all the horror in men's minds, which at all dates, and at this date is due to him. The accursed thing! no man as yet dared to do it; all men believing that God would judge them. In the history of the Civil War, far and wide, I have not fallen in with one such phenomenon."

"Secondly, 'not to imagine that it was constitution, liberty of the people to tax themselves, privilege of parliament—triennial or annual parliaments, or any modification of these sublime privileges now waxing somewhat faint in our admirations, that mainly animated our Cromwells, Pym, and Hampdens, to the heroic efforts we still admire in retrospect. Not these very measurable 'privileges,' but a far other and deeper, which could not be measured; of which these, and all grand social improvements whatsoever are the corollary. Our ancient Puritan reformers were, as all reformers that will ever much benefit this earth are always, inspired by a heavenly purpose. To see God's own law, then universally acknowledged for complete as it stood in the holy written book, made good in this world: to see this, or the true unwearied aim and struggle towards this; it was a thing worth living for and dying for! Eternal justice; that God's will be done on earth as it is in heaven; corollaries enough will flow from that, if that be there; if that be not there, no corollary good for much will flow. It was the general spirit of England in the seventeenth century. In other somewhat sadly disfigured form, we may have seen the same immortal hope take practical shape in the French Revolution, and once more astonish the world. That England should all become a church, if you like to name it so; a church, presided over not by sham priests in 'four surplices at Allhallowtide,' but by true god-consecrated ones, whose hearts the Most High had touched and hallowed with his fire:—this was the prayer of many, it was the godlike hope and effort of some.'"

Mr. Carlyle has long been celebrated as a hero-worshipper,—and to this idol of his imagination he has made his whole line of thought in these volumes bend. He looks upon the 17th century as an heroic

period, and attributes higher motives and a more enlarged mind to the characters who fretted their short uncertain scene of life upon England's then troubled stage, than we are disposed to attribute to them. Circumstances often made the men, in the overruling dispensations of Providence, what they were ; but it is a wide stretch of charity to imagine that some were not actuated by motives of self-advancement and aggrandisement, and that the sole object of all was to extend an enlarged and liberal philanthropy. Liberty was often made, as it has been so much of late years made, a stalking-horse upon which were seated every form and fashion of men's crude imaginations,—and as an identification of the object of their worship,—but the realising of which, in its benefits to every class of society, was “as impalpable as a rainbow in “the clouds.”

The results of the reign of the Commonwealth were more tyrannical to the masses of mankind than any dealings of the monarchy ; and loudly as episcopacy was denounced, it was discovered that there was more severity in the little finger of mis-called independency than in the whole loins of the once established form of religion. If, on the one hand, there was little of vital godliness, which indeed there was in the innovations of Laud and his associates, on the other, there was an amount of self-delusion, or, in many cases, hypocrisy, which was scarcely less discreditable and demoralising. Crimes are fearful enough when perpetrated without any idea of the existence of a God, who judgeth the earth, and without an acknowledgment of his omniscience ; but they seem, to our minds, to be of a far more heinous character when committed under the pretext that they are done for the honour of God, and in his name, as a doing of service to his cause. The royalists were, for the most part, godless and dissipated men, and the reverses they met with were justly rendered as a retribution for their sinfulness ; but “to deal impartially, “we must with sadness enough confess, that the wolf came into the “fold in sheep's clothing, and wrought more slaughter that way among “the lambs, than he could have done in his own skin ; for it is true, “that many of wit and parts, discontented when they could not obtain “the preferments their ambition gaped at, would declare themselves of “the Puritan party, and such were either bought off, or, if the adversary “would not give their price, reduced their devout hearers sometimes “into indiscreet opposition, to work out their own revenge ; others “that had neither learning, nor friends, nor opportunity to arrive to “any preferments, would put on a form of godliness, finding devout “people that way so liberal to them, that they could not hope to enrich “themselves so much any other way. Some that had greater art and “parts, finding there was no inconsiderable gain to be made of the

" simple devotion of men and women, applied their wits to it, and collected great sums for the advancement of the religious interest, of which they converted much to their private uses. Such as these tempted the people of God to endeavour to shelter themselves in human policies, and found out ways of bribes, and other not less indirect courses, to procure patrons at court, and to set up against the prelates, with countermines and other engines, which, being of man's framing, were all at last broken. The Puritan party, being weak and oppressed, had not faith enough to disown all that adhered to them for worldly interests; and, indeed, it required more than human wisdom to discern at the least all of them; wherefore, they, in their low condition, gladly accepted any that would come over to them, or incline towards them."

Honest minds there were undoubtedly amongst the party; but we fear, if we are to judge by their actions, that but few were moved by a holy spirit,—which rejects hypocrisy as the cloak of Satan,—and abhors every species of pretence.

We have already stated that we exonerated Cromwell from such base motives. We wish we could say as much for his partisans, whose brutality, especially to Charles under trial,—in which Cromwell himself took part amongst the foremost,—savoured but little of that "charity, which beareth all things and is kind." This was the most disgraceful, the most wicked of Cromwell's deeds; viz. the part he took in the trial and sentence of the king; and Mr. Carlyle evidently feels that he cannot offer an apology for his idolised hero in that matter. Had he felt that he could have been his apologist, he surely would not have hurried over the event with such cursory remarks, or made no attempt to defend the doings of Cromwell.

It will, probably, scarcely be believed that that event is dismissed in the brevity of half a page; but so it is, as our readers shall judge for themselves:—

" The trial of Charles Stuart falls not to be described in this place; the deep meanings that lie in it cannot be so much as glanced at here. Oliver Cromwell attends in the High Court of Justice at every session except one; Fairfax sits only in the first. Ludlow, Whalley, Walton, names known to us, are also constant attendants in that High Court, during that long-memorable month of January, 1649. The king is thrice brought to the bar; refuses to plead, comports himself with royal dignity, with royal haughtiness, strong in his divine right; 'smiles' contemptuously, 'looks with an austere countenance;'—does not seem, till the very last, to have fairly believed that they would dare to sentence him. But they were men sufficiently provided with

"daring ; men, we are bound to see, who sat there as in the presence
 "of the Maker of all men, as executing the judgments of Heaven above,
 "and had not the fear of any man or thing, on the earth below. Brad-
 "shaw said to the king—' Sir, you are not permitted to issue out in
 "'these discouragements. This Court is satisfied of its authority. No
 "'Court will bear to hear its authority questioned in that manner.—
 "'Clerk, read the Sentence !'

"And so, under date 29th January, 1648-9, there is this stern docu-
 "ment to be introduced ; not specifically of Oliver's composition ; but
 "expressing in every letter of it the conviction of Oliver's heart, in
 "this, one of his most important appearances on the stage of earthly
 "life."

Then follows the memorable death-warrant. Shall we be pardoned
 for saying of Charles I, that he deserves as little the exalted laudation
 of the loyalists as the severest reproaches of the Puritans?

Mr. Carlyle so evidently feels he is treading on tender ground, that
 he has not given the slightest hint of the fact, that never was a deed
 more unpopular, or committed in more direct opposition to the will of
 the people than the death of their monarch, who, notwithstanding all his
 faults, and they were many, could not recognise the authority of Parlia-
 ment, awed by an army of Independents, to overthrow the basis of the
 monarchy and of the constitution. For an impartial detail of this
 event M. Guizot's "History of the Revolution" is a far better au-
 thority than Mr. Carlyle,—who, though he says "no modern reader
 "can conceive the then atrocity, ferocity, unspeakability of this fact,"
 yet evidently infers that it was then necessary, though such an event
 may not again "be needed, till a new genuine Hero-worship has arisen,
 "has perfected itself."

From the brief narrative of the king's death, Mr. Carlyle follows
 Cromwell, now made commander-in-chief of the army, to Ireland,—of
 the great campaign in which country, as well as of that which followed
 in Scotland, he gives a spirited narrative. The accusation that Crom-
 well was guilty both of treachery and murder after the capture of
 Drogheda, he represents in a different light from any in which we
 remember to have seen it exhibited ; and certainly he has removed
 much of the odium which former historians had heaped upon him for
 his share in the transactions towards the captives of that place. Crom-
 well, he shews, did no more than he said he would, if they would not
 surrender, so as to save an effusion of blood. "They chose to disbelieve
 "him—could not understand that he, more than the others, meant any
 "truth to them. They rejected his summons and terms at Tredah (Drog-
 "heda). He stormed the place, and, according to promise, put every

“man of the garrison to death. His own soldiers are forbidden to plunder by paper proclamation, and in ropes of authentic hemp they are hanged when they do it. To Wexford garrison the like terms as at Tredah—and falling these, the like storm. Here is a man whose word represents a thing—not bluster this and false jargon, muttering itself to the winds. What this man speaks out of him comes to pass as a fact; speech with this man is actually prophetic of deed. This is the first king's face poor Ireland ever saw—the first friend's face, little as it recognises him—poor Ireland !”

We could wish to continue the various subjects of Cromwell's eventful life still further through the 2nd Volume, but our space will not allow us to do so. We, therefore, dismiss the consideration of Mr. Carlyle's labours with this assurance to the reader, that he will find much amusement, and some information from them; but, so far as he expects to find an impartial history of the man and the events of his time, he will be disappointed.

The history of the 17th Century has yet to be impartially written; but Mr. Carlyle, with all his many capabilities, and powerful genius, is yet not the man to undertake and accomplish it.

THE OCEAN FLOWER.

"The Ocean Flower : a Poem. Preceded by an Historical and Descriptive Account of the Island of Madeira," &c. By T. M. Hughes, Author of "Revelations of Spain." Longmans : 1845.

THIS is the pretty little title of a pretty little volume. With this notice of Mr. Hughes and his ten cantos, the friendly or charitable critic would lay down his pen ; but, though we are by no means disposed to blazon the demerits of this "Flower," the present rank exuberance of similar blossoms suggests the propriety of a few observations upon the departure from the genuine character of poetry and its ancient spirit which marks the present poetic era in England, when so many clever girls and matrons publish verses.

Our own times teem with poetical effusions : no period since the age of Elizabeth has witnessed such an overflow of poetry : but we find few to whom the language of verse is the language of nature and passion. Wordsworth, indeed, among our living poets, deserves honourable distinction ; who seems to draw from the depths of his own spirit all the forms of nature and of life which he touches ; chanting to men the voice of his own bright visions, in a strain, which discloses to the minds of others the impressions that fall beautiful and numberless on his own.

There is, indeed, much true poetry—true and high with all its defects—breathing and radiating through the land ; but, instead of seeking the elements of their song in the world of nature, and at the fountains of human feeling, the bards of our day lavish a wild and creative eloquence in multiplying before our eyes the shape and colours of some fanciful world of their own ; touching, indeed, and but touching, the forms of nature and the passions of men with the pencil of truth. And where shall we find him, "the giant of mighty bone," whose imagination, fed by the heroic nurture of intellectual toil, can instruct with thought and elevate with passion the minds of the good and the learned?

We would not say that nature is altogether veiled from our degenerate eyes ; but we fear it is only hues and etherial reflections that we now-a-days catch. Our "makers" do not speak as those to whose

genius nature in all her aspects and moods is health and life; whose soul, by its own inherent energy, brings forth, from the impressions it receives from the life of man and outward creation, new shapes and new existences, wherewith to charm the world in delightful verse.

But, though there is much in the poetry which this age has produced, which well may be condemned, as falling short of or being false to nature, it is not in this respect, nor yet in the tendency which they evince to bedizen her with all the fanciful delineations of a lover's fondness, that the characteristic degeneracy of our present race of poets is most particularly to be discerned. The great desideratum of our poesy is that severe obedience to intellectual laws which governed the minds of Milton, Dryden, Thompson, Pope, in composition. These were not satisfied that their poetry should be a work of mere conception, and that language should lend her magic aid to robe their conceptions in living imagery. They practised their art as an intellectual exercise; and hence, in their boldest flights, we never feel that reason and intelligence are shaken from their native supremacy over all the actions of the mind, but, on the contrary, amid the most passionate workings of imagination, and the most glowing eloquence of description, we are sensible that all the powers of the mind are subjected to the prevailing overruling sovereignty of intellectual strength, which rises in majesty as they kindle and dilate.

In the poetry of our generation we miss this principle of intellectual cultivation. We have no evidence in the character of modern composition, testifying to the severe and painful study, the toiling energy of thought, which confirmed while it tried the strength of the literary Titans of an anterior age. Of all who occupy eminent places in our poetical literature, it may be generally said, that they are not more remarkable for brilliancy of conception, than for their violation and confusion of the laws of thought and verse. Imagination yields them her rapturous elements of song with an ungrudging liberality, but their poetry will not bear to be made the subject of intellectual analysis. Passages of the greatest beauty and fascination, if submitted to this test, may be demonstrated to be not only unintelligible, but devoid of thought; while the laws of language, and the high canons of poetical composition, have become obsolete, or are but faintly remembered*.

* "Am I enthrall'd but by the sterile rule,
The formal pupil of a frigid school,
If to old laws my Spartan tastes adhere,
If the old vigorous music charms my ear,

If we admit the prevalence of this defect in writers of acknowledged reputation and favour, we shall not wonder that it should be more obvious in the works of men of less capacity and vigour. There are many who, having been unfortunately beguiled by a spirit of imitation and sympathy into a belief of their own inspiration, take into their hands the lyre without due qualification; and thus the art of versifying is cultivated by hundreds, who may possess talent, but not genius. Thus is it with the author of the poem which has led us to these observations. He is one of that progeny of versifiers which is said to double itself every lustre; one of those who will write because they see so many writing; on whom the impulse comes from without, not from within. Mr. Hughes has mistaken loud voices in the streets and squares of cities calling him to join the throng, for the still small voice which speaks in the penetralia of the spirit. In the defects of language and description his poem abounds to profusion. There is scarcely a page which does not contain several imperfect or false metaphors, some redundant or tawdry epithet, some absurd instance of a pedantically complex and inverted construction, some new-coined phrase, or some grammatical blunder.

We subjoin one or two specimens:—

“ There budding Spring and blooming Summer joined
With Autumn ripe in linkéd dance appear ;
And pour Phæacian treasures on each wind
The three perennial Graces of the year.”—P. 119.

“ There equably attuned is heat and cold,
And sheltered man from violent extreme ;
There gales benign invigorate the old,
And dance the young beneath the sparkling beam.

Where sense with sound, and ease with weight, combine
In the pure silver of Pope's ringing line ;
Or where the pulse of man beats loud and strong
In the frank flow of Dryden's lusty song ? ”

The New Timon, Part II.

The remarkable poem, which has just been presented to the public under the above title, forms a decided exception to the general application of our remarks. As a composition, it combines excellences of a high order. The author has closely followed the steps of Dryden and Pope in his versification, while the genius of the work seems to partake in turn of those both of Crabbe and Byron.

" Creative Sun ! from all Earth anxious crowd
 To catch thy rays the victims of disease ;
 And life prolonged and lessened suffering load
 Proclaim thy power, Engaddan of the seas !"—P. 124.

Mr. Hughes has an uncontrollable love for inverted syntax : a fault which, to come to the truth, arises from the lack of that sterling poetic genius, which enables the bard to accomplish his work from the simple stores of natural eloquence. His composition seems to cost him a struggle. We shall not be mistaken as depreciating the *limæ labor* ; but circuitous and artificial language, though it may prove that a certain amount of pains have been bestowed, is sure to undo the effect which it is designed to produce. Can anything, for instance, be more frigid than such a passage as this ?—

" On yon green mount the Knight-Adventurers stood,
 And long *the lovely prospect drank their eyes.*"

There is an attempt in this poem, or, rather, series of poems, to be bold, to be original, to be sententious, to be romantic ; each in turn, and sometimes all together. In most cases, however, the attempt is all that merits praise ; if praise can be deserved in any case by an attempt to do that which is clearly beyond the available powers of the writer. The following passage is selected pretty much at random :—

" Oh, jarring nations, wherefore War declare ?
 Look upward shamed to Heaven's harmonious hall :
 There Sun and Moon alternate glory share ;
 Though wide their mighty sphere, 'twere else too small !

" Here Man discovereth all his pettiness
 In presence of the Eternal's grand designs,
 Seems by the side of giant Nature less,
 And reads distincter the celestial signs.

" From the tall Serra seen the starry maze
 More piercing enters the enraptured soul,
 And Ocean's vastness grows upon the gaze,
 Swathing our feeble orb from pole to pole.

" Say, what remaineth of the works of men ?
 Their strong-built castles moulder on the green ;
 When fades the gilded hall from fondest ken,
 The torturing dungeon to the last is seen !

" The monuments of impious war survive,
 And blood-cemented wreck of passion-storms ;
 The good within him Man exhales alive,
 The evil takes imperishable forms !" —P. 180.

We give the following stanza chiefly for the sake of introducing an apology which Mr. Hughes offers in a note for certain peculiarities in his style ; whether successfully or not, we will leave our readers to judge:—

" And King Afonso died the death
 Which crownéd felons die,
 Through his black heart resounding
 The slaughtered Inez' cry ;
 No loving friends around his bed
 His agony console,
 And mid the horrid pangs of crime
 Out-writhed his sinful soul." —P. 240.

To the last line is appended the subjoined note:—

" In this epithet ' out-writhed,' and in the preceding ones, ' ruffian-struck,' and ' gore-dabbled,' I have attempted to imitate the forcible and expressive compounds of the German language. I believe that our mixed Saxon still retains sufficient affinity with the parent tongue to justify our literary men in a freer introduction of that Teutonic peculiarity which in compound epithets leaves little superiority to the ancient Greek. Although this poetic license of verbal coinage has of late years been often most absurdly abused, we certainly have high warrant for its judicious use in the words of the wisest of uninspired men, Socrates, which are given thus in the Latin version : ' Poëtæ non solum verbis usitatis, verum etiam novis translatis, et peregrinis, et omni denique dicendi generis, suam poësim ornare possunt ; oratori-bus autem nihil tale concessum est.' "

Single expressions we might quote by dozens, which grate very harshly on our ears. We read of " hoarse billows . . . in cavernous recesses *ground* to mist ;" of " hewing unhindered in the mines of thought ;" of a watercourse which " makes of the beetling precipice a mirth ;" of a corpse " flung like a carrion on the open square ;" of

"Time's shattered frame;" and of the flames of a forest conflagration, which "lambent rose from root to verdurous crown." Nor should a man, who quotes Homer, Pindar, Sophocles, Euripides, Aristophanes, Tibullus, Catullus, and Propertius, have written such a line as this:—

"Like fair *Cytheræ* springing from the sea."

Byron wrote,—

"She looks a sea *Cybèle*, fresh from ocean."

But we think he did not profess to keep up his Greek, and his Romaic would not assist him in the observance of ancient quantities. Mr. Hughes, on the contrary, seems fresh in Plato and Euripides; or we might have thought his old classical reminiscences obscured by his intimacy with Camoens, Calderon, Lope de Vega, Bocage, to say nothing of Tasso, Petrarch, Göthe, Schiller, Körner, &c.

The plan upon which this poem proceeds is the formation of several short cantos, with songs or episodes interspersed, which latter frequently occupy one half of the space; all, however, tending to the same general object, the praise of the Island of Madeira. We cannot say we think the current measure happily selected; which is properly a pathetic or reflective one, being the same as that of Gray's Elegy. We must not, however, here enlarge on the great difference in the genius of lyric metres. The episodes, which are written in various metres, are often more pleasing than the canto or background out of which they spring. The "Song of the Bell-ringers" is pretty.

"Swing the bells bravely
With true triple peal,
Lightly, yet gravely,
Until the brain reel.
Bell-ringers boldly
In musical chime
Swing, never coldly,
But sweetly in time.

"From the earth bounding,
Next instant descend;
Be the peal sounding
The same to the end.
Lusty bell-ringers,
How shakes the tall tower;
Sway, nimble fingers,
A mammoth in power!

*

*

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"When he booms loudly
 In fast growing speed,
 Rein him in proudly
 Like galloping steed.
 Fresh as Aurora
 With vigour still rise ;
 Nossa Senhora
 Is Queen of the skies !" — Pp. 187, 188.

We suppose we must not take Mr. Hughes to task, as a descriptive poet, though we regret it, for throwing himself into the associations and aspirations of that religion, by which we are sorry to know that the Island of his delight is so enthralled and degraded. He himself is as well acquainted as any man with the corruptions and absurdities of Popery ; and we have, in a former number, assigned the meed of praise to his valuable work on the condition of Spain *. The unhappy state of religious and social affairs in that country ought to convince those who might otherwise be doubtful of the inadequacy of the Romish creed to save a nation from infidelity, to refine the habits of the age, or to elevate the individual character. We do not, however, quite like the tone in which Mr. Hughes refers, in his introductory history of the island, to the efforts made by the worthy Dr. Kalley to enlighten the gross darkness of minds so obscured :—

"The standard of religion is unhappily low. The native clergy are
 "unenergetic, supine, and perfunctory in the discharge of their duties.
 "The efforts at proselytism recently made by Dr. Kalley have been de-
 "feated by the stringent interference of the Government, but were of
 "great use in applying a stimulus to the lethargic zeal of the clergy.
 "The present Bishop of Madeira is a pious and active ecclesiastic, who
 "has availed himself of the temporary religious ferment to incite his
 "clergy to regular habits of useful preaching and catechetical instruc-
 "tion, as well as to inculcate a more rigid observance of the Sabbath.
 "But I fear that the laziness induced by the climate and by habit
 "amongst all but the labouring classes, may make these fitful efforts at
 "amendment lapse ere long into the accustomed somnolency. The pre-
 "cepts of abstinence and fasting are treated by all classes of society in
 "the towns with indifference. The country-people are a hard-working
 "and excellent race, whose poverty unhappily debars them entirely from
 "the use of flesh meat." — Pp. 59, 60.

* See *Christian's Monthly Magazine*, May, 1845.

This passage occurs in an introductory account of Madeira, which, together with a short essay which follows on Portuguese literature, forms by far the most interesting part of the book. Indeed, we think it might have concluded with these, or might have presented a smaller quantity of verse, without disadvantage. The prose is better than the poetry, and should have been at least the nucleus of the book. As it is, the two contend invidiously for the reader's attention. It is not the part of a wise man to strive to exhibit himself as the historian and poet within the limits of one and the same volume.

One more extract, of a pleasing character, may be given, if the reader's patience is not already exhausted :—

“ There are two Powers, before whose altars pure
I have through perils worshipped from my youth,
'Mid social torture and 'mid sparkling lure,
'Mid sun and storm—those Powers are Freedom, Truth.

“ Nor deem I Man who either would betray
To base Expediency or gains abhorred,
Or ev'n their smallest element unsay
For armed satellite or silken lord !

“ But few, alas, are fortresses unbent
Withstanding stubborn virtue's sap. What then ?
Power needs but blend its frowns with blandishment ;
This earth is peopled with the shades of men !

“ And each man hath his price ! Well, is it so ?
Why not perhaps in gold—though best untried—
But all in some affection lofty or low,
Vainglory, vanity, ambition, pride !”—Pp. 165, 166.

We have devoted some attention to Mr. Hughes on the present occasion because he is no ordinary man, though we regret the production of the volume under our notice : and if we have treated him somewhat unceremoniously, we are sure he can afford to be called to account in a case of this kind. He undoubtedly possesses genius, and is a shrewd observer of men and events ; in addition to which recommendations, he has a warm and enthusiastic heart. He is not without fancy he frequently exhibits much feeling ; and, when his spirit is roused by emotions of beauty, he displays a talent for description. But if he

desires success in the Court of the Muses, he must certainly learn to be more *natural*. His vocation, however, is to prose; and in that field, as he has already won, so he may easily continue to win, abundant laurels. Of his present attempt we cannot help saying, with the Portuguese poet,—

Quien te quiere, no te sabe :
 Quien te sabe, no te quiere.

THE MUSING BROTHERS.

Suggested by the Swinbrooke Monument, of the time of Charles I. and Charles II.

It is scarcely necessary to note that the effigies are here treated, not so much with regard to their individual identity, as with reference to the character of the age of which they are types. Compare the figure in Bloxham.

WARRIOR—or wit—or lover?—which?—or all?
 Armour of plate almost from top to toe,
 Polish'd though plain, the first perhaps may show.
 Only the casque stands idle by the wall
 Close at his feet : and from his long fair hands
 Are drawn the stiff steel gloves :—and his long hair
 Waves curling o'er the neckcloth, whose loose bands
 Part on the breast.—It is the Cavalier
 Of a soft silken age—not the rude knight
 Of that of iron.—Be he what he may,
 His heart is now not in the bloody fight,
 Nor those soft hands in attitude to pray.
 But, right and left, they both are lying free—
 That on the couch, this on the uprais'd knee,
 On which its glove unconsciously it holds.
 Propp'd on the right arm he at ease reclines.
 And what in vacancy his eye beholds—
 Frolic—or love—or science—who divines?
 Yet Waller's rhymes, or Congreve's scenes, ye well
 Might in his volume find, and so reveal the spell.

No difference, save the beard on lip and chin,
 And plain grave collar o'er the corslet turn'd,
 Need mark an elder brother of his line ;
 Child of the age when rebel warfare burn'd
 'Twixt Prince and People : recklessness and sin
 Drawing down vengeance ; as a naked brand—
 Pointed at heaven—its lightnings.—Hapless land !
 When the first Stuart day sunk, 'mid the din
 Of thunders, bright and brighter till its night.
 Then rose the next in gaiety and glee,
 Bearing the Plague within its withering light,
 Tainting the air too foul for fire to free.

Ah, hapless land ! enforced by both to groan—
 The Martyr Father, and the Apostate Son !
 Faith's furnace fires the Martyr's faults refined.
 The gay Apostate said he saw—and yet was blind.

LIFE AND DEATH.

1. CHRISTMAS GARLANDS.

CULL, ye maidens, the roses and place on your bosoms to die,
 Ever remembering—beauty will like those roses fly.
 Bring ye the evergreen box that droops like a mourner of death,
 Bring ye the evergreen cypress that points to the heaven of life,
 Bring ye the evergreen laurel of victory with them, to wreath
 Every pillar within God's house, where apart from strife
 Those, that rest from their labour, have found it is true that he saith,
 " Verily, this is the victory over the world—our Faith."

2. THE BAMBOO.

An adaptation of a passage cited in Professor Lee's Commentary on Job, from the Calcutta edition of Ion Arabshak's Life of Timoor, expressing the sentiment of the first part of the following lines.

How far soe'er be fame,
 Be not afraid to climb;
 The height which is thine aim
 Is not too high for time:
 The Bamboo, which so graceful o'er thee grows,
 Knot by knot strengthen'd—shoot by shoot arose.
 Then who is he, who fears
 Never to join Heaven's praises?
 From strength to strength God rears,
 From height to height He raises.

3. THE STAR AND THE PROPHET.

Left by the Sun, departing but not dying,
 The Evening Star bright kindles in his blaze.
 So watched Elisha, Elijah heavenward flying,
 And felt his prophet spirit doubled in that gaze.

4. A PRAYER.

Prayer and praise and service due
 Grant me, Lord, to offer Thee,—
 Fervent and faithful—holy and true—
 That friends and foes my badge may see.

One of the few, while thine are few,—
 One of the world, when worlds are thine;—
 Thy way to know—thy will to do—
 Thy love to share, O Lord, be mine.

Free from all my love of sin,
 Free from all my fear of death;
 Thus, howe'er long, my life be thine!
 Thine, howe'er soon, my latest breath!

5. MEMORY IN HEAVEN.

*And ye shall dwell in the land * * **

Then shall ye remember your own evil ways.—Ezek. xxxvi. 28–31.

LORD, kind as holy, still thou wilt
 Add to praise, and answer prayer.
 Who like Thee can punish guilt?
 Who like Thee can sorrow spare?

Give me sorrow for my sin :
 After my sorrow give me peace :
 Till days of endless pleasures shine,
 And nights of sin and sorrow cease.

If sin's conflicting storm be past,—
 If sorrow's showers passing be,—
 Thy rainbow hopes upon them cast
 And rise—Great Sun, Eternity !

Remember'd shame in honour's height
 For evermore shall humble me :
 Remember'd sorrow, in thy sight,
 Gladden with gratitude my glee :

Remember'd sin, in sinlessness,
 Thy Spirit's praise shall magnify ;
 Where they unceasingly shall bless,
 Where they obey unfaintingly :

Remember'd Earth, in heaven with Thee,
 Thy earthly life remember'd make !
 Since life for life Thou gavest me,
 Love for love, Lord, from me take !

DR. PUSEY'S POSITION IN THE CHURCH:

MR. OAKELEY'S CASE.

ART. IV.

(Concluded from p. 224).

"*Letters by Dr. Pusey*," published in the "*English Churchman*," Nos. 143, 144, 145, 146.

"*A full Report of the Proceedings in the Case of the Office of the Judge, promoted by Hodgson v. Rev. F. Oakeley, before the Right Hon. Sir Herbert Jenner Fust, B.C., Dean of the Arches, &c.*" Edited by H. F. BAYFORD, D.C.L., Advocate. London: Benning. 1846.

But, Dr. Pusey, not content with impugning the court, does what is worse, wrests the judge's words to the maintenance of his own hypothesis, as for instance :—

"And thus much the judge allows, that he was not bound to preach against Roman doctrine; at least, he admits that it is a question which lay beyond the province of his Court*.

"And this the judge, although somewhat unwillingly, admits; for, after having commented severely upon the negative effects of Mr. O's. claim, he sums up this part thus: 'Whether it be right or proper, that he should in his public ministrations *enter on controversial questions* as to the principles of the Church of Rome, as distinguished from those of the Church of England, is not for this Court to say†."

Now, what the judge really said is vastly different from this view; for, after noticing Mr. Oakeley's declaration, that if he did not controvert dissent, he surely need not controvert Roman doctrine, he says:—

"On this ground, then, Mr. Oakeley seeks to justify his abstaining from controverting the doctrines of the Church of Rome. Whether it would be right, or proper, for him IN HIS PUBLIC MINISTRATIONS TO DISCUSS THE POINTS CONTROVERTED between the Church of England and the Church of Rome, is not for this court to determine. But he appears to me to offer no sufficient justification for the neglect of one part of his duty, by alleging that he had also neglected another part as a kind of set-off, *For it must be always recollected that it is the duty of a minister of the Church of England, and as binding upon him as any other duty,—that it is an engagement into which he enters*

* Judgment, p. 643.

† Ibid., p. 87. Digitized by Google

"at the time of his ordination,—to do his best to banish and drive away all erroneous and strange doctrines."—Pp. 130, 131.

And, on the same point, a little further, the court says :—

"This, then, is what Mr. Oakeley considers to be a conscientious discharge of his duty as an ordained minister of the Church of England; namely, that it is quite sufficient for him not to preach Roman doctrine in his public ministrations in the pulpit, and not to attempt to convert persons to the Church of Rome. He takes no active part to prevent any one from joining the Church of Rome; or rather, I should say, he seems satisfied to prevent persons from quitting the Church of England, and resorting to that of Rome; *not by controverting the doctrines of the Roman Church, and pointing out its errors*, AS HIS DUTY AS A MINISTER OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND ON SUCH AN OCCASION WOULD REQUIRE, *and as his engagement with his Bishop at the time of his Ordination, 'to drive away all erroneous and 'strange doctrines,' would prescribe*,—but he satisfies himself with persuading such persons that there can be no necessity for them to quit the Church of England, although they should hold the Roman doctrine, which Mr. Oakeley himself professes to hold. He is satisfied, in the discharge of his duty, to persuade such persons not to withdraw themselves from the Church of England, *although they may in their hearts dissent from it*, and so remain outwardly professed members of that Church, whilst inwardly they are attached to another. Surely this can be no sufficient justification for Mr. Oakeley's conduct when offered to his Diocesan, to whom he expressly states that he considers himself bound to give an intelligible explanation! *How can he persuade himself that he has thus satisfied all the demands of the Church?* His own statement as to the conduct which he pursues, when he is consulted upon the propriety of a person leaving the Church of England for the Church of Rome, is, in fact, an evasion. His conduct in outwardly professing to be a member of one Church, whilst he is inwardly attached to the doctrines of another; and his declaration, that he signs the Thirty-nine Articles *in a sense different from their grammatical construction, in which he knows they ought to be signed*, can hardly be reconciled with integrity."—Pp. 134, 135.

Here, then, is a palpable distinction between what the judge says, and what he is *wished* to say. The ordination promise compels us to drive away strange doctrine, but it does not bind us to any particular time or place, and, accordingly, the judge will not rule that a clergyman is bound "in his public ministrations" to discuss the points controverted? All he decides is, that by a most solemn promise he is bound to drive it away; and, therefore, no subterfuge as to *holding* and teaching can justify a neglect of this duty. Once more, then, the Court is misquoted and

misapplied; but we would earnestly recommend Tractarians to well weigh our last quotation, and we entreat them to remember that it is part of a solemn judicial sentence, in a most critical case. Once more, it is declared, that, in the Judgment, what is "so pointedly condemned, and is *alone* condemned, is the *overt inculcation* of the doctrines." Really, this pertinacity of assertion is astounding! The case of those who are "in a state of abeyance," is "*in no way affected by this decision.*" "There is no allusion to it." Then follows a reference to Laud:—

"He allows very large latitude, on the condition that any 'disturb not 'the peace of the Church.' And with this, again, coincides the view 'of the many writers who claimed for the Articles to be '*Articles of 'peace; not as if, on points of faith, (as the doctrine of the Holy Trinity, or original sin, &c.), a person might disbelieve, if he but held his 'peace,*' but that, on other points, the Articles were intended (as they bear in their title) 'for the avoiding of diversities of opinions. This has been, at least, a view held extensively in our Church, so that it cannot be said to be got up for the occasion now. *Those who have held it have been Bishops, not all of one school, but some of them the greatest of those whom God has raised up from our Church, Archbishops Bramhall and Laud, Bishops Hall, Taylor, Bull, and Stillingfleet*.*"

We have somewhat to say on this head; but first we will quote from Mr. Oakeley's "Claim" a passage which, by the way, shews that he claims much more than to be "*in abeyance.*" In answer to his friends, he writes, "Do you, then, give into the view that a clergyman of the Church of England may honestly *hold any doctrine which he chooses to keep to himself?* Is it a pleasant thought to you, that there may be at this moment several (say) *Arian or Socinian clergymen of the Church of England 'holding all' the abominations of these heresies in their closets, though suppressing them in their pulpits? A specimen this, truly, of an orthodox Church!* Do you adopt the theory that the *Thirty-nine Articles are mere terms of peace, although every clergyman subscribes them 'willingly and ex animo?*' Or do you say, rather, that Roman doctrine is more compatible with the Articles than Arian or Socinian? But the question, surely, is not one of degree merely. *If one single Roman doctrine be precluded by the Articles, the subscription of such as myself is not less dishonest than that of an Arian or Socinian clergyman.* Moreover, there are considerable persons, of past and present time, who deny that the Articles

* English Churchman, No. 145, p. 643.

"are more tolerant of Roman than of Arian doctrine. What says Dr. Waterland, and his modern apologist, Dr. Ogilvie?" If we had not been informed in this letter as to the quarter from which the theory of latitude was drawn, and by what means it was attempted to prove it, still we should have had no difficulty, for, in a celebrated letter on No. XC, by Mr. Newman, addressed to Dr. Jelf, it is broached less carelessly, and the same authorities are referred to and quoted. It is an instance of the singular facility with which Tractarians have gained credit for reading and learning, that Mr. Newman made use of authorities from another man's brains, without a tittle of acknowledgement. Now, in Dr. Bennet's Essay on the Thirty-nine Articles, a chapter is devoted to the subject of subscription; and another is headed as follows:—"An Objection from some Passages of Archbishop Laud, Mr. Chillingworth, Archbishop Bramhall, and Bishop Stillingfleet, answered." It commences as follows:—"I confess it has been of late pretended that Archbishop Laud and Mr. Chillingworth do favour another sense of the subscription, and intimate that our Church does not thereby require a belief, but only non-opposition to her doctrine." He then examines the passages quoted, and proves that Laud was only referring to the *laity*. In reference to Chillingworth, he shews, that, for some trifling points, he actually refused to take preferment by subscribing. Very satisfactory evidence is also adduced that Bramhall and Stillingfleet had the same views, but our space precludes a full discussion. We will, however, quote a remark made on two passages from Bramhall. "Now, whosoever reads these passages cannot but perceive that they are opposed to the Romanists, who make all the articles of their Trent Creed necessary to salvation; and that the Archbishop speaks of what our Church requires of the *Laity in general, and not of the subscription required by the 30th canon*.*"

In reference to laxity of subscription, Dr. Pusey seems fond of Stillingfleet's authority, and it is much to be wished that he really respected it in all points. We remind him that Stillingfleet wrote a book entitled "*Discourse of the Idolatry of the Church of Rome*," and from his answer to attacks made on it, a passage is quoted by Dr. Bennet†. Stillingfleet is defending himself for referring to the Homilies; and, after saying that their authority depends on subscription to the 35th Article, he continues thus:—"Now I desire T. G. to resolve me whether men of any common understanding would have subscribed to this book of homilies in this manner, if they had believed the main

* Bennet's Essay, p. 432,

† Id., p. 436.

"*doctrine and design of one of them had been false and pernicious? as they must have done, if they had thought the practice of the Roman Church to be free from idolatry. I will put the case, that any of the bishops then had thought the charge of idolatry had been unjust, and that it had subverted the foundation of ecclesiastical authority, that there could have been no Church or right ordination if the Roman Church had been guilty of idolatry; would they have inserted this into the Articles, when it was in their power to have left it out? and that the homilies contained a wholesome and godly doctrine, which in their consciences they believed to be false and pernicious? I might as well think that the council of Trent would have allowed Calvin's Institutions as containing a wholesome and godly doctrine, as that men so persuaded would have allowed it the homily against the peril of idolatry. And how is it possible to understand the sense of our Church better than by such public and authentic acts of it, which all persons who are in any place of trust in the Church must subscribe, and declare their approbation of them.*" This passage supplies food for meditation, if Dr. Pusey and his party are sincerely desirous of knowing what our ancestors would have thought of the course pursued by the Tractarian party. It shews that they cannot rest in the patronage of Stillingfleet, for his ideas of subscription are too antiquated to admit of these modern casuists. His views of subscription must also be seen in his conduct towards Dissenters. Stillingfleet himself was the person to propose that subscription should be *relaxed* in favour of Dissenters as to matters *only* which did not concern faith and sacraments, and that they should promise *peaceable* submission to the rest.

Dr. Bennet affirms that only two writers held this theory before the end of the 17th century, and one of these anonymous:—

"How long this opinion I have been confuting has been broached, perhaps it is needless to shew. In the year 1670, a certain writer said, it is most reasonable to presume that the Church requires subscription to the Articles as to an instrument of peace only; and he endeavoured to confirm his notion by alleging those words of Archbishop *Bramhall*, which I have already considered, and proved to be foreign to the purpose. The same author afterwards added, that 'he had shewn' (I suppose, in the passage already referred to) 'that the governors and representatives of our Church do not require our internal assent to their Articles, but enjoin submission to them as to an instrument of peace only.' *I verily believe this author was the first man that openly favoured this opinion.* Nor can I persuade myself that it has gained much ground. I am sure *I can remember but one writer more that has declared himself for it, before the close*

" *of the last century. It was a person that wrote in the year 1690, but he concealed his name.*"

"I confess we have been assured," he continues, "'that it has obtained with High Church that our Articles are not *Articles* of belief, but *of peace*; and that their subscribing is not to be considered as a declaration of their opinion, but as a bare obligation to 'silence.' But I challenge that libeller to support his charge by producing so much as one single instance. I am sure the writer whose words I quoted just now, lived long enough to demonstrate that he abhorred the name of an *High Churchman*. The truth is, as far as my conversation can inform me, I believe both High Church and Low Church (since I am necessitated to mention that *knavish distinction*) subscribe the Articles with equal sincerity," &c.

"Laxity of subscription is a mere modern theory, invented for persons in a 'desperate' condition. They, however, contradict the decision of 'all the judges in 1581, the strict form of our subscription, and the constant sense of all our learned Divines, from the beginning of the Reformation down (at least) to the Restoration*."

It is a sad libel on the memory of these men, to accuse them of so gross a disregard of duty. In the case of Laud it is absolutely ridiculous, as the king's declaration for the literal and grammatical sense was his performance, and immediately after that was issued, he brought Bishop Davenant before the High Commission†, and severely reproved others for contravening what he thought that sense. Either Laud was an enlarged hypocrite, or he was in favour of severity of subscription. Either he made the Articles instruments of petty spite, in violation of his *principles*, or else he felt himself justified or compelled to use severity in interpreting them.

In our examination of these great men, it is not well to forget the excuse for their introduction, which was that "*the grounds of the judgment itself fell in with the terms of the latitude ‡*" which Laud and they claimed. Is it the fact that the judge allows such latitude, or is it not? We read—

" 'It is, therefore, a restraint essential to the security of the Church, and it would be a gross contradiction to its fundamental purpose to say, that it is liable to the reproach of persecution, if it does not pay its ministers for maintaining doctrines contrary to its own. I think my-

* "Bennet's Essay," ch. xxxiv, pp. 438, 438. The writer to whom he referred above, was the author of "The Rights of the Christian Church," A. D. 1706.

† See "Christian Remembrancer," vol. ix, No. 48.

‡ English Churchman, No. 145, p. 643.

“self bound at the same time to declare, that it is not the duty nor inclination of this court to be minute and rigid in applying proceedings of this nature, and that *if any Article is really a subject of dubious interpretation, it would be highly improper that this court should fix on one meaning, and prosecute all those who hold a contrary opinion regarding its interpretation.*” In these observations every one must concur. *But it is a very different thing where a minister of the Church of England publicly claims to hold all Roman doctrines; some of which are directly opposed to the doctrines of the Church of England. By allowing such an individual to proceed with impunity, the whole purpose for which these Articles were framed and published, would be entirely defeated.* ‘It is,’ says Lord Stowell, ‘a very different thing, where the authority of the Articles is totally eluded, and the party deliberately declares the intention of teaching doctrines contrary to them.’—P. 148.

Surely this exhibits no latitude such as Dr. Pusey claims, but rather condemns any similar attempt to wrest Protestant Articles, and “*extort*” from them a Roman sense. The judgment “throws us back on our consciences.” Would that it did; but a conscience practised in a decade of subtlety is a conscience null and void, and perhaps worse than this, for it may be hopelessly entangled in the meshes of its own contrivance. Lest, however, any should fail, Dr. Pusey advises doubtful persons “to have recourse to some one in whom *they* can place *confidence*, and who has studied the subject *definitely*, and abide in his judgment.” No longer a word of the Church and the Bishop, no more a whisper of authority, but a constitution of himself as a judge, and the effectual up-building of cabals for heresy and division. It is a special fact, that, whereas, for nearly 300 years men have signed without the aid of an employed casuist, now they are to keep a judge and discerner for their consciences, as if the Almighty had left us so miserable and weak for the simplest duties, that we needed a high court of clerical disputancy.

Perhaps our readers will not deem a reference to the speech of the great Lord Falkland out of place, as instructive on this head. We quote more than particularly concerns casuistry, as it may have an application of its own. The date is February 9th, 1640:—

“Mr. Speaker,—He is a great stranger in Israel who knows not that this kingdom hath long laboured under many and great oppressions, both in religion and liberty; and his acquaintance here is not great, or his ingenuity less, who does not know and acknowledge, that a great, if not a principal cause of both these, hath been some bishops and their adherents.

"Mr. Speaker,—A little search will serve to find them to have been "the destruction of unity under pretence of uniformity, to have brought "in superstition and scandal under the titles of reverence and decency, "to have defiled our Church by adorning our churches, to have slack- "ened the strictness of that union which was formerly betwixt us and "those of our religion beyond the sea;—an action as impolitic as un- "godly.

"*As Sir Thomas More says of the canonists, their business was not "to keep men from sinning, but to inform them quam prope ad pecca- "tum sine peccato liceat accedere; so it seemed, their work (meaning the "prelates) was to try how much of a Papist might be brought in with- "out Popery, and to destroy as much as they could of the Gospel, with- "out bringing themselves into danger of being destroyed by law.*

"Mr. Speaker,—To go yet further, some of them have so industriously "laboured to deduce themselves from *Rome*, that they have given great "suspicion, that in gratitude they desire to return thither, or at least to "meet it half-way. Some have evidently laboured to bring in an *Eng- "lish*, though not a *Roman* Popery. I mean not the outside of it only, "and dress of it, but equally absolute,—a blind obedience of the people "upon the clergy, and of the clergy upon themselves; and have opposed "Popery beyond the sea, that they might settle one beyond the water. "Nay, common fame is more than ordinarily false, if none of them have "found a way to reconcile the opinions of *Rome* to the preferments of "England, and to be so absolutely, directly, and cordially Papists, that "it is all £1500 per annum can do to keep them from confessing it*."

These gentlemen opposed foreign Papacy; but Dr. Pusey has a mani- fest advantage, for he declines to oppose any Papacy. He stands in professed *abeyance*.

We must, however, hurry on to a conclusion: and under the fifth head, it is asserted, that the judge, "either expressly or by implication, "admits the mode of subscription" which Mr. O. claimed. Patience must be sorely tired by such an assertion, after reading the passages which we have quoted above, in which the judge expressly condemns the theory of Mr. Oakeley; but let us come to the arguments.

1. "The judge felt that he had no right to pronounce any decision on Subscription." What the judge really did say, and what he meant, has been previously shewn.

2. It is affirmed that the judgment specifically allowed that a person, having spiritual duties out of the University, might, in the University,

* Rushworth, vol. iv, p. 134.

put forth these interpretations, and yet not be amenable to any court when he returns to his duties. The argument in itself is a perfect *non sequitur*, for it may be true that an Englishman may murder a man in Africa, and when he comes back, may not be amenable to any jurisdiction here; but it will not therefore be true, that the murder was not committed. And so the Court may have no power to interfere "in mere academical discussions" without admitting that there was right in one side or the other. So much for the argument, and now for the fact. The Judgment does not "*specifically*" acknowledge, nor does it imply, what Dr. Pusey asserts; but the Court, after saying as an *obiter dictum*, that it may perhaps be a "*mere academical discussion*," rules that it has to do with a Clergyman of the Church of England in relation to his Bishop.

3. It is argued that, as the court *merely* crushed him personally, and *merely* suspended him from every priestly function for ever, and yet left him his preferment, therefore, it "concedes with one hand as much as it takes away with the other." We should have thought that any adverse decision would have condemned the principle on which subscription was made, and that the amount of punishment would not affect the point decided. It is certain that, unless his claim had in the eyes of the law been wrong, the judge would not have condemned him. But Dr. Pusey complains that the proceedings were not taken under the statute of Elizabeth, for by this he would have been deprived of his preferment. So much for argument and complaint; but the most moderate amount of attention to the case would have informed him that the Queen's advocate, for the best of all reasons, did not proceed under the 13th Elizabeth; for he said, in open court, that he thought Mr. Oakeley's *preferment* in the London Diocese would hardly come under that act, and, therefore, he pleaded under the Church Discipline Act. And when the Court inquired about the nature of punishment under the general law, the answer merely went as far as suspension*. We hope this will explain the matter sufficiently to Dr. Pusey, and that hereafter he will not argue from the defect of punishment in favour of the innocence of his friends, but will remember that all was done that could be done to a clergyman of the London Diocese.

The letter concludes with remarks on "*the real moral value of the decision.*" This we presume is best estimated by its effects. It has purified our Church of some, and will effect more good. It has given sound members a security that the truth will be maintained and

* Judgment, p. 43.

our Articles vindicated from sophistry. And we have hope that it has checked many thoughtless young men, and made them recoil from the danger. We are, however, in the Lord's hands, for we are a pure branch of that Church which shall prevail; and though many a cloud shall obscure its horizon, there is a time when the Sun of Righteousness shall drive them away for ever. These are bitter days in which we live. Every man's hand is against his brother, or, what is worse, few men can trust their brother. It is no common contest which rages around us. It is bush-fighting and concealment, not an open, simple warfare, in which men seem to contend for the truth. Rather should we say that the Tractarians strive to conceal the truth, to evade pledges, and to confuse everything which, by prescription at least, is held sacred by us. And under all this, Mr. Oakeley taunts his opponents with counselling schism, because they recommended him to leave our communion. Schism, what is it? Is it schism to rend the Church by open secession from it? and is it not schism to rend it by remaining in its pale, while you denounce its doctrines and condemn its spirit? It is evident from what Mr. Oakeley writes that he is so much fixed to forms, and bowed down under them, that he cannot appreciate the idea of schism unless there is secession. Tractarianism, in its fundamental principles, is a schism. It originated in precisely the same fault which has given birth to every dissenting communion. The natural restlessness of man, and the onward tendency of controversy, have fully exhibited themselves. It is, however, infinitely inferior to Puritanism in the great characteristics of truth-loving sincerity of heart, and earnestness of purpose. It is impossible for any one closely to examine the history of this schism without becoming painfully acquainted with the subtle policy of its advocates, and the grovelling character of their devices. Puritanism was bold and earnest in its purposes, and straightforward in its actions. Tractarianism has its hundred heads and hundred subterfuges: it speaks darkly, and complains that it is misunderstood; and when men are half inclined to believe their defence, they enunciate some further Romish principle, which for ever sets at rest any dispute about meaning. To take a well-known case, Dr. Pusey speaks of his sermon on the Eucharist being misunderstood, and affirms that he did not write controversially; and yet, forsooth, he claims to hold all Roman doctrine. If he holds it, why anxiously proclaim that he was misunderstood when he taught it? If he holds it, why conceal it from men? The answer is very simple, if drawn from the whole history of Tractarianism. It is necessary for their position. They have the law behind them, and canons in attendance; and, for this reason, they profess to maintain less than they believe. Here is the cause of the many denials

and apologies. But they must also advance, for their unhappy position is somewhat like that of commanders of the Sikh soldiery: the soldiers will cross the Sutlej, and they compel their generals. The leaders of this internal schism urged on their poor followers, but they could not clog their wheels. They gave the impetus, and it has overpowered them. Their position was unhappy, for they had not counted the cost, and accordingly they have been compelled to use deceitful appearances. Do we pity them? From our hearts: but, most of all, because they were born to privileges such as few men, and have fearfully fallen from grace. We regard them already as schismatics, in their own case; for the mere bodily presence in our communion proves nothing. And, above all, do we regard them as *authors* of schism, in that they have perilled many souls by leading them to actual heresy in doctrine, and to the very verge of schism; and, when in this dangerous position, of what avail is it that they have said to their victims, take no further steps? Their victims have been earnest, and they have gone. The leaders have been casuists, and they are with us, or, if not with us, have only deserted our standards when all hope of further toleration was removed. Nor let them talk of bitter words, when their conduct has been bitter to their own Church. Let them not ask for charity when they have had no love to the ordinances of their God, the administration of his Sacraments; when they have shaken the confidence of the laity, and overwhelmed with the deepest sorrow and disgust the clergy; when they have lived in casuistry, and have spread misery in many a home. It is true that these reproaches might be to some the cause of joy, that is, a Romanist ought to exult in family division and persecution, if by it or through it he could win souls from eternal destruction. But for Dr. Pusey there is no such excuse, as he denies not the salvability of our members and the integrity of our Church. It is a mere party which he heads. It is a mere name for which he battles. There is nothing noble or manly, nothing chivalrous or Christian in his policy. He devises to trick our Church into a surrender of her right and independence, and would make us the slaves of that iron system under which Rome once held us. We long to see something honest, even if it be in apostacy; for it is better that such men should shew themselves deluded like their followers, than, by tenacity of preferment, present every indication of a dishonest mind. Nothing is more desirable than that they would clearly contemplate their position in the sight of God and man. If they hope to pervert our Church, let them try it openly and fairly. If their purposes are not to Romanise our Church, which, however, charity itself will not allow, are they *spiritualising* her, or are

they in one iota doing their duty towards her? What steps must follow are as manifest as the answer to these inquiries. If there be one spark of honesty, one remnant of Christian scrupulousness of mind, left in these men, they will abandon their position, and either become honest Protestants or open Romanists.

It is with no desire to replenish Rome or expel members from our Church, or counsel schism, that we have advised him and his friends to secede. The reason which influenced us is, that no Church can long survive this secret schism, this consuming and hidden ulcer, which destroys its vitality and curbs its energy. We would solemnly place before them the only alternative;—either hold our doctrines or leave our communion; sign our Articles *ex animo*, or sign them not; throw yourselves into our Church system, teach by our Articles, live by our Liturgy. Far better had you be members of no visible communion than make your whole lives one constant falsehood. It pains us thus to write, but, if it is true, why should the truth be hidden. It is no schism which we bid you follow. It is no heresy which we beg and pray you to love. Confident we are, that your false doctrines have originated in the cardinal error, that the Bible is insufficient. We entreat you to retrace your steps, and search as your Saviour has bidden. Reason tells you, that God's word is more likely to guide aright than man in his frailty. Revelation, in its simple meaning, will guide you into all truth. There is no need of a developing authority, for the Spirit will guide you. But, believe God and distrust man; we shall then hear no more of schism or divisions which consume the Church. Charity will once more burst forth in its accustomed freshness, and we shall not see that mournful sight—the oldest Society without friends. Suspicion now reigns, and naturally enough, for there are new *secrets* in theology. And, lastly, we can no longer be told of the purity of Romanism, and of our Protestant prejudices against it, for Mr. Newman has drawn a full length portrait of it. It is the mystery of iniquity in full, with its “deified” saints, its Goddess Virgin, its images and pomps, and that crowning folly, which treats a living clay as if it were a deified spirit. Never can we bid men embrace such a deadly system. We ask them to leave their errors, and to render God that free service which He asks. They are now slaves of a system, and victims of their own credulity. Change you must, either in sentiments or in position. If the latter, and Rome is enriched by your apostacy, then may your friends say, in the language of Bishop Hall, “How unhappily is my style “changed! Alas, that to a friend, to a brother, I must write as to an “*apostate*, to an adversary! Doth this seem harsh? You have

"turned it, by being turned, yourself. Once the same walls held us in one loving society; the same diocese in one honourable function; now, not one land, and (which I lament) not one Church. You are gone; we stand and wonder. For a sheep to stray through simplicity is both ordinary and lamentable; but for a shepherd, is more rare, more scandalous. I dare not presume ever much upon an appeal to a *blinded conscience*. Those that are newly come from a bright candle into a dark room are so much more blind as their light was greater." And again, "O Thou which art the Great Shepherd, great in power, great in mercy, which leavest the ninety-and-nine to reduce one, fetch home (if thy will be) this thy forlorn charge; fetch him home; drive him home to thy fold, though by shame, though by death. Let him once recover thy Church—thou him. It is enough. Our common mother, I know not, whether more pities your loss, or disdains thus to be robbed of a son, not for the need of you, but her own piety, her own love*."

* Bishop Hall's Letters, Decade 1, Letter 1.

CORRESPONDENCE.

ANCIENT CEREMONIES AND SUPERSTITIONS.

No. XX.

To the Editors of the Christian's Monthly Magazine and Review.

REVEREND AND DEAR SIRS,

IN entering on the fifteenth century, I approach the confines of the great Protestant Reformation,—the death and funeral obsequies of "Ancient Superstitions." Thus am I admonished to bring to a close the series of Letters to which you have kindly allotted a place in your truly valuable Periodical. I am aware that many apologies are due to you for the crude state of some of my contributions. Various engagements have compelled me to send you these letters without due corrections, and without my being able to make any copy. But since, in most of these contributions, I have come before you more as a compiler than an author, I trust that, notwithstanding these crudities, they have been found useful to many.

Sect. 57. Among many additions to the externals of religion, in the fifteenth century, I would more especially notice the numerous festivals which were instituted in honour of the Virgin Mary. The design of Satan, in every age, has been to take

from the honour of Christ, by giving the glory due to His name to some other person or thing. As Satan cannot now seduce professing Christians to heathen idolatry, he exercises his subtlety in tempting to a refined kind of Popish idolatry. External, works, or even graces, are put in the place of Christ; and thus does the great enemy of souls succeed in effecting the eternal ruin of thousands.

Sect. 58. On the 14th June, 1416, the Communion, in both kinds, was formally interdicted to the laity, by a decree enacted at the Council of Constance; although the practice prevailed long before of administering the sacrament of the Lord's Supper in one kind only. The language used in framing this decree is impiously blasphemous. And it was at the same Council, that, in order to justify their treachery towards John Huss, it was resolved, that "faith" ought not to be kept with heretics." Such is the foundation of *Tractarian Jesuitry*!

In the third session, however, of this Council of Constance, many members shewed a noble boldness in declaring the necessity of Church reform; and they succeeded in passing the following decree:—"Istud sacrum Concilium non debet dissolvi quousque Ecclesia sit reformata in fide et moribus, in capite et membris." Nothing further was then done, beyond appointing another Council to be held, in the course of five years, for considering that decree. After an interval of more than five years, a Council was called at Basil, in the year 1431. The reformation-decree was then confirmed; and the authority of the Popes for the future subjected to that of general Councils. Little, however, or nothing was done towards carrying out the speculative reformation-decree.

Having at length, as I proposed in my introductory letter, brought down this History of "Ancient Ceremonies and Superstitions" to the fifteenth century, I must now conclude, in the earnest prayer, that *our* Protestant reformation-decree may not be speculative, but practical.

Rev. Sirs, with much respect,
Your faithful servant,
Δεσπότης.

Haselbury, 18th Dec. 1845.

NOTICES OF NEW PUBLICATIONS.

On the Present State of the Reformed Church in France. By Edmond Scherer, D.D. London: Hatchard. 1845.

THE number of pages is limited in the work before us, but in every one of them somewhat may be learned. It is clad, much after the manner of its fellows, in a French dress, with striking sentences, and it is pregnant with philosophical emancipations; and still there is a clearness and simplicity.

The first extract which we make deserves a perusal from such persons as see no harm in, and no remedy for endless divisions.

"A church is a society, but a society is not an arbitrary and fortuitous assemblage of heterogeneous elements. It has its principle in an unity of end, in the community of the life that animates it; and if civil society has the cause of its existence in civil life, religious society has, necessarily, the foundation of its being in religious life,—a Christian Church in Christian life, which has the virtue to bring together and unite all those who share it.

"In placing the principle of the Church in Christian life, I must establish an important fact; it is, that this life is not a vague disposition, without form, titles, or evidences, but that it has its principle in a belief. Christian life is the product of Christian faith; that is to say, it rests in every point on a dogmatical conviction. This is not the place in which to develop this truth; to misunderstand it is to misunderstand the whole character of evangelical revelation; it is to deny the necessity of it, it is to put ourselves above and beyond Christianity. But, on the contrary, to admit it, is to acknowledge that the bond of the Church, as a visible and organised society, is essentially this belief in what it has that may be appreciated. Doubtless, faith is real only when it produces life; doubtless, it may be simulated by a profession of the lips, in which the heart has no share; but man, being unable to read the heart of man, is constrained to content himself with an uncertain evidence; a religious community, being an external fact, is obliged to base itself on a principle that can be estimated; and thus, whilst the invisible Church rests only on faith, the visible Church rests on the confession of faith. This is the principle of its imperfection, but it is also the condition of its existence. In the impossibility of grasping the varied and uncertain manifestations of Christian life, it keeps to the principle of that life—to belief; and as that belief conceals itself from the judgment, the Church is reduced to an inquiry into the belief promulgated in Articles,—into the profession of the doctrine. It cannot ask more, without arrogating to itself a spiritual penetration that does not belong to it; it could not ask less, without renouncing the conservative guarantees of its character, without annulling itself as a church.

"The Confession of Faith is, therefore, *the law of the Church*. A church is a Christian society; Christianity is essentially a doctrine, a moral power, that has its principle in facts, which are none other than doctrines; and a church that should renounce an inquiry into the faith of its members, in the measure in which such an inquiry is practicable and legitimate,—such a church might remain a society, but it would be no longer a Christian society, it would be no longer a church."

In speaking of the Reformed Church in France, he says,—

"Its destinies in France have been varied,—as glorious as mournful. It has passed through the funeral pile, civil war, a precarious tolerance, and unheard-of persecution; it remained faithful to itself and to its God through the *dragonades*, the galleys, and exile; and when, taking refuge in the desert, at every interval of oppression, and at the first moment of its enfranchisement, did it reappear in its distinctive character, supported by the past, imbued with its remembrances, jealous of its institutions and of its doctrines. Then came the Revolution. But the new era that Napoleon founded for France, by the re-establishment of society, commenced also a new era for our Church. This is the starting point of our present state, and that which we are more immediately to inquire into. We know what the Reformed Church was in France—we shall see what it has become.

"I shall not enter into inquiry as to the spirit of the ecclesiastical measures of Napoleon, or of the part he designed to make spiritual interests take in the state. I shall not even enter into a detailed criticism of the organic articles. I shall, most of all, be heedful not to engage in so unfruitful a discussion as the question of learning

what is the true meaning of these articles, and whether the letter of the law maintain or virtually abrogate, the confession of faith, the synods, &c. This is not the principal point of the position the organic law has assigned us; and besides, the question is not of the right, but of the fact; it is not of the interpretation, but of the practice; it is not of the written articles, but of present measures, and of a given situation, the titles of which may be disputed, but the reality of which cannot be contested.

"The Reformed Church had suffered in a thousand ways from persecution, but had preserved its own life, its doctrines, and its institutions. Violence had been unable to pervert its character. It was still, essentially, at the beginning of this century, what it had been in the sixteenth. Its personal identity had not been interrupted; it had retained every element of it through time and tempest. What persecution was unable to do, protection has accomplished."

Dr. Scherer then explains that he does not allude to the general question, connexion with the state, but to a simple fact, and proceeds,—

"Now, I maintain that the Reformed Church, having been perverted in its dearest nature, in its most constituent elements, it is perfectly frivolous to speak of union and relation. Of relation to what? To the Reformed Church. But that Church has disappeared; the name subsists, the thing has changed! It is exactly this that I propose to shew.

"We have seen that a church cannot even be imagined without these two things: the doctrine by which it is Christian, and the organisation by which it is a society.

"The legal constitution of worship did not attempt, it is true, to meddle with doctrine. And, indeed, to what good? Beliefs are seldom persecuted but for the profit of some other belief, which is to be held instead. What Napoleon wanted was, not a religion of the state, but a police of worships. The thought of 1802 was a thought of religious indifference and pure politics. It acknowledged the outward fact of the existence of religious societies within civil society, and the not less evident fact of the influence of religious beliefs on the multitude; and therefore it undertook to give an official character to churches, that their influence might not be left beyond the control of the state. There was no machiavellism in the project, nor yet in the execution of it; it was neither a religious thought or a hostile design that guided the legislator; but, on the one side, personal indifference for the dogmas professed by the Churches, and, on the other, the conviction that these doctrines, true or false, are still, in our days, a power that the state cannot avoid taking into account.

"The legal constitution did not touch the doctrines of the Reformed Church of France. Having neither the wish nor the occasion to meddle with beliefs, preoccupied with the external side of the ecclesiastical phenomenon, it is the organisation that it modified. On this side, there were not so many susceptibilities to keep terms with; men who would have died for their faith might have hesitated to claim their institutions; besides, it seemed almost ungrateful not to give up forms, when official recognition, protection, and salary, were received in exchange. And, let us say, also, the Reformed Church was not, could not be consulted; a general synod alone had the mission to conclude such a contract, admitting, even, that the contract was not a suicidal act, and that a Church has the right to put an end to its existence; the legal constitution of our church was not proposed to it, but imposed upon it; and one morning it was found inscribed in the budget, and in the rank of the constituted bodies of the state, but perverted, not recognisable; let us say, rather, it was found suppressed, thenceforth to live only in its remembrances, and in what it had that was virtually imperishable.

"We may, indeed, distinguish the doctrines from the institutions of a Church, but

we cannot separate them. These last have, evidently, no signification but from their relation to the first; no value, but in proportion as they contribute to preserve the religious society in its life and purity. Yet, once more, it is the relation of the soul to the body; the latter, by itself, is only matter, but it is the seat, the form, the organ of the spirit; the spirit cannot without it live a true life; the destruction of the body is what we call death, and the resurrection of the body must precede everlasting life!"

This will be rendered more intelligible by some later remarks.

"The characteristic and essential institution of Presbyterianism is the general synod. That is the apex of the hierarchy, formed by the consistories, the conferences, and the provincial synods. We have there the general representation of every individual church, and, consequently, the common link, without which they would form only so many isolated unities. We have there, at the same time, the court of final appeal, the definitive judge of questions, the supreme and highest authority. In a word, it is the head of the system, the centre to which all the members are attached, and whence the general direction of the whole body emanates.

"I say, that by lopping off this head, the ecclesiastical constitution that now regulates us, has annihilated the Reformed Church amongst us, in so far as it consists in an organisation of its own.

"The synod was the bond of unity of this Church. The bond retrenched, what has happened? Need we say? The Church has been scattered and dispersed, the whole has resolved itself into its constituent parts, the individual unities have returned to their isolation, the members have separated from each other; that is to say, the body has ceased to exist as a body. *We had a Church, we have now only churches. The proper character of our ecclesiastical system was the association of churches, in opposition to the system of isolation; by the suppression of the synod, this isolation has become our system. Our regime was Presbyterianism,—it has lapsed into Congregationalism.* What is this to say, but that, for all that concerns the system, form and organisation, we were a Reformed Church, and we are so no longer?"

And the disastrous effects are described as follows:—

"The consistories, instead of being composed of the most experienced Christians of a flock, are formed of the most considerable or the most busy amongst them. Our schools of theology teach pell-mell orthodoxy and rationalism! Any professor may, uncontrolled, and, we must acknowledge, without failing in any engagement, overthrow revealed religion by criticism, and natural religion by speculation. The pastors enjoy the same latitude; and the churches and consistories, opposed to each other, are the same also. All this is ridiculous, it is hateful; but it is all perfectly unavoidable. With the suppression of the synod, that is to say, of the organ of ecclesiastical authority, the dogmatical unity of course disappeared, the direction of instruction of course ceased. This is the sense in which I have advanced that our legal constitution, by overthrowing the key-stone of our organisation, has not ruined institutions only, but the doctrine of our Reformed Church: it is in this sense that I advanced that this Church, deprived at once of its social character and of its dogmatic character, of its form and of its doctrine,—deprived of that which constituted it a Christian Church, and distinguished it as a particular Church,—has truly ceased to exist in the rank of the other religious communities: its name remains, but now only designates a corpse, a phantom, or, if you please, a remembrance and a hope!"

Above all, this Christian faith will shew itself, however checked.

" But there are still faith and life amongst these ruins and these miseries. Despite this encroaching and fatal individualism, there are still love for the Saviour and zeal for his cause. Amidst the indifference for the serious questions I have hitherto touched, there is yet a chord to make to vibrate; for he who could hear without emotion that the legal constitution has carried away from us the Reformed Church, and the very elements of every form truly ecclesiastical, may feel touched at the accusations I bring against that constitution, when he shall understand that the interests of Christianity itself are at stake."

There are warnings for us, as well as advice for our brethren in France, to be found in this essay; but the rest we leave to those who will peruse the work itself.

The Miscellaneous Works and Remains of the Rev. Robert Hall; with a Memoir of his Life. By Olinthus Gregory, LL.D., F.R.A.S. *And a Critical Estimate of his Character and Writings.* By John Foster. London: Henry G. Bohm. 1846.

It is a very extraordinary sign of the character of our age, that a publisher should send out a thick and handsome volume, of five hundred and seventy pages, for a very trifling amount. It hardly appears whether we are to expect the whole of Robert Hall's works in this form; but, if such is the case, his name will be far more extended than it is at present. Even a few years since, it would have been thought insanity to suppose that half the amount of matter could be published in a respectable form for three shillings and sixpence. The idea has been forced on the publisher; but he has evidently taken it up heartily, and in a way which ensures success.

The Mind and its Culture. A Lecture delivered to the Young Men's Association for acquiring Christian and Scientific Knowledge in connexion with Herdsfield, on Wednesday Evening, December 17th, 1845. By the Rev. W. Crump, Incumbent of St. Peter's, Maoclesfield. London: Longman & Co. 1846.

It would be impossible to sketch an outline of this very valuable lecture. The matter is abundant and fully illustrated by incidents which denote a considerable amount of reading, as well as an accuracy of judgment. The style is vivid; and the lecturer, in every page, shews that he understands and appreciates the subject before him. The plain common sense of this lecture is not inferior to its soundness in philosophical theory. We can but augur a vast amount of good from the patronage which the clergy, in many parts, give to similar institutions; and sincerely wish that in every instance they may be enabled to find as talented and powerful a lecture, and as sound in its tendencies as in the pamphlet before us. Religion has nothing to fear from sound education; but infidelity has everything to gain from a false system, which, by refusing to teach, loses the power of selection and guidance, and leaves the restless mind unbridled and unassisted.

A Sermon on the Death of an Infant Son. By his Father. Printed for private circulation only, by F. Makeig. Crewkern. 1846.

ALTHOUGH this valuable Sermon is printed for private circulation, we cannot resist the temptation of referring to it. Perhaps it will be more seemly to select a passage without adding an unnecessary comment on our part. "The spiritually-taught parent, in watching over the sick bed and dying couch of his suffering child, learns many things experimentally. He 'hears the rod and Who hath appointed it.' He looks beyond the second cause, and receives a message from heaven. He beholds, in the sufferings of redeemed innocence the evil of sin. His thoughts revolve to the cross and passion of the Just One, who died for the unjust. He sees sin, reflected as in a glass, clothed with all its native curses. He looks within his own heart and searches narrowly his spiritual frame, to discover the cause of Divine anger. He prays for light to discover some sins of ignorance, it may be, or of infirmity, which have grieved the spirit and attracted the wrath of Divine justice. He seeks from above grace and strength to enable him to strip off those deceitful garments under which the causes of provocation may have long lain concealed. He knows well that there *must* be a cause to be revealed, and an *end* to be effected. Like the holy and devout widow of Zarephath, he cries out, 'Art thou come unto me to call my sin to remembrance, and to slay my son.' He feels every pang endured by his suffering child as principally designed to pierce the parent's heart, to probe deep, and to lay bare the corrupt humours which had concentrated there. The more acute and intense the agony under which his child suffers, the more deep his own spiritual disease, which required so sharp a remedy."

This sermon was preached on Innocent's Day, and the parent rejoices that his little one is enrolled amongst the innocents in glory.

The New Jerusalem, or New Church Heresy of Emanuel Swedenborg, exposed and refuted. By the Rev. S. Gomperty, B.A., Perpetual Curate of Chalford, Gloucestershire. Nailsworth: Partridge. 1846.

A *most* valuable exposure of the awful heresy of Swedenborg. Error does not die a natural death, or there would be less of this absurd and wicked system in our days. Every heresy seems busy, from Romanism upwards; but the Lord he is God. The unquietness of the earth will only manifest His power.

Sharp's London Magazine. Parts II, III, IV. December, 1845; January and February, 1846.

THIS work amply merits the praise which we accorded to its first Part; and, if only the present standard is retained, it bids fair to become one of the most popular and valuable of the lighter productions of the day.

MISCELLANEA.

We do not set our seal of agreement to this letter, but it may interest our readers as the opinion of a man of mind, and a foreigner.

TO THE RIGHT REV. THE BISHOP OF CHESTER.

London, July 28, 1845.

MY LORD AND VERY REVEREND FATHER,

To-morrow, if the Lord will, I take my departure for the Continent, but I cannot leave England without expressing to you my regret that your journey to Durham has not permitted my meeting you, either in London or in your diocese, where I spent some days, the remembrance of which will ever be precious to me. I should have had many things to hear from you, and possibly some remarks to make. Allow me, then, to take advantage of the moments that remain, to write to you what I have not been able to communicate in person. The impressions of a foreign Christian, who has just passed some time in your country, may possess some interest for you, and I only regret that I have not days instead of moments to lay my thoughts before you.

Permit me, my lord, first to express my gratitude for the truly English and truly Scottish hospitality that I have experienced in your isle. I have not met one person that was a stranger to me. I have found none but friends and brothers. Everywhere I have found hands that shook my hand, and hearts that responded to mine. I have felt as if I had not left my fatherland. But, my lord, what has rejoiced me more than anything in this welcome is, that it was given not so much on my account as on account of our blessed and holy Reformation. It was the Protestant sentiment that lives in so many hearts in England, which welcomed with affection him who has been called to write with feeble hand some pages of that great history. I here express my gratitude for that interest; I have seen with joy that it exists in all classes of society.

I shall not speak to you, my lord, of the general impression that England has produced on me,—its industry,—its fleets,—its power,—

others can do this ; but I feel myself compelled to state my impressions in regard to some matters which relate to its most precious interests, to its religious and Protestant character. I may be mistaken on some of the points which I shall mention ; I therefore content myself with expressing the candid feelings of a stranger, who is not a stranger, appealing to a judgment more experienced than his own, and to that love of their country and their Church, which is so deep in English hearts, and particularly, my lord, in yours.

You are aware of what is passing on the Continent. It appears that a second reformation, a reformation of the 19th century, is commencing. In Germany many churches are detaching themselves from the Church of Rome, and ranging themselves under the authority of the word of God. At Breslau alone the new Roman Catholic Church has 12,000 members, and has just been joined by Mons. Theiner, a most distinguished man, and doctor of theology. It is true that one portion of these new Catholics made, at their meeting at Leipsic, a confession of faith that seems far from sufficient, and which, as far as I can remember, is simply, " I believe in God the Father, the Creator of the world, and in Jesus Christ his Son, our Saviour, and in the Holy Spirit, and in a Christian Church, and in eternal life." But another portion of them at Berlin has made a much more satisfactory declaration ; and we may hope that the others, by Divine assistance, will advance. We cannot expect a new-born child to possess the faculties of a full-grown man. The reaction of this movement on the churches which continue attached to Rome is not less important. Quite recently the chapter of Lintzgau (Baden) met to deliberate on their actual position. Many reforms were proposed, and in particular the abolition of forced celibacy. An old pastor, Mr. Hahn, of Markdorf, rose, and said, " In eight days I shall have passed the 76th year of my life. You will then readily believe me when I assure you that I have no thoughts of marrying ; but study and experience oblige me, as did in former days the aged Bishop Paphnucius, in the Council of Nice, to express the ardent wish that our Church would ' not impose on its priests burdens more heavy than Jesus Christ has done.' I vote for the proposition and say, yes." What is passing in France is not less remarkable. The labours of our evangelical and Bible societies, which for many years have been spreading the Word of God and the knowledge of His grace in Christ, are and have been blessed. During the last ten years, in Burgundy and other parts of France, new evangelical churches had been forming, composed of Roman Catholics, who had been converted one by one. During the last year, however, a new era has commenced. Whole populations are detaching themselves from Rome, and demanding evan-

gical ministers. In the Limousin six churches have separated themselves from Rome, and have now six pastors and six schoolmasters. In the province of Saintonge (near Bordeaux) there are about one hundred parishes, demanding ministers, and saying they will no longer have Romish priests. Six weeks ago at Sens a great movement took place; 1500 to 2000 persons detached themselves from the Romish worship, and two evangelical ministers whom I personally know, and who have been sent there, cannot suffice for all their wants. In the environs of that city five parishes have also, through the medium of their mayors, demanded ministers; their demands have been put off by dilatory answers, which have had so little success, that now there are 39 parishes who renounce the mass, and will have only the preaching of Jesus Christ. The conversions of Roman Catholic priests are also very numerous. In vain was one of them, the much respected ex-Abbé Maurette imprisoned for a year in Paris, for having in a pamphlet explained the reasons that led him to abandon the Pope and come to Jesus Christ: the priests have not been frightened. This winter, at Geneva, on the seats of the Theological College where I teach, and where Maurette had spent some time, I had again, amongst my students, four priests, two of them French, one a Belgian, and one a Spaniard, the last formerly superior of a convent, and chevalier of the order of Isabella Catholica; at Dijon, one of the leading clergymen of the place, M. Trivier, has separated from Rome, and he finds that he is not able to meet the wants of all the Roman Catholics who ask of him conferences and instructions.

Such, my lord, is the state of the Continent. A great evangelical and anti-Roman movement is going on there. This is a fact which must strike the mere politicians not less than the man of religious conviction.

Now, when a foreign Christian arrives among you, what does he see in Protestant England? What is his astonishment when he hears of a directly opposite movement, and when he sees it with his eyes? I will not give way to exaggerated fears: England is Protestant, and she will remain so. But he that desires the end must also desire the means. There are doctrines maintained in England, with much zeal and courage, which are the doctrines of the Council of Trent, and not those of the Reformation. At the same time a tone and appearance even more and more Romish are sought to be given to your public worship. I will cite one example, more important than it may at first appear. The day before yesterday I wished, before leaving, to see your magnificent castle of Windsor. In returning, I entered the chapel of the school at Eton. I was struck at seeing above the altar a large picture, painted on the glass

of the window, representing the crucifixion, with the women at the foot of the cross, and above this another picture representing a subject of the same nature, recalling to me most vividly the Romish chapels in Italy. On inquiry, I was told that the one of these pictures had been there for little more than one year, and the other for little more than two weeks, and that the expense had each year been defrayed by a collection among the boys of the school, and that it was expected that every year a fresh picture of a like description would be added by a similar contribution. Thus then, having little hopes of the parents, do they attack the children : here is the religion of images, instead of the religion of the Bible, impressed on the minds of the sons of the first families in England. The same day the newspapers announced the conversion to Romanism of two Protestant clergymen. So we see that in many respects the movement in England is in an opposite direction to that which is going on upon the Continent of Europe.

Should not such a state of things arrest the serious attention of the well-wishers of their Church, and the friends of their country? Is it not to the Reformation that England owes her dignity and her power? In the sixteenth century Spain was all-powerful, and England feeble. But, thanks to the Gospel, Popish Spain has fallen, and Protestant England extends her power even to the ends of the world. Will she lose what constitutes her greatness, her prosperity, her life, her glory?

Allow me now, my lord, to mention three properties or peculiar qualities of the Church of Christ, of which I should desire to see more in the Church of which you are one of the rulers and guides.

The first is *apostolicity*. I think that apostolical authority should reign in the Church, but I cannot conceal my astonishment and grief in observing that many doctors substitute, for this apostolical authority, a synodical, patristical, theological, episcopal, in a word, a human authority. I do not deny that the traditions of the times which succeeded the days of the Apostles may be usefully consulted; but in no case can these be put on the same rank with the apostolical tradition itself; and, as St. Augustine has said, the declarations of the fathers are of no value, except in so far as they are conformed to the canonical writings. Indeed the apostolical tradition has been precious guarded for us in the sacred writings of the New Testament. This is the only source from which all ages are called to draw the knowledge of true Christianity. The Church of Rome boasts of enjoying the instructions of the successors of St. Peter; but we have much more than a successor of successors. We have St. Peter himself in the midst of us, teaching us immediately by his writings, and by the power of the Holy Spirit which dictated them. And we have not only St. Peter, we have in the midst of us St. Paul,

St. John, St. James, St. Matthew. The Apostles of our Lord Jesus at this day still exercise their functions in the Church, and no one is needed, nor has any one the right to take their place. They preach remission of sins, and conversion; they declare the resurrection of the crucified One; they teach missionaries and ministers; they extend the Church and preside in its councils. Let us leave it to the Church of Rome, which is a human Church, to support herself on the authority of men, of St. Thomas, St. Gregory, and St. Basil. But let your Church, my lord, claim no other authority than that of the Apostles of the Lord; let her desire no other power than that Word of God "which is sharper than a two-edged sword;" let her become more entirely, sincerely, exclusively *apostolical*. She is so, without doubt, in her Articles; let her become so entirely, without excepting any of her ministers or her members. This is, I think, the first of her wants.

The second is *Catholicity*. This was one of the most plainly expressed desires of the reformers of the sixteenth century; they wished a Catholic Church of Christ, embracing all those who confess the Lord. This is still the spirit which animates you, my lord, you and so many other respected ministers of Christ in the Anglican Church; but I cannot tell you how I have been grieved at meeting on many occasions with a bigotted and sectarian spirit, instead of this Catholic spirit. Never, however, was it more necessary. Until now, and for nearly three centuries, great importance has been attached to the nationality of the Church. I think that now this importance should be attached to its Catholicity. The vocation of the Church is to assemble all the families of the earth in but one family, to re-unite in one body the dispersed members of humanity. Everything announces that the moment when this great work should commence has arrived. But how can the Church perform this duty if she be herself troubled with so many divisions? The Catholicity of the Church must be re-established. But what our times demand is not an exclusive sectarian Catholicity; it is a universal, a Catholic Catholicity. Let us leave sectarian Catholicity to the Greek Church and to the Roman Church, and let us not establish amongst us a third sectarian Catholicity still more ridiculous than the two first. The cause of these sectarian and external Catholicities (one might count more than three of them) is always the same. That the Church ought to be one is what all admit. But when the unity does not consist in vitality men seek to establish it by formality. All sectarian Catholicity comes from the want of the spirit of Christ in the body of the Church. It proceeds from the want of love, of faith, of hope,—in one word, of life.

If false Catholicity comes from the spirit having left the body of the

Church, true Catholicity will be re-established by the return of this same spirit. The Greeks, the Romans, and other sectarian Catholics, say that the Church is first external and then may be internal. For us, we say that the Church is first internal and then external.

The false Catholics say—"The connexion of each Christian with Christ, depends upon his connexion with the Church." True Catholics say—"The connexion of each Christian with the Church, depends on his connexion with Christ." Oh, my lord, let me implore every minister, every member of the Church of England, or rather every Christian of Great Britain, to be united, really and cordially united, with whoever is united to Jesus Christ. Why should we separate and draw off from those to whom the Lord draws near? I have not a doubt that were this spiritual union established, external divisions would gradually diminish. Who would not desire to see extinguished the spirit of sect and of party, and to see established in its place a peaceful and holy union among all the Christians of England? But we must force nothing. We must seek first of all unity of spirit; then, perhaps, unity of confession and action. As to unity of incorporation, I do not think it should be sought with impatience, or by human means; but why should we not conclude that the Lord himself will give it to his people, according to his promise (John, x). Let us more and more allow the barriers which separate us to fall,—Disseminate their ancient prejudices, and the ministers of the Established Church those doctrines which stop the union of Christians, and which, like apostolical succession, and the necessity of episcopal ordination, are unknown to the articles of your religion.

I can assure you, my lord, that one of the most agreeable remembrances that I carry with me from England is, that of having tasted the first fruits of this precious union. I have found myself as a brother in the midst of all denominations. Some of the most esteemed men in your Church have recalled to mind that three centuries ago Christians from the Continent—the Bucer and the Peter Martyrs, had received a cordial welcome in the Church of England, and without allowing themselves to be arrested by the new ideas, have shewn themselves faithful to the ancient principles of the Anglican Church. It is true that Bucer and Peter Martyrs have taught in your universities, whilst I have not even thought of such an honour, of which I am too unworthy. But I shall ever recollect with gratitude that I have been welcomed with affection by Englishmen of every Christian denomination; and I carry with me the sweet remembrance of having been seated at the hospitable table of Independents and of Presbyterians, of Baptist Noel and of Bickersteth, of the Dean of Westminster and of the Bishop of London.

Let us hope, my lord, that one day, and soon, we shall be all, by grace, seated at one table, where for admission it will not be asked, "Are you of Calvin, or of Brown, or of Wesley, or of Luther, or of Cranmer?" but "Are you of Christ?"

A third property which appears to me wanting in your Church is autonomy, or self-government. This quality is an essential one for every Christian Church, and is a fundamental one in every human society. There is no society which does not govern itself by itself, its representatives, its delegates. A society which should be governed by another society would scarcely deserve the name; in any case it would be an enslaved and not a free society. I have no doubt upon the principle in general; the self-government of the Church is to me a fixed principle. But, in so far as regards the application of this principle to your Church, the moment when its application should be made, the manner in which it should be realised, then I feel the need of speaking with reserve and discretion, and of submitting my views to men more enlightened than myself, and to you, my lord, in particular. I do not hesitate to say that this subject is of the highest importance, that it merits the attention of your bishops, your presbyters, your laity; of the ministry of your Queen, and of your parliament; but, I repeat it, I put far from me all absolute dogmatism, and I content myself with humbly submitting my views.

Everywhere the Church of Rome is agitating, and its hierarchy shews new vigour. On the European continent, in America, in India, in Otaheite, in China—but nowhere, perhaps, more than in England. Prayers are instituted for your conversion, and the Romanists cry loudly, "Let us but gain England, and the Reformation is gone."

The same movement took place at the end of the 16th and in the 17th century, by the same power of the Jesuits. The result was the almost complete destruction of Protestantism in France, and important successes in other countries. The Papacy has now for some time flattered herself that she will destroy Protestantism in England. Mr. Ranke, in his history of the Popes, has sketched some of the phases of this restoration of Catholicism. The Church fell off. My lord, we must be on our guard so to act that a new 17th century come not to afflict the friends of the Gospel.

In this new contest of the nineteenth century the Church of England has to sustain the rudest conflict. But if this Church has no government of its own, it is surely placed in the most unfavourable circumstances. It is like a ship exposed to the storms of the ocean without pilot and without helm.

To leave the Church of England without a government of its own, in

the circumstances in which we are placed, is not to do it justice; it is to place it in a position of inferiority, and to deliver it up to imminent dangers. And more than this, I see indeed in England episcopal churches, a certain number of dioceses in juxta-position, but I cannot see there a Church of England forming one single body.

The Catholic emancipation of 1829 renders a change necessary in the government of the Church of England. I am not speaking either for or against. I take it as a fact. Roman Catholics sit in parliament, Dissenters the same. The parliament is no longer fitted to be the court before which the interests of the Church should be debated.

What! the Protestant Church governed by a council in which many sit who are devoted to the Pope! The celebrated O'Connell and his partisans legislators for the Reformed Church! Our reformers would have recoiled from such a thought; and I cannot think that any Protestant can resign himself easily to such a state of things. It is as absurd, it is even more absurd, for the Protestant Church to be governed by a body partly composed of Roman Catholics, than it would be for the state of Great Britain to be governed by a body partly composed of Frenchmen and of Prussians.

Until 1829 self-government—this law essential to every society—existed, though perhaps imperfectly, in the Church of England. In truth the parliament was a part of the Church; and it is only in this quality that it had the right to govern it. But can one now say that the parliament of England is of the Anglican Church? Certainly not. It cannot then govern the Anglican Church. The immediate consequence of the act of 1829 should have been the creation of a new government of the Church. It is virtually contained in the emancipation; it could have been only delayed. The corollary should now be disengaged from the theorem. But if this were an advantage for the Church, it were possibly a still greater advantage for the government and for parliament.

The Roman Catholic emancipation is not an isolated fact, it is the commencement of a long series of facts; it is also the beginning of a new order of things. The government is no longer exclusively Protestant, the Roman Catholics are admitted into the interests of the nation, the government must think of them. I do not think, my lord, that one can impute to your ministry this change. New times bring new combinations; the ministry follows the march of the age, it does not precede it. We must be just towards all, and particularly towards men in power. But how will your government be able to combine its quality of head of the Protestant Church, with its new duties towards Roman Catholics and Dissenters? It is, I think, impossible. The line which

it adopts must produce a constant irritation in one party of the nation. If the Parliament were to be re-elected now, the Maynooth bill might change the majority of the House of Commons, and so even overthrow the ministry. The Government, with these complicated interests, will continually have difficulties and enemies, and will see itself, at a moment when least expected, compelled to retire. Its situation must be simplified, and I think that its situation would be considerably simplified were an ecclesiastical government created distinct from the civil government. This would take away from the ministry a burden and thorns, which they ought not to regret. The difficulties have already been great, but from year to year they will increase.

Parliament, too, would be relieved. It loves not religious discussions—it is ill at ease when they occur: they are, so to speak, impossible. What sort of a government for a society is that which cannot discuss the interests of that society? Can there be a more striking contradiction? One of the leading statesmen of England said lately, that ecclesiastical matters should not be discussed theologically, but politically. Such a declaration decides the question. What would a society charged with presiding over the sciences be, in which questions on natural philosophy, astronomy, chemistry had to be discussed, not according to science, but according to politics? The case that I now adduce is, nevertheless, even more extraordinary still.

The Church of Rome has a government of its own; each dissenting Church the same: the Anglican Church alone has none. The government that she has is a political government—a mixed government, composed of her friends and her enemies. What a privilege! Truly she would have everything to gain in ceasing to be the national Church.

The same state of things occurred three years ago at Geneva. In consequence of a revolution the Roman Catholics entered in great numbers into the councils of the nation, which until then had been the supreme government of the Reformed Church. With some friends, I was shocked at the idea of a Reformed Church governed by a council partly Popish. I published successively five pamphlets on the question. All politicians were agreed that such a state of things could not exist; and the constitution created a body composed of twenty-four Protestant laymen and fifteen ecclesiastics, to which were remitted all the powers that had formerly belonged to the council.

Geneva is a very small example; but I do not hesitate to say, that I think a similar moment has arrived for England.

It is to the parliament that ecclesiastical power now belongs—it is for the parliament to act. The parliament should constitute an exclusively

Protestant and Anglican body, to whom it should remit all its powers for the government of the Church.

Of whom should this body be composed ?

In the history of the government of the English Church there are two great periods.

During the first, which reaches until the last century (if I mistake not, under George I), the ecclesiastical government was purely clerical. It was a convocation composed of a chamber of bishops and of a chamber of presbyters. This government did not prosper; the Jacobite presbyters quarrelled with the Whig bishops. Its powers were taken away; and in reality a government purely clerical is, without doubt, the most defective of all ecclesiastical governments.

Then commenced the second epoch. Parliament adopted the attributes of the convocation; an almost purely lay government succeeded the first. It is evident, for the reasons which have been before set forth, that this government can no longer go on.

But, if these two systems, which are both extremes, are both equally defective, I think there is a third, which will be found the right one. It is a middle system—a combination of the two preceding—a government partly lay and partly ecclesiastical.

I shall not enter into details. Should there be two houses, as in the Episcopal Church of America—the one of bishops, the other of presbyters and lay deputies? or should there be only one, as in the ancient councils of the Church?—I will not enter upon this. It would be easy to take precautions that all political tendencies should be forbidden to this body, and this, doubtless, would not even be necessary. In America, a similar body produces no inconvenience in regard to the state. Everywhere in our days similar wants are felt. The Church which perhaps resembled most the English Church, by its want of self-government, was the Prussian Church. The king has felt it. This truly Christian prince has just caused all the ministers of the different circles (or counties) of his monarchy to be assembled in synods; each circle separately, and has put before them these three questions:—Should these synods meet regularly? Should lay members be added? Should there be a general Synod for the whole Prussian Church? Unanimously, if I am not mistaken, have they replied in the affirmative to these three questions. These replies are now before the King, and the organisation of the Prussian Church will, doubtless, not long be waited for. When all is advancing, shall the Church of England alone remain stationary?

Without doubt the distinguished man who now presides over the government of England, and who has been sometimes reproached for

measures which appeared contrary to the Protestant interests, will show—by attention to the wants of the Church, and by following perhaps in some respects the conduct of the illustrious monarch who presented for baptism the heir of your three kingdoms—that he has, on the contrary, a sincere and active love for the Protestant Church.

Apostolicity, Catholicity, the self-government of the Church—such were, my lord and very reverend father, the three points on which, in taking leave of you and England, I desired humbly to express my opinions. You will easily have recognised that they are precisely the three favourite points of a party that now occupies a commanding position in one of your universities, from which I am certainly very far removed, but whose talents, acquirements, and zeal nothing shall prevent my recognising. If these three principles could bring those near who are separated—if the distinguished men of whom I speak could come to the true Apostolicity—the true Catholicity—the true self-government of the Church, I should experience lively joy.

A good ecclesiastical government may be useful, and very useful to the Church. Let us not, however, forget that the Church can be blessed under the most defective government, and that even with the most perfect administrative system, the thing essential, the thing necessary, is the communication of the Spirit from on high; it is faith, charity, and living Christianity.

In taking leave of you, then, my lord, I implore the blessing of God upon you, upon your Church, upon this great nation. If the government can no more be exclusively Protestant, let the nation at least shew itself more and more Christian. If men in power see themselves obliged, by a change of times, to withdraw from many positions which the Protestant state of England formerly occupied, these positions must not remain empty; men of faith must hasten to occupy them. My lord, continental Christians depend for the triumph of God's kingdom, on all the earth, first of all, on the power of Him who has said, "that the gates of hell shall not prevail against His Church;" but they depend also, I must say it, on the Christian people of England. It is not for nothing that God has given you ships, which cover the seas, and can bear to the whole habitable world the good news of salvation. We do not seek the aid of your cannon, as Rome did at Otaheite the cannon of France. Triumphs like these are disgraceful for those who gain them, and we utterly reject them. We know that our weapons must not be carnal, but those that are mighty through the power of God. But we know also that the Christians of England have received much, and that much will be required of them. May God, then, shed on your

people a fresh measure of his Spirit, and may Christian England, the nation which God has chosen amongst you, be to the world, "that city set upon a hill, whose light cannot be hid," but filleth the whole universe !

Receive, my lord, and very reverend father, the expression of respect with which I remain your devoted servant and brother in Christ our head.

(Signed) J. H. MERLE D'AUBIGNE, D. D.

THE following is the Bishop of Ripon's reply to the Leeds Memorial on Mr. Newman's apostasy :—

" My Rev. and dear Brethren,—I have received with feelings of grateful satisfaction the token of your kindness and good will, in the address presented to me from many among the clergy, belonging as well to my own as to other dioceses, who were present at the recent consecration of St. Saviour's Church, Leeds ; and I have felt the more deeply this expression of your respect and sympathy at the present moment, as it is assuredly one of peculiar difficulty, and very anxious trial, to all those who bear rule in the Church of this land.

" The immediate cause of anxiety for us all, to which you especially allude, is the lamented departure of several of our brethren who have lately forsaken our communion. It is indeed matter for much sadness and sorrow that any of its members should have been so deceived as to lend their talents,—given them, as I truly believe, for far other ends,—to support the cause of ecclesiastical usurpation, of creature worship, and of religious imposture. But, unhappily, their minds being thus overclouded, and their affections alienated from the Church in whose bosom they were born anew to spiritual life, and nourished by the ample means of grace therein mercifully afforded to the children of God, and their influence once exerted to seduce others from their allegiance to her, it is, indeed, well that they have gone out from among us, and can no longer misuse the power committed to them by our Church to her own hurt and hindrance.

" For these fallen brethren we shall never, I trust, cease to pray, in the spirit of compassionate love, that their hearts may be led by the Eternal Spirit of Truth to discern the error of their ways, and to return to the fold which they have forsaken.

"But their unhappy trespass will surely read a lesson of seasonable warning to each of us, and remind us that we cannot, with impunity, pour contempt upon the Church of our baptism, in which we have grown in grace, and in the saving knowledge of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ; that if we wantonly despise the spiritual privileges we have enjoyed within it, instead of thankfully and reverently using them, where God has appointed us our place, we may well expect that he will, in his anger, take them from us, and that if we will indulge in a morbid yearning after an earthly visible centre of union, while we have the Lord Jesus Christ as our spiritual head, ever living to dispense to us from above the rich blessings of His Covenant of Grace, we may be provoking the Lord of Hosts to punish us, as he did the Israelites of old, by giving us up to our hearts and lusts, and letting us follow our own imaginations.

"The lamented fall of our brethren will likewise teach us the danger of tampering with practices which may seem to us innocent and even edifying; but of which history and experience have so forcibly proved to us the peril, and which the Church of England has either expressly reprobated or tacitly discountenanced. For my own part, I confess that I feel little temptation to despondency or discouragement, when I look to the many signal marks of God's providential care vouchsafed to our Church, to the truth and purity of the doctrines she teaches, and to the many evidences of spiritual life within her, among which I would thankfully acknowledge the assurance given me by such a body as yourselves, of your anxiety to devote yourselves more earnestly than ever to the duties of your sacred calling in the Church whose vows are upon you. Let us only hold fast her doctrines of primitive authority—let us but carry out, in the spirit of fidelity, her recognised teaching as embodied in that definite expression of Gospel truth set forth in her Liturgy, Articles, and Homilies, remembering that, in subordination to the enlightenment of the spirit of God, we have accepted these as our interpreters of His holy word, and we may humbly believe that we shall be safe ourselves, and likewise, through grace, save them who hear us.

"I thank you affectionately for the promise of your prayers, which I feel to be especially needed in times when principles hitherto held most sacred and incontrovertible are tried and sifted to their very foundation; and I would entreat you to believe that, in all which I have said in reply to your address of kindness and respect, it has been my anxious wish to speak the truth in love. My own imperfect prayer shall, in return, be willingly offered for you, my reverend brethren, that in this season of your trial you may find your faith confirmed, your hope invigorated,

your attachment increasing towards the Church of which you are the ordained ministers, and your hands strengthened in carrying on the heavenly work of winning souls to Christ among those several flocks over which you are set in the Lord.

“ I remain, your affectionate brother and servant,

“ C. T. RIFON.

“ Palace, Ripon, Dec. 26, 1845.”

KING'S COLLEGE, LONDON.—NEW THEOLOGICAL DEPARTMENT.

The following most important addition to King's College has just been determined on, with the full consent of his Grace the Archbishop, and the Bishop of London. It will be seen that it places facilities within reach of the middle classes of the metropolis, by which young men, residing in their own homes, may be prepared for the ministry, at an expense probably less than half of that which has been heretofore required:—

Extract from the Minutes of the Council of the 9th of January, 1846.

“ Resolved,—

“ 1. That a theological department, under the immediate superintendence and direction of the principal, be established in this college.

“ 2. That, 1st, all such students of King's College, London, as shall have passed three years (or, in the case of those who have spent the two years immediately preceding in the school, or in one of the schools in union, two years) in the department of general literature and science, and shall thereupon, in consideration of good conduct and industry, have received the diploma of an associate; and 2nd, all persons being graduates of Oxford or Cambridge, and bearing sufficient testimonials of good character, and being also approved by the principal; and, 3rd, all persons who, after having been examined and reported as fit by the principal shall be recommended by a bishop—may be admitted as students in theology.

“ 3. That no person shall be admitted a student in theology until he have, in the presence of the principal, or of one of the theological professors hereinafter mentioned, subscribed the Thirty-nine Articles of Religion.

" 4. That the course of study in this department shall be continued during six academical terms (two years), and shall comprehend the following subjects :—

" The Evidence of Natural and Revealed Religion ;

" The Holy Scriptures in the Original Languages ;

" The Thirty-nine Articles of Religion ;

" The Book of Common Prayer ;

" Ecclesiastical History, both Ancient and Modern ;

" The Theory and Practice of the Pastoral Office, including the reading of the Liturgy, and the composition and delivery of Sermons.

" 5. That theological professors (and, as need may require, tutors) shall be appointed by the council, with the consent of the Lord Bishop of London as diocesan ; such appointments being subject to the approval of his Grace the Visitor.

" 6. That measures shall be taken for providing the students with opportunities of acting as district visitors, under the direction of the parochial clergy ; and also for enabling them to become practically acquainted with the best methods of conducting schools.

" 7. That the students shall have opportunities within the College of learning the theory and practice of congregational singing ; and also for acquiring some knowledge of medicine.

" 8. That the fees for attending the classes in this department, and for enjoying the privileges of the College, shall be 12 guineas a term, exclusive of the matriculation fees upon entrance, amounting to 4*l.* 13*s.*

" 9. That these regulations having been complied with, the principal shall be empowered to grant to any student, after due examination, a certificate of his attainments and good conduct ; which certificate such student may exhibit for the satisfaction of any bishop to whom he may apply to be admitted as a candidate for holy orders."

THE

CHRISTIAN'S MONTHLY MAGAZINE.

THE TENDENCY OF MR. NEWMAN'S ESSAY.

LETTER VI.

To the Editor of the "Christian's Monthly Magazine."

SIR,

THERE are some insulated matters in Mr. Newman's *Essay on Development*, which, without a most inconvenient discursiveness, could not be introduced into my last letter. Perhaps you will permit me to notice them in the present communication.

I. I expressed a doubt of Mr. Newman's perfect correctness in his mode of accounting for the acknowledged silence of the primitive fathers touching sundry points, which have been decided by the Council of Trent, and which now form constituent parts of the new creed which Pope Pius IV. has indited to make up the undoubted deficiencies of the old creed : I say *acknowledged silence*, because any attempt to *account for* silence is an obvious and necessary *acknowledgment of its existence*.

The position which he lays down is this : that, in the particular situation of the primitive Christians, they "were not likely to entertain "the question of the abstract allowableness of images in the 'Catholic "ritual,' or to determine the place of St. Mary in our reverence," or to "recognise Purgatory as a part of the (Christian) Dispensation," or to testify the rise of a Pope, or to expatiate upon the excellency of Monachism. And he winds up the whole with an expression of the sentiment : that "there is a time for every purpose under the heaven ; "a time to keep silence, and a time to speak," p. 145. In short, I understand him to intimate : that, as neither their position nor the subjects of which they treated could possibly lead them into a discussion of

these matters, their silence can occasion no wonder and can furnish no legitimate argument against the faith of the Roman Church.

Now I doubt very much the correctness of such a statement.

1. Let us first take the question of images.

Mr. Newman is too prudent to assert, that the Primitive Fathers *never* reprobate image-worship : but he would draw the favourite popish line of distinction between the unjustifiable veneration of images on the part of Pagans and the justifiable veneration of images on the part of Christians. Hence he informs us : that, in the very nature of things, the Primitive Writers could never think of "entertaining the *abstract* "question of the bare allowableness of images in the Catholic ritual."

It is clear, that the whole stress of Mr. Newman's argument rests upon the important word *abstract*. He admits, that pagan image-worship was censured in the *concrete* or *quoad pagan* : but denies, that the question of the *abstract* allowableness of images in christian worship, or the allowableness of images *quoad images*, was ever entertained.

The abstract allowableness of images *purely as ornaments*, though often enough most abundantly grotesque (as I might instance by two grinning human heads placed as corbels in my own Hospital Chapel of the age of A.D. 1181), would, I dare say, be never entered upon. But Mr. Newman knows very well, that *this* is not the real question. If his assertion has any sense, it *must* be understood as propounding, that the Early Fathers never entertained, what the gentleman is pleased to call *an abstract question* ; the question, namely, whether images might be lawfully used, as the Romish Church notoriously uses them : that is to say, whether Christians so called might kneel before them and worship them, the gross *uncensured* and *unrestrained* practice of vulgar Papists in Italy and other popish countries, as they understand the *due honour and veneration* which Pope Pius enjoins and which Bishop Naclantus (without any reproof that I ever heard of) declares to consist in an absolute and direct adoration of the images themselves. His precise words are these. "We must confess, not only that the faithful in the "church adore before an image (as some over-squeamish people talk), "but that without scruple they adore the very image itself." *Adorare imaginem, sine quo volueris scrupulo*. Now, with all due respect to Mr. Newman, if *such* be the import of his assertion (and, unless *such* be the import, it is no vindication of the practice of his adopted Church): he certainly has not cultivated the virtue of Truth. For let us hear the language of those, whom he describes as being unlikely to entertain what he calls the *abstract* question of the religious use of images, as they are used by the Church of Rome.

"Images," says Clement of Alexandria, "wrought by mean artisans, are produced from worthless materials. Therefore they themselves must be worthless and material and ($\beta\acute{\epsilon}\beta\eta\lambda\alpha$) profane." Clem. Alex. Strom. lib. vii. Oper. p. 714.

"When the devil," says Tertullian, "introduced into the world manufacturers of statues and images and representations of every description: that rude trafficking of human calamity derived both its name and its profit from idols.—God prohibited, as much, the making of an idol, as the worshipping of it." Tertull. de Idol. Oper. p. 729.

"We," says Origen, "deem those the most ignorant, who are not ashamed to address lifeless things; to petition the weak for health, to ask life from the dead, to pray for help from the most despicably needy. And, though some may allege" (the very allegation of modern Papists who feel some sense of shame), "that these images are not gods, but only their symbols and representations: even such persons, fancying that imitations of the Deity can be made by the hands of some mean artisan, are not a whit less ignorant and slavish and uninstructed. From this sottish stupidity, the very lowest and least informed of us Christians is exempt." Orig. cont. Cels. lib. vi, p. 284.

"You Pagans allege," says Arnobius, "that you worship the gods through the medium of images" (just as the Papists allege, that, through the same medium of images, they worship the Saints and the Virgin and Christ and the Trinity).—Now what can be more injurious, more "contumelious, more hard, than to know a god, and yet to supplicate another thing; than to expect assistance from a deity, and yet to deprecate a senseless representation?" Arnob. adv. Gent. lib. vi, p. 195.

I might easily quote other parallel writers: but, for brevity's sake, I beg to refer you to my *Difficulties of Romanism*, book ii. chap. 5. On the passages which have here been adduced, I may remark, with a confident appeal to the plain common sense of the reader, that they condemn the veneration of images, not merely as used by the Pagans (which is the intimation of Mr. Newman), but on the *abstract* ground of its general absurdity by whomsoever used. Hence there cannot be a reasonable doubt, that Clement and Tertullian and Origen and Arnobius, and the other early writers who similarly express themselves would have condemned the mingled folly and wickedness of popish image-worship just as strongly as they condemned that of pagan image-worship. In short, so far from the early Christians not being likely to entertain the question of the *abstract* allowableness of images, they actually *do* entertain it: and thus they convict Mr. Newman of a grievous want of regard to truth, whenever it may be "necessary for his position."

Accordingly, in FACT, the early Christians had *no* images in their places of worship. "From this sottish stupidity," says Origen, "the very lowest and least informed of us Christians is exempt." Certainly, had a primitive church resembled, in its idolatrous furniture, a modern popish church, Origen could not have dared to put forth such a challenge: for it would immediately have been met by the retort courteous. But we need not resort to mere induction. Christians and Pagans are unanimous in attesting, that, as a matter of FACT perfectly notorious, *the former had no images in their places of worship*. References will be sufficient: the precise words are given in full in my *Difficulties of Romanism*. See Clem. Alex. Admon. ad. Gent. Oper. p. 34. Minuc. Fel. Octav. p. 91—95. Orig. cont. Cels. lib. viii. p. 389. So jealous, indeed, were the early Christians on this vital point, which Mr. Newman assures us they were not likely to entertain as an abstract question, that, when, in the fourth century, even a *possibility* of idolatry was feared from the introduction of the embroidered image either of Christ or of some saint into the church at Anablatha, Epiphanius indignantly tore down the pictured hanging, and pronounced that the best use to which it could be applied (dead to the dead!) was that of a winding sheet for a corpse. Epiph. ad. Joan. Episc. Hieros. Epist. in Oper. Hieron. vol. ii. p. 177.

I am really ashamed to trouble you so much at length: but, having ventured in my last Letter to express my doubt of Mr. Newman's fidelity, I feel myself bound, in common justice, to vindicate my doubt, or else to retract it.

2. It may be true enough, for very obvious reasons, that the Primitive Christians "determine not the place of St. Mary in our reverence:" like us Protestants, they were content, I suppose, with the inspired attestation of the holy Virgin herself, that "All generations should call her blessed." Mr. Newman's attempt to account for their not making any *more* specific determination, in regard to "our reverence" of her, is an acknowledgment, that they were satisfied with the Bible *alone*: and very well would it have been, had the Romish Church followed their example instead of dealing with what our author calls *developments*, but what plain scriptural Christians are very apt to call *corruptions*.

But, though the Early Church *could* determine nothing beyond the simplicity of the Bible *until* that simplicity was broken in upon, as soon as ever the present popish Mariolatry was anticipated by the Arabian Worship of the *Queen of Heaven* (as the Romanists, plagiarising the old pagan compellation of Astoreth the abomination of the Sidonians, similarly designate the Virgin), the Church, through the mouth of

Epiphanius, forthwith condemned the vile idolatry of the *Ave Regina coelorum*: and declared, that, although Mary ought to be held in honour so far as the Bible teaches, no one ought to worship her. *Τὴν Μαρίαν μηδεὶς προσκυνεῖτω*. Epiph. cont. hæ. lib. iii. tom. ii. hæ. 79. In the stern judgment of the old Bishop of Salamis, Mr. Newman's development was no better than a stark heresy. Hence it is duly rated, in the Church's books, as the seventy-ninth on the black list.

3. It is true enough, again, that the Primitive Church testifies nothing as to the Papal Supremacy: but it was not from any want of call or opportunity, as Mr. Newman would suggest, but because no such absurdity, an absurdity reprobated even by Pope Gregory I. so late as the beginning of the seventh century, was ever dreamed of by the Primitive Church.

A full opportunity offered, when good Clement of Rome, in the first century, wrote to the Corinthians on their squabbling factious humour which even the apostolic letters of his master Paul had failed of suppressing. But he interposed, purely as a christian peace-maker, not as an authoritative pontiff: and, accordingly, without the slightest hint of supremacy, he wrote, not nakedly in his own name, but as the Church of God at Rome addressing the Church of God at Corinth. Each Church was an independent branch of Christ's Catholic Church: nor is there a syllable in the whole Epistle respecting Rome being the Nucleus of Catholicity and the Necessary Centre of Unity. The often quoted passage from Irenæus (quoted, I observe, by Mr. Newman, in the true tractarian and popish fashion, just as if nothing had ever been written on the subject), is *nihil ad rem*: and indeed the very ground taken by our developer, that "a Pope would not arise, but in proportion as the Church was consolidated," is an acknowledgment that there was no Pope in the Primitive Church.

4. On Monachism I need say nothing beyond what has already been said. Mr. Newman, by pronouncing that it was *not developed* in the Primitive Church, acknowledges, that the Primitive Church *knew nothing about it*. In truth, the early Christians were far too much occupied in preaching the Gospel universally, as the Lord had commanded them, to dream of burying themselves in the desert or of shutting themselves up in the stagnant inutility of the cloister.

5. He admits also, that we have no proof of the primeval recognition of purgatory as a part of the Christian dispensation: but he would impute the silence of the early writers to their occupation with the Pagans and their never being led to it by the subjects of which they were treating.

Mr. Newman's statement is perfectly delusive and incorrect.

Justin Martyr writes two whole Apologies addressed to the reigning Emperors, in one of which he professes to give a minute account of the christian liturgical worship. Here would have been the place to notice Prayers for the Dead and their development (as Mr. Newman would speak) into the Doctrine of Purgatory. But not a syllable does he say about either the Prayers or the Doctrine, though his subject led him directly to both, had the Primitive Church known anything of such unscripturalities.

The same remark applies to Polycarp and Athenagoras and Irenæus. Polycarp speaks of a resurrection of the dead to glory or to misery: but he gives not the slightest hint of a Purgatory. Athenagoras wrote a whole treatise professedly on the *Resurrection of the Dead*: but, though such was his subject, Purgatory never once appears. The *language* of Irenæus is perhaps more remarkable than even the *silence* of the others. He speaks of an intermediate place of existence, where disembodied souls remain until the day of resurrection: but not a word does he say of its purgatorial nature; which he must have done in such a context, had the Primitive Church known anything of a Purgatory. Polycarp. Epist. ad Philipp. § 2, 7. Athenag. de Resurr. Mort. in tota Oper. p. 143—219. Iren. adv. hæc. lib. v. c. 26. p. 356.

These remarks, though to one's feelings not very pleasant to make, are rendered necessary to the cause of truth by Mr. Newman himself.

II. Since *Altar* and *Sacrifice* are correlative terms, and since Mr. Newman has long upheld the Popish doctrine of the Eucharist being an expiatory Sacrifice, he naturally enough wishes to establish this gross unscriptural tenet, so justly rejected even *totidem verbis* by the Church of England, through the medium of primeval authority.

1. St. Paul's *θυσιαστήριον*, in Heb. xiii. 10, is so evidently the Altar of the cross, on which once for all was offered up the true Expiatory Sacrifice of the Body and Blood of Christ, that it could be of small use to Mr. Newman's project. But, in one of the *Tracts for the Times*, he adduced the same word *θυσιαστήριον* from the primitive Ignatius; intimating, that, from its context, it could only mean the Lord's Table: whence he inferred, that, since the Lord's Table was so designated by the Primitive Church, that Church must have held the doctrine of the Eucharist being an Expiatory Sacrifice.

We *might* well have doubted, whether Mr. Newman was not straining the context to make it serve a turn in controversy: but, at present, we may save ourselves all trouble about the matter; for, by the happy recovery of the ancient Syriac Version, recently published by Mr. Cureton,

we learn, that this same *θυσιαστήριον* with its context is no part of the property of Ignatius, but is a mere interpolation of a later age.

2. Still, however, if Ignatius cannot be made to serve Mr. Newman's purpose, Tertullian, about a century later, may possibly supply his senior's lack of service.

"Tertullian," says he, "speaks expressly of the *Ara Dei* in the Church." P. 25.

No reference is given to the place in Tertullian where he uses this phraseology. Mr. Newman alludes, however, I suppose, to the passage in the Book concerning Penitence: where the expressions, *Presbyteris ad palmi et Aris Dei adgeniculari*, undoubtedly occur. Tertull. de Pœnit. § 9. Oper. p. 484. Perhaps also he may allude to another place in the same Father, where, though the precise word *Ara* is not used, its synonym *Altare* is employed. *Ne prius ascendamus ad Dei Altare, quam, si quid discordiæ vel offensæ cum fratribus contraxerimus, resolvamus.* Tertull. de Orat. Oper. p. 791.

(1). Certainly, these are promising passages: but their promise, I fear, is more than their performance. Mr. Newman, in the very page where he refers to Tertullian's *Ara Dei*, says faintly: that "Minucius Felix and Arnobius, in controversy with Pagans, IMPLY a denial that "then the Christians used Altars."

IMPLY, truly! Nothing more than IMPLY! No distinct ASSERTION! Surely, Mr. Newman is here presuming too much upon the ignorance even of his own docile proselytes. The denial that Christians offered any sacrifices save the purely spiritual sacrifices of praise and thanksgiving, and, consequently, the broad explicit ASSERTION that they had *no* Altars in their places of worship which (as they readily admit in reply to the pagan taunt) could not be called *temples*, appear, again and again, in the primitive and early ecclesiastical writers. It was, indeed, a matter of such perfect notoriety, that, on the part of Heathenism, it was a regular stock objection to Christianity.

"Jesus Christ," says Justin Martyr, "delivered to us certain sacrifices, that is to say, in the Eucharistia of the bread and the cup: which, accordingly, are, in every place, offered up by Christians." Dial. cum Tryph. Oper. p. 269.

I marvel, that Mr. Newman did not adduce this passage, so pregnant with development. Perhaps it might be, because Justin tells us what *sort* of sacrifices the Christians of his day offered up in the Eucharistia or Thanksgiving-Service of the commemorative Supper of the Lord.

"We affirm," says he, "that prayers and thanksgivings (*εὐχαριστίας*), "offered up by the worthy, are the *only* perfect and acceptable sacrifices

"to God. These *alone*, Christians have received instructions (*παράλαβον*) "to offer up: which they do through the commemorativeness of their "dry and liquid aliment, wherein commemoration is made of the suffering which God underwent through God." *Ibid.* p. 270.

Such is the precise doctrine of the Church of England: and there it stands upon record to shame Mr. Newman and his popish developments. Figuratively, as that upon which we offer up the christian sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving, we may doubtless call the Lord's Table an *Altar*: and it is quite clear, that such is the import of Tertullian's phraseology; for, in very truth, he has saved us the trouble of dealing in IMPLICATIONS, by virtue of his own explicit statements. Commenting on various texts in the Old Testament, particularly that favourite text of the Papists, Malachi. i. 2, by which they would fain establish what they call the *Sacrifice of the Mass*, Tertullian, like Justin, sums up the whole conclusion, by saying: "that, since the spiritual sacrifices of "praise are intended, and since a contrite heart is demonstrated to be "a sacrifice acceptable to God, we Christians must appease him, not by "material, but by spiritual, sacrifices." Tertull. adv. Jud. Oper. p. 124, 125.

(2). But Mr. Newman thinks, that, from the language of the early ecclesiastics, we can do nothing more than say; that they IMPLY a denial of the Primitive Christians having Altars: while Tertullian is EXPRESS in his assertion, that their places of worship *did* contain *Altars of God*.

Let us test the amount of this mere implial.

"You Pagans," says Arnobius, "are wont to charge us with the greatest impiety, because we fabricate neither High-Altars nor Altars." Non altaria fabricemus, non aras. Arnob. adv. Gent. lib. vi. p. 189. "What, then, some one will say, do you Christians think that *no* sacrifices ought to be offered? With your own Varro, I readily answer *None*.—Just sentiments of the Deity are essential to true religion. "These are the truest gifts: these are the real sacrifices." *Ibid.* lib. vii. p. 211, 242.

"Why," asks the pagan disputant Cecilius in Minutius Felix, "have the Christians no Altars?"—"Do you fancy," replies the christian disputant Octavius, "that, if we have no Temples and Altars, we hide "what we worship?" Minuc. Fel. Octav. p. 91, 313.

"Celsus," says Origen, "objects, that we have neither Altars nor Images nor Temples. But he perceives not, that the Altar of each "Christian is the leading Principle of righteousness: from which, those "sacrifices, that are truly and intellectually well-savoured, *prayers*, to "wit, from a pure conscience, are offered up. To this effect, speaks

"John in the Apocalypse: *the incense offerings are the prayers of the saints.*" Orig. cont. Cels. lib. viii. p. 389.

"Where," asks Lactantius, "is the use of Altars?—There are two things, which ought to be offered to God; the Gift, and the Sacrifice: the Gift, in perpetuity; the Sacrifice, occasionally.—The Gift is Mental Integrity: the Sacrifice is Praise and Thanksgiving.—This is the true two-fold Sacrifice of the Christian." Lactant. Divin. Institut. lib. ii. § 2. p. 141. lib. vi. § 25. p. 639.

We might almost imagine, that we heard the Church of England speaking in her Communion Service; where she directs us, to beseech God "to accept this our sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving," and "to offer and present unto the Lord ourselves, our souls and bodies, to be a reasonable, holy, and lively, sacrifice unto him." There is a primitive sense, no doubt, in which, with Tertullian, we may call the Lord's Table the *Altar of God*: but, since the phrase has been *dirtied* (as Mr. Froude speaks) by Tractarians and Papists, a sound Protestant of the present day will wisely refrain from using it.

(3). The sum of the matter is: that there is no contradiction, between our primitive witnesses who attest that the early Christians had *no Altars*, and Tertullian who speaks of the *Altars of God* in christian churches: nor was it till a later period, that the gross corruption of deeming the consecrated elements *a most tremendous sacrifice*, *φρικτωδερής θυσίας* (though even then, while strangely mingled with the blasphemous error of pronouncing them *a propitiatory sacrifice*, *τῆς θυσίας ἱκενίας τοῦ λαοῦ*, the true primitive idea of the *spiritual sacrifice*, *τὴν πνευματικὴν θυσίαν*, was not altogether lost), insinuated itself into the declining Church; a corruption, to be finally *developed* into the blasphemous fable of the Mass (as our Church, in her 31st Article, well stigmatises it), by the great predicted Apostasy of the Roman Church.

3. Verily, it is not a little curious, that Mr. Newman himself should unintentionally apply, as it doubtless ought to be applied, a prediction thoroughly familiar to every Protestant: *Now ye know what withholdeth that he* (the Man of Sin) *might be revealed in his own time.*

"An international bond and a common authority," says our author, "could not be consolidated, were it ever so certainly provided, while persecutions lasted. If the *Imperial Power* checked the development of Councils, it availed also for keeping back the *Power of the Papacy*. The Creed, the Canon, the *Papacy*, Ecumenical Councils, all began to form, as soon as the *Empire* relaxed its tyrannous oppression of the Church. And, as it was natural that her *Monarchical Power* should

"rise when the *Empire* became christian: so it was natural also, that "further *Developments of that Power* should take place when that *Empire* fell." Pp. 167, 168.

Can we forbear saying: *This spake he not of himself; but, having fallen away from the faith, he was overruled to prophesy the truth, though against his own apostasy?*

III. By way of disparaging the Reformation, that "sin of three centuries," as a late Tractarian and now reconciled Papist chose to call it while yet eating the bread of a Reformed Church, Mr. Newman writes: "Whatever be Historical Christianity, it is not Protestantism. If ever "there were a safe truth, it is this." And he adds: "Protestantism "has ever felt it." P. 5.

(1). What he says, is quite true: save that Protestantism, instead of *feeling it* (he means, I suppose, *feeling it to be a great difficulty*), *glories* in the fact, as affording one of the best arguments in its favour.

Small wonder is it, that Historical Christianity should not be Protestantism. After the persecution of the Primitive Church had ceased, Ecclesiastical History becomes little more than the History of the Rise and Completion of that fearful Apostasy, which, to say nothing of Daniel, forms the grand subject of Evangelical Prophecy. Throughout all the middle ages, History and Prophecy run parallel to each other: but, as Prophecy declares that Witnesses to the Truth should never fail; so, I presume, I need scarcely inform Mr. Newman, that History records this perpetual protest, against the corruptions of the Apostasy, from good Vigilantius down to the present day. The Dominant Tyranny, no doubt, precisely as it had been foretold, compendiously settled the matter, by calling the Protesters *heretics*, and by persecuting them to the death whenever the Secular Power was ignominiously content to be its tool: but to say, with Mr. Newman, that "Historical Christianity is "not Protestantism," is only to say that "Protestantism is *not* the pre-"dicted Apostasy." The ecclesiastical history of Protestantism we read in the sufficiently copious ecclesiastical history of the sufferings and martyrdoms of the true People of God: and, more especially, we read it, in that oldest and best of all Ecclesiastical Histories, the authentic and inspired Volume of the New Testament. We *feel*, I admit, that "Historical Christianity is *not* Protestantism:" but we *feel it not* in the sense intended by Mr. Newman. What he is pleased to call "the forming a "Christianity from the Bible alone," though perfectly true *in itself*, is *not* true according to the evident drift of his insinuation which even *he* must know to be false. But, so far from being ashamed of the fact or

feeling it any disparagement to our primeval belief, we glory in the *dicta* of Chillingworth, as explained by Chillingworth himself: that "The Bible, and the Bible ONLY, is the Religion of Protestants."

(2). Certainly we do not, with Mr. Newman, resort to the figment of Papal Infallibility; which, since he has found Primitive Antiquity, even with all the coaxing afforded by *Development*, insufficient for his purpose, he has thought it expedient to laud and patronise, as a matter, "in religious disputes of so weighty importance and interest in all ages of the world," and "much more welcome at a time like the present, when opinion is so indefinitely divided." p. 127. But we have not the grace to repent of our long-formed persuasion: that it is more secure, to trust to the infallible word of God honestly explained by such aids as we can command, than to the fallible decision of a mere man whose *dicta* are purely framed for the nonce and who has repeatedly contradicted both his own predecessors and the plain language of the Bible itself.

IV. Mr. Newman, as I mention in passing, very amusingly remarks: that preachers of Relics and the like trumpery did not, on that true principle of *Development* whereof he is so felicitously the grand Hierophant, *themselves* understand their mutual connexion.

"Though the series of divine truths," says he, "proceeded, from the Incarnation and Resurrection, to the Merits of Martyrdom, the Sanctity of Relics, the Intercession of the Saints, the Excellence of Virginity, and the Prerogatives of St. Mary: yet there was no very clear evidence, that the preachers of these doctrines understood their connexion with each other." p. 368.

I so often disagree with Mr. Newman, that it is a real satisfaction to me when I can agree with him. The preachers in question, I make no doubt, did not at all understand the mutual connexion of these doctrines; had not the least conception, that the Sanctity of Relics and the Intercession of the Saints and the like were nothing more than the legitimate development of the Incarnation and Resurrection. Until the master-critic arose, the key to the Principle was wanting. Thus, of old, that great gestour Dan Homer wrote two regular Epics, in perfect unconsciousness of what he was about: but, some centuries afterwards, Aristotle, I believe, or some other "brave gentleman" of antiquity (if I may plagiarise the phraseology of Isaac Barrow), clearly, for the benefit of posterity, developed, from the collective Rhapsodiæ, the philosophical Principle of the Epopee.

V. The true Evangelical Doctrine of *Man's Justification before God*

on account of the sole merits of Christ appropriated through Faith, so luminously set forth by St. Paul, so faithfully handed down by the long line of the Fathers from Clement to Bernard, and so happily exhumed by the illustrious Luther from the scholastic rubbish under which it had lain buried ever since the latter half of the twelfth century, I have always viewed as being one of the strongest internal evidences of the truth and divine origin of Christianity.

Every inherently false religion, and every corruption of true religion, invariably place *Man's Acceptance with the Deity*, upon the basis of his own goodness, upon his labouring to do and upon his having done much to obtain and to deserve the Divine favour.

This is notoriously the Principle, not merely of Popery (as the definitions of the Council of Trent, by making *obligatory* what before was *not obligatory*, set the final seal to the utter apostasy of the now irreclaimable Roman Church), but likewise of Paganism, Mohammedism, Socinianism, Pelagianism, Tractarianism, and that ignorant nominal Protestantism of mere men of the world which makes them indignantly reject and stigmatise the true humbling Doctrine of the Gospel which is so offensive to the pride of the natural man by whatever theological *name* he may be distinguished and to whatever external form of religion he may adhere. *One only* Scheme of Theology, the Christian, as we read it in the inspired word of God, proposes a directly opposite Principle: for it makes the *Justification of Man with his Maker* to rest, not *internally* upon his own righteousness whether infused or independent, but *externally* upon the sole righteousness of another. It shews its own divine holiness by enforcing holiness as the *result* of Justification and as the physically necessary *qualification* for admittance into heaven: but it runs counter to every other System by explicitly denying, that human holiness, in its very best development, is the *meritorious ground* or the *effective cause* of Man's Acceptance with the Deity.

Such a singularity, the strict truth of which is nevertheless acknowledged by every man, whose mind has been enlightened by the Spirit of Grace, and who thence clearly perceives the utter impossibility of a fallen creature's salvation on any other ground, at once demonstrates genuine Christianity to be true and every opposing system to be false. On this point, the *Harmony of Error* would be truly remarkable, if Scripture did not afford the key to it: but that key we have, in the fall of man strangely associated with the blind pride of his own self-sufficiency. *That*, whatever may be his outward theological designation, leads him to oppose the mortifying idea, of *Man's salvation, under the aspect of a creature at once corrupt and helpless, as freely given by God on account of Christ, and not as in the very slightest measure pur-*

chased by his own goodness or his own meritoriousness. Hence the *Harmony of Error*. To this striking harmony, the Gospel, through its Doctrine of Justification, stands *singly* opposed; and thus, by internal evidence, demonstrates its own divine origin: for, as the *Doctrine* is clearly taught in Holy Scripture, so the very *Harmony of opposing Error* no less clearly evinces, that it neither was, nor ever could have been excogitated by fallen man.

The manifestation of harmonious hostility is, at times, we may well say, quite as mysterious, as it is fearful. In plain English, the hatred, displayed toward God's mode of offering salvation, seems, occasionally, to be more diabolical than human. Thus we have a whipster, in print, authoritatively ruling that great and good man Luther to be "an apostate monk and an atheist:" and thus a recent pervert to Popery, Mr. Ward, writing, more as if under an especial *Afflatus Diaboli*, than under the guidance of a meek and teachable spirit of sober inquiry, has blasphemously, even while a nominal member and clergyman of the English Church, reviled God's merciful offer to man, as the worst and most pestilent heresy that had ever existed, as a sure badge of Antichrist, and as exceeding Atheism itself in malignity. Such ravings, charity, if possible, would deem the mere ravings of a madman: but there is a method in the madness which is absolutely horrible and appalling.

Since Mr. Newman has now *openly* fallen away to Popery, I conclude, that he has renounced the unintelligible mingle-mangle of his *Lectures on Justification*, in favour of the at least *tolerably* intelligible Heresy so verbosely laid down by the Council of Trent. Be this, however, as it may, I read, in his present Work, the following extraordinary passage.

"Few but will grant, that Luther's view of Justification *had never been stated in words* before his time; that *his phraseology and his positions were novel*, whether called for by circumstances or not." p. 96.

It has often been remarked, that one special branch of Tractarian Tactics is, to affect an ignorance of troublesome arguments or inconvenient testimonies, and thence silently to pretermitt them as if they had no existence. Such appears to be Mr. Newman's policy in the preceding passage. He calmly repeats, with the quiet intimation that there are few only who differ from him, his often exposed figment, that Luther was the inventor of that Doctrine of Justification, which, with perfect unanimity, is held alike by the Church of England and all the other Reformed Churches: and he now adopts the equally exposed additional figment of Mr. Ward, that Luther invented, not only the Doc-

trine, but the very phrase of *Justification by Faith*. Though it is purely a question of FACT, not the slightest notice does the gentleman take of the direct testimonies, by which the joint fabrication of himself and Mr. Ward has been historically falsified. So confident does he profess to be in the strength of the double fiction, "necessary, no doubt, "to his position," that there are few persons, he assures us, who will refuse to grant: that "Luther's view of Justification had never been "stated in words before his time;" and that "his very phraseology "itself was novel."

The fiction before us is made up of two several assertions.

Luther *invented* the Doctrine of *Justification through Faith and on account of the Merits of Christ*.

When Luther asserted the Doctrine of *Justification through Faith*, such a view *had never been stated in words before his time*, his *phraseology was novel*, and consequently he was the inventor of the *phrase* as well as of the *Doctrine*.

It is really somewhat wearisome to *reiterate* mere proofs of a FACT: but pertinacity in falsehood can only be met by pertinacity in exposure.

In my *Treatise on the Primitive Doctrine of Justification*, which *perhaps* Mr. Newman has not read, I have given, in full, those requisite proofs of a FACT, which convict him and Mr. Ward of having, either consciously or unconsciously, vended a double falsehood. To repeat all these proofs would be bootlessly to transcribe a large portion of my Work: if, therefore, the cautious reader wishes for demonstration in full and upon a large scale, I must satisfy myself with referring him to it. And I do this the rather, because I have been credibly informed, that one of the Tractarians, now a pervert to Popery, exercised his diligence in trying to catch me tripping in my quotations. As the gentleman has not advised me of any flaw, I conclude, that the whole fabric is reasonably safe and sound: Yet, while I thus refer to my Work itself, I shall, in the way of a short compendium, here adduce a few distinct proofs which bear directly upon the two several parts of the double falsehood.

1. According to Mr. Newman, Luther was the *original inventor* of that Doctrine of Justification which forms a consentient article in the Confessions of ALL the Reformed or Protestant Churches. Now, as a compendium in the way of a hand-book, it will, I suppose, be sufficient, if I adduce the first and the last of the Fathers, placing between them a chronologically intermediate writer: and, according to the received conventionalities of intelligible language, the reader will form his own honest judgment of the *sense* of the extracts.

(1). "All the ancient Fathers, descended from Abraham, both before the Law and under the Law," says Clement of Rome in the first century, "were glorified and magnified, NOT through themselves or through their works of righteous dealing which they had performed, but through his will. Therefore, we also, being called through his will in Christ Jesus, are NOT justified through ourselves, NEITHER through our own wisdom or understanding or piety or *works which we have done in holiness of heart*" (the precise point laid down by the Council of Trent as the *ground* and *mode* of Man's Justification): "but through Faith; Faith, that is to say, through which the Almighty God hath justified all that ever lived." Clem. Rom. Epist. ad Corinth. i. § 32.

(2). "Not from these" (namely from personal holiness and good works), says Athanasius in the fourth century, "but from Faith, a man is justified: as also was Abraham." Athan. Synop. Sacr. Script. lib. vii. in Epist. ad Rom. Oper. vol. ii. p. 125. "It is necessary, to believe the Holy Scriptures, to confess him who is *the first-fruit* of us, to celebrate the philanthropy of him who assumed our nature, to be struck with wonder at the great Dispensation, to fear the curse which is from the Law: for Christ hath redeemed us from the curse of the Law. Hence the full accomplishment of the Law, which was made through *the first-fruit*, must be imputed to the whole mass." Athan. adv. eos qui damno afficiunt genus nostrum. Oper. vol. ii. p. 270.

(3). "Concerning righteousness itself shall be our joy," says Bernard of Clairvaux in the twelfth century; "when Christ our life shall appear, and when we shall appear with him in glory. For he is the person, who, of God the Father, was unto us made righteousness." Bern. Homil. in Epiph. serm. iv. Oper. col. 82. "What can all our righteousness be before God? Shall it not, according to the prophet, be viewed as a filthy rag: and, if it be strictly judged, shall not all our righteousness turn out to be mere unrighteousness and deficiency? What, then, shall it be concerning sins, when not even our righteousness itself can answer for itself?" Bern. in Test. Omn. Sanctor. Oper. col. 285. "Whoever, when he feels compunction for his sins, hungers and thirsts after righteousness; let him believe in thee, who justifiest the ungodly: and thus, *being justified through faith alone*, he shall have peace with God.—Thy passion is the last refuge, the *ALONE REMEDY*. When wisdom fails, when (our own) righteousness is insufficient, when the merits of sanctity" (that is, the *infused holiness* which the Tridentines make the *ground* of Man's Justification) "succumb: it then succours us. For who, either from his own wisdom, or from his

"own righteousness, or from his own holiness" (*infused*, say the Tridentines, and thus made his own), "shall presume upon a sufficiency of salvation?" Bern. in Cant. serm. xxii. Oper. col. 600. "It was man, who owed: it is Man, who pays. For, saith the Apostle, *if one died for all, then were all dead*. He means, thereby, to intimate: that THE SATISFACTION MADE BY ONE SHOULD BE IMPUTED TO ALL, EVEN AS CONVERSELY ONE SHOULD BEAR THE SINS OF ALL: so that there should not be found one distinct person who incurred the forfeit, and another distinct person who made the satisfaction; because, truly, the head and the body are one Christ. The Head satisfied for the members: Christ, for his own bowels." Bern. Epist. exc, Oper. col. 1556.

2. Mr. Newman requires us to grant, that Luther's *phraseology* itself was novel: and Mr. Ward, somewhat more definitely, assures us, that Luther invented, not only the Doctrine, but likewise the very Phrase, of *Justification by or through faith ALONE*.

With all respect for the two gentlemen, it requires the strong faith of a Romanist to believe that Luther could have invented a phrase which is the legitimate property of St. Paul: I mention St. Paul's *phraseology*, because a tractarian or popish quibbler may dispute the Apostle's Doctrine however clearly expressed, but no human being, one might think, could possibly dispute the naked FACT of the existence of a *Phrase*. St. Paul repeatedly teaches us, that *Man is justified by or through faith*: and, if he does not use the precise word ALONE upon which the gentlemen apparently mean to insist, he does what most persons will deem perfectly equivalent; for he teaches us, that man is so justified by faith *as not to be justified by anything else*, and again that man is justified *freely* which seems pretty much the same as saying that man is justified through faith ALONE. See Rom. iii. 24, 28. Galat. ii. 16. iii. 11. v. 4. 5.

But, to do away, if such a thing be practicable, all possibility of quibbling on the part of our two gentlemen, let us, on mere historical principles, inquire into the truth of the alleged FACT, that Luther invented the phrase of *Justification by faith ALONE*.

(1). The absolute falsehood of the allegation has been proleptically shewn by the *ipsissima verba* of Bernard: for, as we have seen, he distinctly speaks of man as being *Justified by faith ALONE*; SOLAM justificatus per fidem. Bernard in Cant. serm. xxii. Oper. col. 600.

Here I might stop: for a *single* instance of usage is sufficient. Luther clearly could not have been, as the reading of Mr. Newman and Mr. Ward has led them to assert, the *original inventor* of a phrase,

which had been familiarly used some three centuries before he himself was born: so that the first of the two gentlemen has been a *little* exacting, when he called upon us to "grant that the phraseology of Luther was *novel*." I have ventured, however, to say, *familiarly used by Bernard*: and the word *familiarly* implies, as I meant it to imply, that the phrase was no *novelty* in the hands of the last of the Fathers. Bernard, as we shall see, was no more the *inventor* of the phrase in the twelfth century, than Luther was in the sixteenth.

(2). "This," says Basil of Cesarèa in the fourth century, "is the true and perfect glorying in God: when a man is not lifted up on account of his own righteousness, but has known himself to be wanting in true righteousness and to have been *justified by faith ALONE* in Christ." Πίστει δὲ ΜΟΝΗ: τῇ εἰς Χριστὸν δεδικαιώμενον. Basil. Homil. de Humil. Oper. p. 549.

(3). "How," says Ambrose also in the fourth century, "can the Jews imagine, that, through the works of the Law, they are justified with the justification of Abraham: when they see that Abraham was justified, not from the works of the Law, but *by faith ALONE*? There is no need, therefore, of the Law, since, *through faith ALONE, an impious person is justified with God*." Impius per SOLAM fidem justificatur apud Deum. Ambros. in Epist. ad Rom. 4.

(4). "Through faith, without the works of the Law," says Origen in the third or Rufinus in the fourth or fifth century, "this thief was justified, when about to enter into Paradise, the Lord took him unto himself for a companion, *justified through his confession* (of faith) *ALONE*." SOLA confessione justificatum. Orig. Comment. in Epist. ad Rom. iii.

(5). "When an ungodly man is converted," says Jerome in the fourth or fifth century, "God *justifies him through faith ALONE*." Per SOLAM fidem justificat Deus." Hieron. Comment. in Epist. ad Rom. 4.

(6). "By the righteousness of his works," says the Venerable Bede in the eighth century, "shall no one be saved, but *through the righteousness of faith ALONE*." Per SOLAM iustitiam fidei. Bed. in Psalm lxxvii. "He teaches, that no one should deem his freedom of will or his own merits sufficient to procure his beatitude, but should understand that *he can be saved by the grace of God ALONE*." SOLA gratia Dei se salvari posse intelligat. Bed. in Psalm xxxi.

(7). "Let us know," says Haymo of Halberstadt in the ninth century, "that, although penitent, we can give nothing to appease God, but that *we can be saved ALONE in the blood of the immaculate and*

"ONLY *Lamb*." SOLUMMODO in sanguine immaculati et SINGULARIS Agni nos posse salvari. Haym. Halber. in Mich. c. 6.

(8). "We must be saved," says Smaragdus in the tenth century, "by *faith ALONE* in Christ." SOLÂ fide Christi. Smaragd. in Galat. c. iii.

VI. I could easily heap passage upon passage to shew, that the precise *Doctrine* of Justification, which (as I mentioned in a former Letter) Mr. Newman assured a young man of my acquaintance was the invention of Luther, and which the ignorant presumption of Mr. Ward has blasphemed as a heresy worse than Atheism, was the uniform Doctrine, inculcated, on the authority of St. Paul, by the great Writers of the Church from Clement down to Bernard, through the lapse of eleven centuries. But, since the two gentlemen have declared that the very *phraseology* as well as the *doctrine* was the novel invention of Luther, and since apparently they would rest the stress of their allegation upon the use of the word ALONE (for they scarcely could be so ignorant, as not to know that St. Paul repeatedly uses the phrase *Justified by faith*): I have confined the latter portion of my extracts to passages wherein the precise word ALONE is used.

The nature and trustworthiness of Mr. Newman's *Essay on Development* have now, perhaps, been sufficiently examined. Of course, I mean not to pronounce whether it was written to promote the cause of Infidelity or the cause of Popery: for the gentleman himself has put it out of the power of any one to determine with *certainly* what his *real* sentiments are. But still I have shewn, that the absurdity of his developments can only be rivalled, by the inaccuracy of his assertions, and by the mischievous folly of a predominating argument which declares the evidence for scriptural truth and the evidence for human figments to be perfectly equal. Nothing, I suppose, will shake the strong delusion of his perverts, agreeably to the adage *Quos Deus vult perdere prius dementat*; but yet, through God's blessing, these remarks may be useful in arresting *incipient* apostasy. Should that be the case, I shall have my reward.

G. S. FABER.

Sherburn-House, Jan. 23. 1846.

P.S.—As I have felt it my duty to express my sentiments pretty plainly respecting the conduct of *Mr. Newman*, I may perhaps be permitted, since I may never have another opportunity, to say a few words in vindication of *myself* touching an attack which I find has been made upon *me*.

I. From a new edition of the Bishop of Bangor's *General View of the Doctrine of Regeneration*, which his lordship was so good as to send to me, I learn: that Mr. Arnold has charged me with quoting a passage from Augustine, as if it exhibited that Father's *own* doctrine; whereas it is "but the absurd conclusion following on his *opponent's* premises." *General View*, p. 249.

Mr. Arnold's Book I have not seen: and I thence was ignorant of the charge which he appears to have brought against me. But, as my learned episcopal friend has sanctioned the charge by his own high authority; professing, upon an examination of the passage, to have found, that "Mr. Arnold's view of it is quite correct:" the charge in question has doubtless acquired a measure of importance, which probably it might not otherwise have possessed.

1. No person, I believe, can ever be guilty of an *intentionally* false quotation without experiencing the impossibility of ever forgetting so shameful a transaction. Conscience will not allow Memory to sleep.

In my *Primitive Doctrine of Regeneration*, the Work attacked, my own quotations, to say nothing of my other works, have been very numerous: and, as they were all made with perfect integrity of *purpose*, I certainly felt no small surprise, though not much alarm, at the charge which has been thus made against me.

2. Being unwilling, however, to trust my memory, though internally persuaded of my correctness, I turned forthwith to the Treatise of Augustine, whence the *now* litigated passage had been extracted: and I found, that, if there were any inaccuracy, it arose purely from an *unintentional misapprehension* of the drift of the author.

At the same time, I really could *discover* no such inaccuracy, as that with which Mr. Arnold appears to have charged me.

Hence, I wrote privately to the Bishop on the subject: respectfully declining any controversy with his lordship on the *general* question of Regeneration, by reason, both of my advanced age, and of the unseemliness of such a contest on the part of a simple Presbyter with one of the presiding Fathers of his Church. Nevertheless, in my letter, I pointed out the grounds of my belief: that he had perhaps been a *little* too hasty in adopting the view taken by Mr. Arnold. The Bishop's reply was marked by the christian courtesy, which befits his high station: but the result of the correspondence, a result, I apprehend, not very uncommon in such matters, was; that each held to his own opinion.

II. Under these circumstances, though I see no reason whatever to deem myself mistaken in the *general* account which I have given of the *Primitive Doctrine of Regeneration*: yet it may be proper to vindicate

myself against the *particular* charge of incorrect, if not dishonest, quotation, which has been preferred (it seems) by Mr. Arnold, and from him adopted by the Bishop.

1. Augustine, arguing against an opponent, drives him, on his own professed premises, into a sort of dilemma.

"One of these two matters," says he, "must of necessity be granted.

"Either they, who only deceitfully renounce the world, are born of the Spirit, although to perdition, and not to salvation: and such also may be the case with heretics.

"Or, if that which is written, *The Holy Spirit of Discipline fees from a dissembler*, will bear also upon the case, that *Those, who deceitfully profess to renounce the world, are not born of the Spirit*: then a person may be baptised with water, and yet not be born of the Spirit."

Necesse est enim, ut unum de duobus concedatur.

Aut illi, qui fallaciter sæculo renunciant, nascuntur de Spiritu, quamvis ad perniciem, non ad salutem: atque ita possunt et hæretici.

Aut, si illud quod scriptum est, *Sanctus enim Spiritus disciplina effugiet fictum*, etiam ad hoc valet, ut *Fallaciter sæculo renunciantes non nascantur de Spiritu*: potest quis baptizari aquâ et non nasci de Spiritu. August. de Baptism. cont. Donat. lib. vi. c. 12. Oper. vol. vi. p. 68.

2. The *second* part of this alternative, I quoted, in my *Primitive Doctrine of Regeneration*, p. 59, 60, as expressing the opinion of Augustine: but Mr. Arnold pronounces it to be "the absurd conclusion following on his *opponent's* premises."

(1). Wherein consists the *abstract absurdity* of the doctrine, that *A mere dissembler, though baptised with water, is NOT born of the Spirit*: I freely confess myself unable to discover.

Be the doctrine, however, *itself*, absurd or not absurd, Mr. Arnold is most inaccurate in his statement of the matter. We might suppose, that the doctrine in question, determined by Mr. Arnold to be *absurd*, was the *sole* conclusion which followed on the premises of Augustine's opponent: whereas, in truth, the opponent has his free choice of *two* conclusions; the former of which strikes *myself* as being absurd, while *Mr. Arnold* attaches the character of absurdity to the latter.

(2). Such a difference is rather startling. On *my own* behalf, I can only say: that, according to my honest impression, Augustine's dilemma offered his opponent the choice either of a *falsehood* or of a *truth*; the *falsehood* being the first part of the alternative; the *truth* being the second part of it.

Thus viewing the passage, and supposing Augustine's object to be

(as we familiarly say) the driving of his opponent into a corner, I concluded: that, what I understood Augustine to offer as the *truth*, contradistinctively to the *falsehood*, was obviously Augustine's *own* opinion; and, thence, in my treatise, I quoted the second clause of the alternative accordingly.

(3). But, unless I misapprehend the Bishop, Mr. Arnold intimates: that the quoted clause did NOT set forth Augustine's *own* doctrine; being, all the while, nothing more respectable than "the absurd conclusion following on his *opponent's* premises."

This is certainly very odd, and, *with the entire passage before me*, quite incomprehensible: yet it might have been somewhat plausible, had Augustine never delivered *elsewhere* what was *really* his own doctrine. But such is not the case. On the contrary, Augustine, again and again, delivers AS HIS OWN, the precise doctrine, which Mr. Arnold unaccountably represents as being "the absurd conclusion from his *opponent's* premises."

The clause (as I learn from the Bishop), thus described in no very flattering terms by Mr. Arnold, stands, in my Work, the *last* of *seven* quotations from Augustine. Primit. Doctr. of Regener. p. 56—60. Now, of these *seven* quotations, the *six first* all propound the *SELF-SAME* doctrine as the *last*. Whence I concluded, neither unnaturally nor unfairly (I trust): that, as the *six first* indisputably propound the doctrine of Augustine, the *last* does the same.

Abstractedly, the doctrine *itself* may, or may not, be "absurd:" but *this*, I submit, is not the question at present before us. For the question is: not *Whether Augustine's opinion be very wise or very foolish*; but, simply, *What is the opinion of Augustine*.

Let the *last*, then, of my *seven* quotations be expunged, as vending only, if we may believe Mr. Arnold, "the absurd conclusion from an *opponent's* premises:" and what follows?

Why, merely this.

The remaining *six* quotations, without any corroborative aid from the *seventh*, will equally and fully demonstrate, *What was the doctrine of Augustine*: be that doctrine *itself*, abstractedly, true or false, wise or absurd, scriptural or unscriptural.

In a word, my *seventh* quotation is purely given *ex abundanti*. It is a mere work of supererogation. We want it not as a *necessary testimony*. Let Mr. Arnold and my learned friend respectively draw their pens through it, if they please. The attack is altogether *personal*, reflecting upon my *conduct* ALONE. To my *proof*, it matters not a single straw. When the operation of expunging my *seventh* quotation

shall have been performed, they will still have *six* quotations to deal with, before they can shew, that Augustine rejected, as "absurd," the doctrine: that *A baptised unbeliever is NOT born of the Spirit*.

Nor is this the only part of their task. The quotations from Augustine do not stand insulated, as expressing the solitary opinion of a single individual. They are backed by exactly parallel quotations from Cyprian, Cyril of Jerusalem, and Jerome. *Primit. Doctr. of Regen.* p. 54—56. My two censors stand bound, therefore, to perform, for these three Fathers, the same service as they are pledged to perform for Augustine.

To sum up the whole arithmetically: I give *eleven* quotations from Cyprian, Cyril, Jerome, and Augustine; *all* propounding the same doctrine, the very doctrine of our 25th Article, that *Regeneration by the Spirit does NOT attend upon outward Baptism when the Sacrament is received unworthily*. If, therefore, the *last* be given up as expressing only "an absurd conclusion on an opponent's premises," *ten* will still remain; clearly demonstrating, that the *very same* absurdity, if it *be* an absurdity, was maintained by four eminent Fathers of the Church.

III. I further learn from the Bishop: that Mr. Arnold has charged me with "inaccurate translations;" but that his lordship has not verified that charge, inasmuch as my translations are "a part of the Work "which he seldom looked into." *Regen. in Baptism.* p. 242.

If there be any truth in Mr. Arnold's charge; for which, I am happy to say, the Bishop does not seem inclined to stand godfather; I can simply observe: that my "inaccurate translations" have been the result of *sheer ignorance*, not of *contrivance* *prepenae*.

My quondam popish antagonist, I remember, Bishop Trevern of Strasburg to wit, dishonestly charged *me* with dishonesty, touching the matter of translation in the first edition of my *Difficulties of Romanism*: for he boldly took advantage of the circumstance, that, like himself in *his own* Performance though with a correctness and precision wherein *he* was sorely deficient, I had (for the sake of brevity) merely given *references* to the authors cited, and had not subjoined their own *original words*. This led me, in the second edition of that Work, scrupulously to place, in the margin, the *exact words* of the authors adduced: and *then* I heard no more of my false translations.

The same plan, though transcription of Greek and Latin is not the most amusing thing in the world, was followed in every subsequent Work of a controversial nature. Among the rest, it was adopted in

my *Primitive Doctrine of Regeneration* : the Work, it appears, in which, for the first time since the experiment was tried by Dr. Trevern, my translations have been specially assailed by Mr. Arnold.

Alike obvious are the fairness and the advantage of the plan ; for, without further trouble, they furnish a sufficient answer to my accuser.

If I have perpetrated any " inaccurate translations," a better scholar than myself may easily rectify my *alleged* errors by the very simple process of comparing my *translations* in the text with the *originals* in the margin.

OUR INDIAN EMPIRE.

" Our Indian Empire : its History and Present State, from the earliest Settlement of the British in Hindostan, to the close of the Year 1843." By Charles M'Farlane. London : Knight. 1844.

IN our own country, no person can be found who esteems the British Empire in India of little importance. It is, indeed, viewed in a very different light by men of different classes. The naturalist examines its productions : the philosopher its characteristics. The statesman considers the best means for its continued subjugation. The Company debates about its productiveness, and the best way in which it can be managed. The Christian dwells on its heathen abominations, and the best means of pouring into it the light of the Gospel. Nor can it be for one moment doubted, that India affords an ample scope for inquiry and knowledge. The philosophical mind, which is not deeply imbued with the feeling and knowledge of the Bible, contemplates its almost countless myriads, and our ever-increasing Empire, with surprise and dismay. It bids adieu to calculations and reasonings, and he cannot say why one small island should sway the destinies of so many millions. He talks about climate and origin, and their effects on man's nature. He deifies the power of a tropical climate, and, after all his calculations, disbelieves the result. The stupendous power of Britain in Hindostan amazes and confounds. Climate can do much, but it cannot build up ; it may destroy, but it cannot resuscitate ; and, as we shall see, it does not settle the discussion as to English power, because there is not merely a ques-

tion how a *European* people can rule, but in what way England rules. We do not deny the effects of climate. There is no need we should deny them, for He who made Europe created Asia; and to attribute power to one climate and weakness to another, simply throws back the point at issue, and makes our conclusion one step shorter. Nay, more, it verifies the prophecy of distinctive races*, and elevates the majesty of God in our eyes, by calling the end from the beginning. Prove that nature yields to circumstances, and that association forms us by her plastic hand for greatness or for nothing, and man will but shew how much he depends on external circumstances, which are but atoms regulated by Providence. He who created, knew what He was creating; and every subterfuge by which we endeavour to escape from an overruling providence casts us on some fresh form of mercy, until, after all such subtle writhing, we must exclaim, "The Lord He is the God."

Nature yields to habit, and habit is a compound of many ingredients. There may be found in it, by skilful analysis, the force of first nature, the insinuating influence of association, and the undermining subtlety of climate, which either enervates or exalts. "The child is father of the man;" but the man has a varied existence, and a multiplicity of circumstances bear a part in the creation of the whole. Yet this, no more than the creation of the whole world, is the concourse of fortuitous atoms, but the combination and joint effect of numberless *minutiae*, predetermined on High, and all working in their vastness or littleness to the glory of One Creator. And, because all things are "ordered" and sure," because men have all sprung from one origin, therefore in all men may be traced the working of the same principles. We should find the same principle shew itself in the rajahs of India, and the democratical leaders of the mob of Athens. Pride will shew itself in the ostentation of one, and in the affected humility of another. The same motives influence Pericles and Hyder Ali, but the difference consists in the means by which they attain their ends. But where is there so wide a contrast as between the citizen of a Grecian republic and the inhabitant of Hindostan? They are children of one creation, and the offspring of one common parent; but the individual characteristics are those which are alike formed from, and are the regulators of, national characteristics. Each Athenian feels his own importance; each Briton loves and doats on personal liberty; not as a theory which he has worked out, but almost as an instinct which he feels. Individuality triumphs

* Genesis, ix.

here; but India, after the type of its giant extent, rejoices in the vast, though that vast be impotent for defence or conquest. Simplicity and oneness are the characteristics of that vast continent. Its traditions are one, though manifold; its false religion draws its origin from one source, and tradition has found its way corrupting and corrupted. Asia lives and moves as one; and the whole body must be roused from its lethargy, its deathlike steadfastness, before any one member can perform its proper functions. Death has mortified every part, and, like one of their frequent famines, has spread destruction on every side. Those that live are not so much a part of India as an excrescence forming itself on her trunk. Association cannot be broken down by a few disjointed efforts in different parts, made without harmony and concert. Nothing therefore as yet has been done which can materially, visibly, and energetically awake the dormant life of more than 100,000,000 fellow-men in that continent. Now, as of old, "each class has its superior*," and all things concentre in absolutism. This, in various shapes, continues life in, while it binds in monotony the people of Asia. It infuses itself into everything which otherwise might produce contention or administer excitement†. Civilisation in Europe has originated from conflicting principles‡, but India has had only conflicting interests;—plunderers and despots succeeded by plunderers and despots; generation swept away by generation: but there has been no diversity of principle—no change of policy—no improvement of ideas; content to be as they were, if but allowed quiet, and never obtaining this small demand. This oneness has shut out freedom, and has made them embrace their fetters. Liberty has been won for us by our fathers after many a struggle, and equality of interest has been obtained by attaining soundness of principles; but in India they have fought, and bled, and died, under every agony, simply that they might remain slaves: their ideas were limited, and their power was absolute and tyrannical. In all other parts of the world, things tending to destroy the State were prominent to the mind of the citizen; but in India power was worshipped. It may be true, that their devotion was passive, but, practically, this passive devotion has been the cause of their subjugation. The natives did not know when the ruling power had ceased to have power to rule, and thus their dynasties have

* Sir John Malcolm's "Central India," vol. i, p. 505.

† Even in the Punjayet, which in some points resembles our jury system, the judge and jury are the same. There is no division of power.

‡ See Guizot's "History of the Civilisation of Europe," in which may be clearly traced the power of different principles, adjusted by circumstances.

been overturned by invaders. They did not fall to pieces of sheer inanity, nor did their weakness excite some of their own children; but they were the prey of conquerors and invaders.

We find a concise account of these invasions in the work which heads this article:—

“ At the beginning of the tenth century of our era, or about seventy years before the conquest of England by the Normans, Sultan Mahmood of Ghizni, who is universally regarded as the first Mohammedan conqueror of Hindustan, acquired by the sword, and by many battles and massacres, nearly the whole of the country from the Indus to the Ganges. The dynasty of Ghizni was subverted, in less than two hundred years, by new Mohammedan conquerors from Gaur in Khorasan, who, though at first defeated by some of the Hindu rajahs, who endeavoured to restore the independence and ancient religion of their race, conquered the greater part of the provinces, took Delhi, and made it the seat and centre of government. This Mohammed, called the Gaurian, was assassinated in the year 1206, when the empire he had founded was split into several parts. In 1289, the Gaurian dynasty was wholly terminated by another assassination, and the partial dominion of India passed into the hands of the Affghans, who subdued the Rajpoots, a portion of the unfortunate Hindu race who had hitherto preserved their independence. The Affghans also added to their dominion the greater part of the Deccan, pitilessly slaughtering the Hindu rajahs. But in India no dynasty long preserved the qualities which had made them conquerors; the Affghan princes became weak and degenerate; many of the Hindu rajahs in the Deccan and in Bengal recovered their independence; and then, in the last years of the fourteenth century, Timur, the Mogul Tartar, commonly called by our writers Tamerlane, overturned the Affghan dynasty altogether. As Timur did not remain in the scene of his victories and devastations, the country became divided into a number of small independent states, some Mohammedan and some Hindu. But in 1526, Baber, a descendant of Timur, swept away, by a new invasion, these petty principalities and powers, extended one compact dominion as far as the Ganges, and quietly erected the Mogul throne in Delhi. The second prince in succession from Baber, the great Akbar, who began to reign in 1556, set the Mogul dominion upon a firm basis, chiefly by consulting the interests and feelings of the Hindus, who, counting the whole of the extensive country, were a hundred-fold more numerous than their conquerors. The great Akbar had been dead only seven years when the English timidly made their first settlement at Surat.”

And this introduces us to British power in India, or the simple fact that a small island in the Western Atlantic sways the destinies of more than one hundred million of men, and those inhabitants of a distant continent. The fact cannot be made more astounding by display of rhetoric; it speaks for itself. It tells of moral power, of military prowess, of laurels won by some of the best blood of England's chivalry; and it whispers, also, that, like all conquered nations, it aided its own subjugation. It is a glorious triumph of moral energy over moral inactivity. The mere fact of conquest is extraordinary, but the times and methods are more extraordinary. England did not discover India, or first visit it. Venice was enriched by it, when English commerce and the Cape of Good Hope were equally unknown. And when the passage round the Cape was found, the empire of the east was not won by John II of Portugal, whose fleets first doubled the Cape, nor by the sovereigns Emanuel and John III, who swayed the destinies of Portugal in her most brilliant era. They had an empire and a power in India, but it sinks into utter insignificance when compared with our own. We are constrained to think that religion is that which sways the destinies of India, for it was in the reign of Sebastian, the half monk, half jesuit, that the Portuguese power fell to-decay in India. The army was disregarded, their clergy absorbed the wealth of the colonies, and Goa was blessed with the unhallowed Inquisition. The power of Portugal fell with the rise of the Jesuits. And to whom was India, with its countless gold, given, but to Protestant Holland? India was *forced* on them, as Portugal had disregarded its duty. The scourge and enemy of the truth, Philip II of Spain, when, in 1580, he sent the Duke of Alva to seize on Spain, little thought of what would be the result of his acts. When he forbade the Dutch to traffic with Portugal, lest they should become rich by carrying to northern Europe, from Lisbon, the riches of India, he little thought that they would go to the fountain-head, drive the Portuguese from the field, and become wealthy on the spoil. These Dutch Protestants were content to be second, but Romanist Philip made them superior; and not only did Portugal lose her empire, but, by this fatal measure, Philip lost Portugal. It was exasperated by his policy, and he was driven from its throne. The Invincible Armada was not left him, nor the troops which he had sent against the Protestants of Ireland, nor the lives which he had sacrificed on the shrine of Romish intolerance, when the Netherlands trembled at his fury. India was not to be ruled by such as Philip. This was the way in which India was cleared for our power. The Portuguese, Dutch, and French, were in possession of territories. They were each jealous of our power. Cromwell humbled Holland; but France had her science, her tactics, and diplomacy. There

was no field in the world in which so many openings for subtlety presented themselves. And, if it be said that our naval supremacy gained us the power, it is but ignorance of history and facts which speaks it. Our fleets were not superior, and our navy was not enough thought of in the Indian Ocean. If we take but the case of the French admiral, Suffrein, and one English admiral, Sir Edward Hughes, in every instance the French were far superior in numbers of ships and in guns; and in one engagement off Trincomalee, the French had sixteen sail of the line, while we had only twelve, and their guns were 954, while ours were only 794. Battle after battle was fought, and the imminent danger of a defeat terrified each. It was naval skirmishing, and yet the fighting was most severe. The French admiral could run down to Ceylon, take the town of Trincomalee, run back to Pondicherry and Cuddalore, throw in supplies, and engage for hours an indecisive action. Our naval superiority did not prevent France from sending Lally and his large army, exhibiting its gigantic military power; and multitudes of men might have been added to those whom she lost in India. It was on land that our empire was won, and, when gained, it was consolidated by our military prowess, no less than by wisdom of policy. It may be "that our empire is held solely by opinion *," but this cannot be some floating idea which came causeless into the mind of those nations. It is an idea which has filled the national mind, and it abides there, sometimes shaken, but never overthrown.

Now let us add the fact, that Great Britain has *involuntarily* become the eager and anxious ruler of India. The empire has been gradually extended from the narrow walks of a factory to the unchecked dominion over more than 1,100,000 square miles of territory †. It is an undesigned result of acts over which England has had no control. And this seems to us the point of view from which is most illustrated the tenure of our power in India. The empire has been gradually *forced* upon us in spite of Parliament, which expressly forbade "schemes of

* See Sir John Malcolm's Instructions, in Appendix to "Central India," vol. ii: "Political History," vol. i, p. 145. It is but fair to give Sir John Malcolm's explanation of this sentence: "or in other words, by that respect and awe with which the comparative superiority of our knowledge, justice, and system of rule, have inspired the inhabitants of our own territories; and that confidence in our truth, reliance on our faith, and dread of our arms, which is impressed on every nation in India."

† The total British territory, under the immediate government of the Company, is 514,690 square miles, (i. e. ten times the size of England). The extent of this and the territory protected, is 1,128,800½. (Parliamentary Returns, 1831). See Montgomery Martin's "Asia," note on p. 1.

"conquest as repugnant to the wish, to the honour, and to the policy of the British nation*." The Company also issued its orders, and public opinion in England ran very violently against any aggression, as may be seen clearly in the impeachment of Clive and Hastings, and the virulent attacks on the Marquis Wellesley. The Parliament, Company, and country, all united, were unable to check this growing prodigy. The Executive, also, in India, foreseeing its increase, and using all means to retard the progress, were propelled by causes with regard to which they were powerless. As Sir John Malcolm remarks, "Lord Clive, though satisfied that we were propelled in our career of empire by causes which were *unavoidable*, wisely endeavoured by every effort to render that progress slow and gradual†." The very attempts which from time to time were made to check our advances, were not only frustrated, but rather served to produce a more alarming increase. Lord Minto went to India to prevent intervention, and his reign there is the best evidence of our statement; and he came to England a forced convert to his opponents' system‡. It would have been insanity in any Governor-General to extend the empire unnecessarily, and the wildest dream of the enthusiast could never have imagined the steady and enormous increase of territorial power. In whatever point of view we regard it, it must be granted that this empire was *given* to us; for never has it before happened, that the conquerors and the conquered were alike perplexed at the issue of their own acts. It may be true, that the condition of the conquered prepared the way for us, and that this colossal revolution has in part arisen from an adaptation of policy to the character of the people; but there is no adequate cause for such results; no impetus equivalent to the motion. All the apparent causes are indirectly such, and involuntarily. The greatness of the result throws into a dark shade the hues and colours of the means employed, and the view which is presented to us renders it nearly impossible to see each step towards the completion. It is somewhat like inquiring in what place the first stone of St. Peter's was laid, and what might be the exact cost of each pinnacle of a gorgeous cathedral. As Warren Hastings so well described our empire: "The seed of this wonderful production was sown

* This act is generally known by the name of Mr. Pitt's Bill, 1784. It took from the Indian authorities the power of making war.

† Political History of India, vol. ii, p. 17. The whole of Sir John Malcolm's works prove this. In "Central India," vol. ii, p. 267, we read, "Increase of territory will, in spite of all our efforts, come too rapidly." See also his "Life of Clive."

‡ See also Sir John Shore's (Lord Teignmouth) administration.

"by the hand of calamity. It was nourished by fortune, and cultivated "and shaped (if I may venture to change the figure) by necessity. "Its first existence was commercial : it obtained in its growth the sudden "accession of military strength and territorial dominion, to which its "political adjunct was inevitable." But make the causes prominent as we can, all are in themselves utterly inadequate to bear the enormous superstructure. Results in their turn become causes in the onward path of time, but no amount of reasonable productiveness can have finally established such an issue, and we are compelled to look deeper for the great cause ; and in the result of this search there will be found no inadequacy—no defect—no unsatisfied requirements. We might as well dwell on the doctrines of chances in creating a world out of atoms, as try to exclude from the foundation of our British empire the gift of the Almighty in his overruling providence. Facts, theories, all find their adjustment in this ; and when the Christian philosopher ceases to wonder on this head, he begins to adore ; and yet, in his worship, there is a thrill of awe at the immensity of the obligation and the miserable poverty in our return.

And in this place we may enter on the all-important question as to the moral effects which the connexion of Great Britain has had on the inhabitants of British India. But, for this purpose, its moral condition in the days that are past must be examined. The political history of the past will be the mirror in which we may discern its actual position in a moral view. The figures of its dynasties and its lordships strongly reflect its general deadliness. Like the sea of deadness, it bore no fruit, and produced nothing honourable or illustrious. The swords of the invading Mohammedans, reeking in blood, ruled the empire without subduing it. In other lands they exterminated, but the territory was too vast for an utter destruction of the original inhabitants. They had no ambition to inhabit a desert, and preferred to live as conquerors of the vast population, so much larger than themselves. The creed of Mohamet did not flourish in Asia, but it bore abundant fruit of bitterness and woe. Violence seemed to bear all before it ; but Hinduism is a tough and unyielding plant, which bends but falls not. In later times, when Tippoo Sahib, in Mysore, under favourable circumstances, as his dominions comprehended about an equal number of Hindus and Mohammedans, endeavoured to destroy Hinduism, he signally failed. He became odious to the Hindus, and popular with none, except some few calumnious complainers in this country. The waters of the Koran and the Vedas mingled not, but still each gave its pollution to the country. Their effects were equally deadly, and they had a union in evil, if in no

other respect. But, even as to power, while the sceptre of the Mussulman swayed the empire from its capital, Delhi, yet the the internal management was in the hands of the higher castes and the Brahmins*, wherever the inhabitants had the good fortune to possess any administration. The native love of unity, which might have tended to the preservation of a vigorous despotism, in the case of India, tended to their destruction. It was the means of much political hy-play, and this in India means assassination and usurpation. The name of emperor was used to conceal and excuse all that was sanguinary and revolting, and the divisions into Soubahdarships served to spread corruption, by fanning the flames of ambition with the blasts of avarice. Each man tried to conquer and eject, and a fruitful source of murder and plunder was found; for one ruler removed his opponent by means of a faction, thus creating a diversion in his favour by destroying his enemy; and the masnad in too many cases became the aim of intrigue, and the reward of the worst and most deadly combatant. The justice of the emperor was at as low an ebb as his power. Our own empire in Bengal was mainly won by Clive, through the treachery and imbecility of the court of Suraj-u-Dowlah, and his own personal nature, depravity, and meanness. Such a system as was countenanced at Delhi was but on a par with those principles of falsehood and treachery which mark the intercourse of the native states with each other†. It was a game in which the most cunning intriguer gained the most brilliant success, and virtue and honour were treated with an utter disregard. And yet, strange as it may seem, the mere empty name of emperor had some respect, when the power was the "shadow of a shade." When it was known that the Great Mogul was in the power of his Grand Vizier, yet his firman was respected against Shah Zada, his son, who was in rebellion against the Grand Vizier. And so was it when the young Prince ascended the throne, for he was vain and weak, and a slave of the designing and powerful. Usurpers ruled in the name of their prisoners‡, and subjects were content with a name stripped of the reality, just as in our own days scarcely any one remembers who is the nominal ruler of the Seiks in the Punjab, because all power is vested in the army and their chiefs.

But all such difficulties as these were magnified, when a new host, in the reign of the powerful Mogul, Aurazzebe, overran and permanently

* Central India, vol. ii, p. 298.

† Malcolm's "Political History of India," vol. i, p. 145.

‡ Compare Central India, vol. i, p. 474.

occupied the Deccan, and after his death extended their conquests to the south. These ruthless hordes spread ruin in every quarter, and, with pretended allegiance to the Prince of Delhi, and a child-like humility, the more terrific in its consequences, they retained the names of their own deserted villages. Such was the invasion under the Peishwa of the Mahratta forces. But, dreadful as was this inroad on the peace of India, and harsh and cruel as was this ruthless band, it was trifling when compared with the horrors inflicted by the undisciplined bands of plunderers which issued, as it were from the earth, in the rear of these Mahrattas. Their existence seemed to supply a hint to multitudes of the daring and rapacious, and when their efforts had subsided into something similar to a regular conquest and a settled government, these bands of plunderers remained, and, like a pestilence, blighted and destroyed the fresh bud of prosperity. Well may the period intervening between the years 1798 and 1818 be styled by that emphatic name "*the reign of troubles*." In central India, Sir John Malcolm gives an instance in which, "of 3701 villages, only 2038 were inhabited; 1663 were deserted, and, in their emphatic language, were "*Be cheragh*, that is, without a lamp*." Even a list of plundering hordes is fearful, for we read of Bheels, Pindarries, Sondies, Mogries, Meenahs, Bangries, Gorgiest†, and that name which is hideous even in remembrance, the Thugs. This last sect has only of late years received its long deserved fate. "The following is a summary of what has been effected for the suppression of Thuggee. In nine years, more than 2000 Thugs have been arrested, 1470 tried and convicted in 167 trials, for the murder of 947 persons‡." Thuggee, as our readers know, was a religious Hindoo sect, whose object was deliberate and yet most insidious murder. This fiendish system had a rapid growth after the fall of Tippoo, and the height of its most mysterious and satanic existence was from 1799 to 1825. The Rajahs sued for the protection of the hordes of plunderers, that they might in good time become the prey of their protectors§, and every combination of misery and anarchy presented itself in the picture of reality. Hyder Ali's troops were but banded robbers, who paid mail to their master; and, after the

* Central India, vol. ii, p. 238.

† For a full account of these different thieves, see Malcolm's "Central India," vol. ii, pp. 180—190.

‡ This account is copied from the Asiatic Journal of 1836. See also a work, though of little talent or research, Campbell's "British India," p. 70—75.

§ Central India, vol. ii, p. 175.

fall of Seringapatam and the death of Tippoo, even when our power was consolidated, we find a remarkable case of a robber chieftain, called Dhoondiah, who called himself "King of the two worlds." This man, in April 1800, stormed several towns in Mysore, and was raising troops in all directions. Now this robber was of such importance, that the then General Wellesley, in a despatch to his brother, questions whether the whole power of the Company ought not to be turned to the one end of this man's destruction. But who was this against whom one immense power must be brought to bear? He was a robber imprisoned by Tippoo, and released when Seringapatam was stormed, whose only character arose from his diabolical acts. The Duke pursued him into the Mahratta territory, and was sometimes assisted by the Mahratta chieftains, one of whom Dhoondiah defeated and slew in a pitched battle. After more than a month spent in pursuit and marches, with counter-marchings, and after having captured several forts garrisoned by his men, General Wellesley, by forced marches, came upon a part of his encampment, and destroyed 5000 men. The escape and pursuings are exceedingly interesting, but after Dhoondiah had lost by desertion and attacks, he was at last compelled to fight for his existence, with about 5000 horse. The English commander formed his four regiments in one line, made a vigorous attack, in which Dhoondiah fell. His followers, who escaped, dispersed themselves in the country. We have given this account, because it speaks volumes as to the character of the country at that time, and unfolds to us its disorganised state, as well as the thieving tone of its people. Every man's hand was against his brother, and the blood-stained sword stood in the place of love and good-will. Moral degradation not only abounded, but was in every corner; and the politics of the natives were as debased as their religion was cruel and unnatural. In a worse position India could not be placed, and an absolute unbending sway is absolutely preferable to anarchy and robbery. But, if no one can deny that "many of the moral defects of the natives of India are to be referred to that misrule and oppression from which they are now in a great degree emancipated*," then there has been at least a negative benefit derived from our dominion, for our empire holds out protection to all, and security such as never existed in India since it has contained a people. This is no dream, but a reality which every day opens more upon us. It is a land of peace and happiness, so far as personal security and liberty of the subject can

* Malcolm's Instructions, Appendix, XVIII, to "Central India."

weigh in the balance. Any one may travel in safety in all parts of our territories. It may be true that our power has no internal principle of stability, because "notwithstanding the plausibility of its professions," it "sympathises not at all with any class of its native subjects*," but it is no less true, that any reasonable Indian must wish the continuance of our power for several generations at the least. In the process by which our empire was increased, protection was given to one against another, although the supplicants thought only of safety for themselves and vengeance on their enemies. And the past state of India must compel every one of moderate discernment to rejoice at the result, even though the means in some instances seem of a dubious character. It was the vice and folly, the moral depravity and monstrous excesses of the ruling party, which made the conquest possible, and these also made it a boon to the people at large. The profession of justice in itself which our country makes, contrasts with that universal system of professed falsehood and chicanery; for it was no libel to say, that "with them war, rapine, and conquest, constitute an avowed principle of action, a just and legitimate pursuit, and the chief source of public glory, sanctioned and even recommended by the ordinances of religion, and prosecuted without a semblance or a pretext of justice, with a savage disregard of every obligation of humanity and public faith, and restrained alone by the power of resistance†." The basis of their system seems to have been an utter ignorance of morality and truth. The establishment of our power has well been called the "overthrow of a system," and it was well that such a system was as dangerous to our existence in India as it was deadly to the natives, for it left no choice of measures, but made an onward progress inevitable.

Under other circumstances, India might now be suffering as the Punjab, and lie at the mercy of a merciless band. It was not, however, so ordered; but the disturbing powers were one by one displaced, so that the poor, if not the rajah, were immensely blessed by the change, just as "the native merchant, manufacturer, weaver, tiller of the soil, artisan, all that we call people, throughout the wide extent of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, were brought to consider Hastings as a benefactor, and to

* See H. H. Wilson's, Esq., "Lectures before the University of Oxford, on Hinduism," p. 37. Malcolm's "Political India," vol. ii, p. 324, speaks of our power as inevitably absolute.

† Lord Minto's "Despatch to the Secret Committee," April 14, 1810, as given in Malcolm's "Political History," vol. i, p. 432.

"revere his name *." India was compelled to be at peace. And especially was this the case when the elated and victorious power of Scindiah, which was eagerly preparing for extended conquests, and had taken part in defence of the Poonah Court, was compelled to abandon its designs and acknowledge British supremacy. Then, from universal peace and quietude, the husbandman no longer feared that his toil would be vain, and that the wild and savage robber should spoil all that he possessed, nor did he live in dread that he should find his hearth a desolation and his home a ruin; for even the plunderers were compelled to labour and to live as if satisfied with that which was their own. "There is no part of India," writes Malcolm, "where life and property are safer than among the late dreaded Bheels of Nadir Sing†," and yet to these he ascribed the excess of ferocity. The burden of depravity was removed, and India should rejoice in the destruction of such a yoke. The many were enabled to support their rulers in affluence, and the revenue exhibited a surprising increase‡; for the inhabitants had been restored to their loved but deserted abodes, and regained their long lost comforts. The Zemindar, who, in other climes, would have failed to recover his village lordship, was hailed with joy; and the love of ancient rule, according to Malcolm, was shewn by instances in which grandchildren of those driven out were replaced in power. The lapse of generations did not prevent the reinstatement of the posterity of those who had fallen by the sword of the robber, or the equally unrelenting extortion of the prince.

Vast, however, as are the results which may be considered to be derived from these causes, they are in themselves rather *negations* of evil than *positive* producers of moral benefit. They are indirect rather than immediate consequences of national effort. They are casualties of power, and are more mechanical than rational. The moral condition is but indirectly affected by physical good, and, after all, the acts of intention, of design, and wisdom, are those which bend the moral nature of man, and act both on the agent and on the persons towards whom they are directed; but, above all, they illustrate the mind of the agent, which is the point of observation when we call in question our discharge of re-

* Our Indian Empire, vol. i, p. 156.

† Central India, vol. i, p. 525.

‡ The financial account given by Malcolm, Appendix, XII. to "Central India," is strong evidence. The revenue of Malwar, in 1819, was 2,36,99,186,0,0; and in 1824, under British rule, was 2,98,76,803,0,0.

sponsibility. Results such as we have described exhibit the greatness of our power, and therefore of our responsibility ; but direct acts shew the use which has been made of that power : and, if abundant, they acquit, whereas if they are small and meagre, they condemn us in the most woful penalties. First, let us say a word or two on education as a means of civilisation. There are those who identify education with instruction, and to such persons schools seem omnipotent for good. They think that instruction will regenerate man, and they construct a Utopia out of communicated knowledge. Reason is to do what religion cannot accomplish. This is one class of philanthropists who have recommended schools for India. But there is also another, whose views are equally theoretic, if not so pure : these wish to give the natives an exalted idea of European civilisation, and by that means to create in them an opinion of their own inferiority. There are men who come under a third class, and we would fain hope that the present Governor-general is one of them, who think mere instruction a pioneer to religion, or, in other words, that "gigantic schemes of godless education" are to make men *godly*. Now, without denying that in each of these views there may be some possible principle of good, they seem beside the question, and we cannot allow that such views should be identified with the great question of education. It is, for instance, right to educate, but it can never be right to teach what is *wrong* ; hence only that education should be expected to produce moral benefit which is based on sound principles. Now these theorists are inconsistent in their theories ; for, if they grant that every man has a soul, and that this soul is the highest part of a man, and that religion is the education which affects the soul, how can they exclude religion, and thus neglect the most spiritual and most sublime portion of man ? Their scheme is partial and absurd, because they make intellect everything, and destroy the balance which must ever be observed. If happiness is to result from education, the whole man must be educated, and his every want supplied ; and by no means must his more lasting interests be disregarded or overlooked. Any system, therefore, which excludes religion, or which *forgets* it, must be fallacious and dangerous. But besides, knowledge, without something stable and firm, excites a restlessness which naturally ends in Infidelity and Atheism, and especially in such minds as are drawn by knowledge from an *implicit reliance on authority**, which would be the case with Hindus. A nation of infidels will

* Wilson's "Lectures," p. 36.

not suit a nation of rulers, any more than the Cyclopedists suited the dynasty of France. The French revolution sets that question at rest, even on the lowest point of view. Experience will shew, in every instance, that unconsecrated knowledge is a fearful curse, which elevates but the more decidedly to destroy. Accordingly, all hopes of moral improvement from education are blasted when it is known, that such is the system of Government Schools in India, that all religion is studiously excluded, except the irreligion of Paine and books of atheistical infidelity. The Hindus cast aside the idol mummeries, and revel in the luxury of restless and reckless disbelief. As the great Coleridge has said, "in all superstition there is a heart of unbelief," and the transition from Idolatry to Infidelity is painfully short. Or again we say, with Bishop Hall, "Superstition is Godlesse religion, devout impietie*." No wonder is it that America sends her annual exports of blasphemy to the shores of India†, and if India's children endeavour to escape the tortures of conscience by struggling to disbelieve that Almighty Being whom they daily and hourly disobey. It is too true, that these schools, by excluding Christianity and by undermining idolatry, "deprive their pupils of the miserable comforts of Hinduism," and "leave them *without even an inanimate God*‡." Dr. Duff, who was intimately acquainted with the workings of the system, by a close and scrutinising observation, has remarked, "Give them knowledge without religion, *according to the present Government plan*, and they will become a nation of infidels§." We might multiply evidence of its actual results from eye-witnesses, but we will only refer to the fact that the Oxford Essay was called forth to counteract its tendency||. No moral improvement can really result from schools in which "everything may be learned but Christianity," and "in which the teachers may give the students infidel books and teach them Atheism, but they dare not mention the name of Jesus¶."

But this unhappy system has not even the excuse of necessity, for the Hindus are willing to learn our religious principles, for the sake of being taught our literature. The scheme has not the paltry excuse of expediency, but remains as a miserable instance of a weak policy, and,

* Hall's "Characteristics of Vice."

† See note on p. 578, Campbell's "British India."

‡ Calcutta Appeal to Friends of Humanity. Campbell, p. 575.

§ Dr Duff's Speech to General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, in 1835.

|| See also Wilson's "Lectures."

¶ See Campbell, p. 532.

we hesitate not to say, of a fear of man rather than a love of that God who has given us the empire, and will retain it in our possession, if it is used to his glory.

The next point which comes before us is the newspaper press, which very slightly affects the masses, and, therefore, can scarcely benefit much the moral condition. In January, 1840, the papers were sixteen in number *, but they are shut out from the people in general by being in English. Some few articles are translated from English into the vernacular †; but the general character of the press is not such as to warrant a high expectation of moral good, if we are to judge from the general tone of fault-finding and scandal-mongery, which presents itself abundantly in the elegant extracts which our own press continually makes. It is to be hoped, that at the present time they are far in advance of what once they were ‡, when the Indian Government frequently exercised their arbitrary power §, and sent out of the country those connected with the papers. Virulent though it was in the Afghanistan expedition, and after the disasters, Lord Auckland refused to control it, which was esteemed a great evidence of the stability of our power and confidence ||. Most people may say that Lord Auckland's confidence was not always prudent and commendable. The newspaper press will not, however, regenerate British India.

The great means of civilisation is the preaching of the Gospel. It is the most effectual and only pioneer which can clear away obstructions such as exist in that land of idolatry, but worldly philanthropy has not fastened upon it. The men of the world act as if they thought to renovate man "by the hopeful process of exhausting his corruptions." They fatten up evil by smiling complacently on it, as if it would decrease by fulness, and waste away by overgrowth. We will not enter upon the vast field of Missionary labour, as our readers have in their possession Missionary details, and as our object is to point out responsibilities rather than dwell on individual improvements. He that believes, knows that the Word does not return void, and in faith he sows that which he shall reap with joy, and shall harvest for eternity. Each grain which is grown is of immortal and infinite value, but it is

* Colonial Magazine, Jan, 1840.

† Campbell, Ch. XXVII.

‡ See Sir John Malcolm's speech at the India House on the well-known case of Mr. Silk Buckingham.

§ For this point see Malcolm's "Political History."

|| Asiatic Journal, p. 284, April, 1841. (Indian newspaper of Dec. 1840). It will be borne in mind that we are speaking of the press generally. The Journal gives no good character of the conductors.

not a question of calculations. The opportunity of sending life is a duty and a privilege which every Christian feels and acts upon. If in this generation we saw nothing realised, the next generation may see a fruitful harvest, for the soil is preparing, and the dew from heaven falls on it; but much has in every way been done which has affected *our own powers*, the Company's servants, and India itself. It is impossible not to trace in every direction the wide-spread influence of Missionary spirit. It was like a little leaven, but now it has leavened all, and the absurdity of opposition has been leavened. Men's fears have in a measure subsided, and surely it is a boon if men of the world now only *contemn* what they once *hated*. But how the heart bleeds over machinery, lamentably insufficient for so vast a people! The Church Missionary Society has in British India 41 stations; 64 clergymen of the Church of England; 3 Lutherans; 10 laymen; 2 females. Besides these, we add Natives:—8 *ordained ministers*; 659 laymen; 31 females. The total amount of children under education is 12,645, and 1175 adults. The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel has 48 clergymen labouring in British India.

We have here only given the Church labours, and to these we may add, though not Missionaries, the establishment of the Company, which was first planted by charter in 1813 A.D., with only one bishop. The charter of 1833 A.D., made 3 bishops, 3 archdeacons, and between 80 and 90 chaplains. Among these we find the names of Brown, Buchanan, Henry Martyn, Corrie (late Bishop of Madras), Thomason, and others celebrated for their labours among the heathen, although their first duty was among the Company's servants. But what are these among such countless myriads, or compared with the exhaustless wealth which Christian England has derived from pagan India. It is a melancholy thought, that those who have known most of the necessity, and have derived most wealth, have done least for God's truth, and have left it for those whose knowledge has been less, but whose love has been great. What has been done, has not been of power or might, but of the Spirit of the Lord, stirring up his own in defiance of man's sneers and coldness, in humble dependance on his faithfulness, who not only commanded, but *promised*. We pass from missionary labour to the effects of example. This has been not a blessing, but a curse. Englishmen, when they left the shores of England, seemed to leave also its laws, its virtues, and its religion. They remembered and acted on its vices. Each seemed to strive for his own dishonour and his country's ruin, and they decked it with the name of "*seeking a competency*." Time was regarded as if it were eternal, and its vain and fleeting pleasures were alone held in esteem. Chastened nature's guidance was supplanted by

the unbridled dominion of the passions. The decency of habit was exchanged for open profligacy. Conscience, by a process of sin, was sacrificed at the shrine of intemperance. Lust reigned in its highest glory, unchecked either by the admonitions of prudence or the love of life, which even the beasts of the field cherish. Death, at the last, swept away its unheeding victims; and even death was laughed at, until the remembrance of it was drowned in a succession of fresh dissipation, more frightful than the preceding. Exactions, practised upon the natives, fed this flame and followed it. They shewed as much devotion to their peculiar aims as the natives did of besotted love toward their degrading superstitions. There was a heroism worthy of a good cause, manifested in pertinaciously resisting all attempts to put down these plundering propensities. Not content with existing in India, they followed to England, with the bitterness of disappointed avarice, those who had opposed them. Most of the persecution of Clive arose out of this feeling; and, in the case of Warren Hastings, who can fail to see, in his miserable accuser Francis, the violence of disappointed lust and frustrated ambition, or who can fail to discern signs of a debased morality in the duel which this Governor-General fought with his subordinate, or the inconceivably disgusting low ebb to which society had fallen, in the familiar intrigues of men so high in office? Happily, in the present day, though a man may be immoral, he feels it necessary to conceal it, and not proclaim his sins to the world, as if in scorn of man and defiance of his Creator. No chief could reenact the private life of Warren Hastings without being hurled from his station into the lowest pit of contempt, and exciting unmitigated disgust. It is no wonder, if the boundaries of private and domestic virtue were shamelessly transgressed, that the morality of public life shared the same fate, and that universal rapine and extortion were only put down by vigorous measures from home. A fresh generation came, with large views of sudden wealth, as if the first band were glutted with spoil; and the second comers perhaps outstripped the course of their predecessors, as the line of extortion became narrowed. Even some few natives were so highly favoured as to be companions in iniquity with the Europeans. Individual peace was overturned and princes overthrown, because avarice and ambition bade it. In hatred of the superior skill of others, some had recourse to duelling, which became the characteristic of so-called Christians; and thus the false law of honour was, as ever, the ready engine of the cruel, reckless, or rapacious. The natives, contrasting their own conduct with this of the English, attributed it to the difference of religion; and how could it be otherwise? for their creed made no distinction between the formalist, the mere professor, and the

real believer. The mere nominal Christian, therefore, seemed to be an exact copy of his countrymen. But, further, so incompatible did our practice seem with any ideas of natural religion, that at last they solved the difficulty by thinking us a nation of *unbelievers*. In too many respects, besides immorality, we had laid ourselves open to this charge; for where was our Church, or by what means did we shew that we had a ritual and a religion? Far, very far less, had we done than the Portuguese centuries before, for the exhibition or promotion of Christianity*. It is a painful thing thus to dwell on the past, but it is absolutely necessary, for we learn that one great means of good was made the great instrument of evil. We see an awful increase of responsibility, for that has to be undone which is past; and would that we could confine this plague of evil to the English in Hindostan! but, alas! wherever our flag floats in heathen lands, our sailors have been a great hindrance to the improvement of the natives. Let it not be thought that we include under our remarks all who, at an early period, were sent out by the Company, for doubtless there were some who would have done honour to any service. But now, in every Station, there are true Christians in the army and civil service, and men whose aid is invaluable. It will not be excessive to say, that, in the present days, the English as far excel in the higher virtues of life as their predecessors surpassed in vice and depravity. Nothing less than a moral revolution has been wrought; but we must wait patiently for the due fruits, after so long and so withering a blight. As in pleasure we forget the exact agony of past pain, so we forget what has been done in India; but, like all evil, its effects will not soon be forgotten†.

But, unhappily, there are absolute hindrances to the work of moral improvement; and among these none more fatal than the encouragement afforded to idolatry and the blood-stained car of Juggernaut. Shocking is it, that Englishmen should have derived advantage from such a system, and have given their countenance to heathen abominations; but far more dreadful is it to know, that by this means the chains of idolatry and superstition have been rivetted on the natives. "If Juggernaut be nothing, why does the Company take so much money from those who come to see him?" asks the Hindu‡. Thus

* Montgomery Martin's speech at India House, March 17, 1841.

† For attestation of the above, we can refer such as are not well acquainted with the history of British India, to Malcolm's "Life of Clive;" Campbell's "British India;" and the almost universal testimony of missionaries. See also "Asiatic Journal," April, 1841, p. 275.

‡ Pegg's "Cries to British Humanity," p. 129. We have had this repeatedly confirmed by eye-witnesses of the awful scenes.

the rites of blood and death are fastened more securely by fetters of English workmanship! Vigour has been forced into a worn-out system, and confidence in the filthy abominations of heathenism increased. Idolatry is the barrier to all improvement. This is a system which directly opposes every real and lasting benefit. "Its dependence on "authority, veneration for antiquity, pride of learning, confidence in "argument, disdain of defeat*,," render its fatal system almost impregnable. Its distinction of caste, its allowance of female slavery, its degradation of the female character, its treachery and native deceitfulness, are incalculable impediments in the way of moral improvement. Its very essence is corrupt; for though, like Romanism, it has a truth, yet it, in a similar way, has buried it by traditions, and undermined it by innovations. They have a popular system and an esoteric system, but the miserable perfection of their religious life is *non-existence*. "Not "to be" is the one aim of their religious *being*, and the hope of absorption into their divinity animates their formal devotion†. Miserable evidence is it that a system commencing in blind and absolute authority results in the denial of the light of nature. The whole Brahminical system rests on principles which unite in perpetuating error. Idolatry in itself is everywhere fatal to moral improvement; but, says Bishop Heber, "of all idolatries of which I have ever read or heard, the religion "of the Hindoos appears to me the *worst*‡." It is impossible not to regard it as the bane of India and the cause of its degradation; nor can there remain a shadow of a doubt that its existence is incompatible with civilisation. Its savage disregard for humanity, its excessive cruelty under pretence of asceticism, its dark rites, could only be believed on testimony most incontrovertible§. Knowledge must overturn such grossness||; but knowledge has power for evil, and Christianity alone can prevent the last state becoming, if possible, worse than the first. Such a system has been countenanced by the Company; and the pilgrim-tax has also been levied, which is money taken from the life-blood of the Hindus. Multitudes then are drawn from their homes, to which they were never to return; for death commits frightful havoc among the crowded pilgrims, and their bodies lie unknown, unwept, and

* H. H. Wilson's "Lectures," p. 66. For its marriages, p. 18. For dependence on authority, see also p. 36.

† Wilson's "Lectures," p. 65. We cannot too strongly recommend these valuable lectures.

‡ Bishop Heber's "Journal," vol. ii, p. 384.

§ See Campbell's "British India," Pegg's "Cries to British Humanity;" and every report of every eye-witness of their rites.

|| Wilson, p. 68.

unburied*. The conduct of the government towards Hinduism and Christianity would lead impartial persons to suppose that idolatry was an object of dearest solicitude, for idolators had superior privileges to Christians; as if heathenism must be the inheritance of power, and national sin must result from dominion†. Truth was made to bow down before expediency, as if anything false could possibly be expedient or justifiable; and, that the two religions might not be thought equal, the profession of Christianity incapacitated for power, as Heber exclaims: "Will it be believed, that, while the Rajah kept his dominions, Christians were eligible to all the different offices of State, while now there is an order of government against their being admitted to any employment? *Surely we are, in matters of religion, the most cowardly people on the face of the earth!*" Thus we gave the natives reason to believe that their own religion was true, and that we had none worth maintaining. The Marquis Wellesley, under whom we had our first Church Establishment in India, prohibited the free discussion, in the college at Fort William, of the following subject:— "The advantages which the natives of India might derive from translations, in the vernacular tongue, of the books containing the principles of their respective religions, and those of the Christian Faith§." This order was circulated through all India, as if to remind them that their conquerors differed in religion, and were afraid to avow the reasons. Prudence had degenerated into absolute timidity. The voice of the nation, heard through their own employers, was disregarded in public and in private, so that entreaties and expostulations were alike ineffectual. The venerable prelate who had been the friend of Martyn, the pride and stay of our Church in India, was not protected from rudeness and insult by his station or his age; and when he presented an address, signed by 150 military and civil servants, and 50 chaplains and Missionaries, to the Governor, Sir James Carnac, the reply through the secretary was, that "he was directed to inform the Bishop, that the sentiments of the Governor were not in accordance with those of the memorialists, and that the Governor was sorry the Bishop did not attend to his own peculiar duties, in moderating the zeal of overheated minds, instead of agitating questions that were calculated to endanger the peace of the country||." Will it be believed that the request was an humble petition, that the Governor would merely en-

* See "Times," 11th Oct., 1841.

† We find that Missionaries were imprisoned, &c.; Campbell, pp. 34—37.

‡ Heber, from Tanjore.

§ Malcolm's "Political History," vol. ii, p. 270.

|| See also Campbell, p. 502.

force an order for *neutrality, which had been received from home!* If our power depends on our support of falsehood, we are in an unhappy position; but, looking at the whole history, who can doubt that God has given it to us for his own wise ends, and that He will take it from us, unless we fulfil that end? Disguise it as we will, our empire depends on our Christianity. From a combination of fear and prejudice, the Executive delayed to put in force their orders, and thus Christianity was depressed until more positive measures were taken, and the furtherers of delay were compelled to withdraw their pertinacious opposition. The curse of India was to be perpetuated, and Christianity depressed, to gratify a prejudice and uphold a mistaken policy.

Brahminism will not fall until some measures more strong shall have been taken by Christians, and fewer hindrances are interposed by men of the world. It is a contest between neglected truth and antique fraud, between despised Christianity and corrupt apostacy. We cannot, therefore, expect the almost more than Stygian darkness which overclouds the land to be cleared off; for the age of miracles has ceased, and we live in a day of means and of duties. But apply our means, and we shall reap the fruits. The Hindus are intelligent; shew wonderful powers of mind*; can argue, discern, refine, and subtilise, and deduce conclusions in a manner by no means inferior to our own countrymen. In many instances, they are anxious for reforms in their national customs. Many there are who burst from their enthrallment; but this enlightenment is shut within the walls of the capitals, and does not reach to the villages of the poor. As to the mass, their moral condition is unchanged, even though their temporal state is made peaceful. The instruments of husbandry†, like their minds, remain as they were, and the whole body is in lethargy and torpor. Often their physical necessities are great, and famine, in some places, strews the ground with dead and dying‡. Many there are who are liberal and patriotic; as, for instance, in twenty-five districts of the North-west, in three years, £100,000 had been given by a few natives§; but these are singular cases, with which there is no general sympathy. They have polished men and scholars; but the flash of individual brightness, meteor-like, only illumines the surrounding darkness||. The gloom is pierced for a moment, and the

* See Wilson's "Lectures."

† Campbell, p. 14.

‡ T. B. Macaulay's evidence shews this. See "Colonial Msg.," vol. ii, pp. 273—275.

§ Asiatic Journal, p. 83. 1841.

|| There are debating societies, which expose Hindu folly and wickedness. Asiatic Journal, 1841, p. 12; 2nd series, p. 149. Dr. Duff's evidence, in Campbell, p. 571, note.

darkness of Hinduism remains ; but we believe that there is an eager desire for an English education as the road to employment, and much good may be expected from it. Hitherto, they have been strong, and we have in ourselves and exertions been weak ; but we trust that time has passed, and that every year will find us more alive to their spiritual interests, and that our exertions will be less inadequate to our responsibility. But it ought not to be a question merely for individuals, but of the State ; for, as we owe allegiance to the State as an individuality, so this individuality, by possessing rights, must also have a conscience, or a judgment, which selects the true and rejects the false. Just as the interests of the individual are lost in the common good of the State, so is the common good of all, which is right, to be made more prominent, and to be better attained. We cannot understand in what way a State, which claims submission to itself because it is a unity of many members, can repudiate its responsibility in its united and individual capacity. And yet we have almost no religion abroad, even for our own colonies ; and statesmen in general avoid the question, and battle it out, when compelled, rather as a question of precedents than as a matter of solemn principle. " Mere personal gain, and selfish commercial prosperity," says a late Governor-General, have hitherto too much characterised the whole of our policy towards India. . . . Our duty and our safety require us to observe " a more generous principle of rule. To our shame be it spoken, little progress of improvement of any kind has been made in those extensive regions. A great moral obligation is imposed upon Britain, and a general eagerness should be shewn to redeem the *indifference* of the past, and to render the British connexion a real blessing to India*." Immutable truth has yielded to the bargainings of a pitiful expediency ! The dominions of princes have been treated as a fine commercial speculation ! The moral condition of our fellow-subjects, in whichever point you regard it, tells of our responsibility. We have endeavoured to give an idea of the vastness of our responsibility, and have sketched out a few hindrances ; and if we can impress on the minds of any of our readers a deeper sense of his own individual duty, one end will be gained ; but of this one thing all may rest assured, that India was given us by God, and will soon be taken from us, unless we strive that her " coral strands " may be pervaded with the spirit of the Gospel. It is a standing miracle of the way in which we have been raised as a nation, and we must beware lest it become the lasting emblem of our infamy.

* Lord W. Bentinck's letter to the Provost of Glasgow, Feb. 14, 1839, in " Colonial Magazine," vol. ii, p. 275.

BENEVOLENCE IN PUNISHMENT.

"Benevolence in Punishment, or Transportation made reformatory." Seeley.
1845.

ONE of the grand characteristics which distinguish Christianity from all human systems, is, that it recognises man, wherever he may be found, and whatever may be the depth of his moral degradation, as forming, notwithstanding, a component part of one great brotherhood. It finds one and all inheriting from their common origin the same corrupt nature, and obnoxious to the same curse; while it directs the sage and the savage, the most amiable as well as the most hardened and depraved, to the fountain open for sin and uncleanness, whose healing and cleansing streams are equally efficacious and equally necessary for all.

The truth of this will be readily acknowledged by Christians; but it too often happens that the application of the same, in its full extent and requirements, to ourselves, as individuals and as a nation, is lost sight of.

Hence the lamentable ignorance and apathy displayed on all sides respecting the state of the heathen world, and the little comparatively which has been done towards their evangelisation. The above remarks will apply in a marked degree to the subject of Transportation, which we desire, through the medium of the little volume before us, to introduce to the notice of our readers. The author starts with the proposition that the term *exemplary* punishment, as applied to the present system of transportation, is a misnomer; that it ought more properly to be designated *vindictive*; and that it is unjust, as it visits the criminal with more suffering than he deserves. On which we have the following:—

"A sense of unjust severity excites natural indignation in the sufferer and all his friends, and thus the law becomes odious to *them*; whilst the hitherto successful offenders feel that the whole system is a lottery, and turn *their* attention only to the probable chances of escape. Such chances of escape are rendered the more numerous by the natural sense of justice which cannot but be felt by those who administer the law, leading them, of the two alternatives, rather to allow the prisoner to escape altogether, than overwhelm him with excess of punishment."

He next argues, that it has not been found to deter men from crime, and that it is contrary to the spirit of Christianity, on which all human

laws ought to be based. "The prevalence of crime itself argues the prevalence of those uncontrolled passions which set aside the dictates of reason, and unfit men for cool deliberation. The class of men who generally fall under the sentence of the law, are men who have lived in ignorance of the first principles of reasoning; they are beings of a day, who have to earn their daily bread, who, if they cannot earn, will steal it, regardless of the lasting consequences which may result, and anxious only for present gratification. We must also remember that it is repugnant to the human mind to dwell much upon suffering; we are naturally prone to banish what is painful; and thus, no sooner has the gallows been removed, or the criminal embarked, than his former companions try to forget him, and return, with re-assumed ease, to their usual pursuits. Who does not recognise here the same principle that prevents the death-bed scene from leaving a permanent impression on the by-standers? How is it that the example of what *must* sooner or later be our own fate, does not warn us, as it ought to do, of the importance of being prepared for it? When, therefore, we look either to the natural propensities of the human mind, or to the peculiar position of criminals, we cannot feel greatly surprised if the amount of good achieved by exemplary punishment falls very far short of what seems to have been expected."

"The general tenour of the Divine dealings with man savours indeed not of vindictive manifestation, but of a benevolent admixture of justice with mercy. And the great object which the Divine Legislator manifestly has in view in the dispensation of his government, is to punish sin, but be merciful to the sinner. He will not let the offender escape with impunity, neither will he so punish as to drive the unhappy being to despair; but he will give him every encouragement to amend his ways, and by many methods, will entreat and allure him to paths of holiness and peace. So that those who appeal to Scripture on behalf of a vindictive legislation, must be thrown back upon Scripture, with this consideration, that consistency requires they should imitate the Divine Being in his general administration, and at least not be *more* vindictive, not be *more* revengeful than He who hath said, 'I have no pleasure in the death of him that dieth, saith the Lord God; wherefore turn yourselves, and live ye.*' And if they can find in the Sacred Volume only a few scattered instances of summary vengeance on soul and body, let them not take these as a plea for the annual sacrifice of FIVE THOUSAND of their fellow-creatures to a similar

* Ezek. xviii, 32.

"infliction of vengeance. And if they perceive in the same Sacred Volume that the Almighty in general withheld his judgments, until admonition after admonition had been heard in vain, until he had 'sent prophets rising early and sending them,' then let candid inquiry be instituted into the amount of instruction and moral agency which our criminals have received. What 'prophets' have we sent to them? We will not now speak of the inadequate attempts to afford instruction to the masses of our home population; we will refer only to the provision which has been made for the instruction of our criminal population abroad. What have we done? or, rather, what have we left undone? Let the statistics of our penal colonies proclaim. In Norfolk Island, which, since it was made a penal settlement, has received some thousands of prisoners, not a single minister of religion was ever seen for the first eight years of its history; and fifteen years elapsed before a place of worship of any kind was erected there. In other penal stations, some attempt has been made to introduce the semblance of religion; but from the local details of convict management, the opportunities permitted for religious instruction are far too scanty, and the agencies employed far too inefficient, to lead to any happy results; whilst the spirit pervading the whole system of penal treatment is so contradictory to the spirit of religion, that the unhappy beings may well doubt the sincerity of the religious advocate, if they do not doubt the reality of religion itself."

Now, supposing every one of these five thousand unhappy individuals to be really guilty (which is more than can be expected from any system of laws, whatever may be the degree of perfection to which they may have attained, and however excellent their administration), still it must be borne in mind, that they are our countrymen, and that, as such, we are bound as a nation to use every method within our reach of reclaiming them from the evil course which they have taken, and not leave them, as has been too much the case, to get deeper and deeper into the mire of moral depravity; a consequence, as we shall presently see, almost inevitable under existing circumstances, for which we are responsible,—tacitly, at least, pronouncing them beyond the reach of mercy, when God Himself has in his word said, "The blood of Jesus Christ cleanseth from all sin."

"Let us then revoke the unwarranted yet popular theory that public welfare claims the sacrifice of individual interests. We unhesitatingly affirm that *benevolence to the criminal is compatible with the public good*. And before any can negative this assertion let them prove, if they can, what public good has been obtained by the contrary maxim!

"Has crime become less frequent in our own land? or have any but the most fearful results flowed from the neglect of our criminals? Let us then beware on what grounds we attempt to oppose the introduction of benevolent principles in our penal legislation. *No nation can have a right to punish by a system which directly tends to deteriorate its criminals*; and no nation can succeed in arresting the growth of crime, unless it apply all its energies to the moral reformation of criminals, and thus 'lay the axe at the root of the tree.'"

"Let the bigoted vindicator of coercion smile at the idea of ruling criminals by persuasive influence; we pity, but we do not heed the utterance of his harsh and unchristian principles. We would simply ask of such an objector—where would you be now, had Heaven dealt with you on the same vindictive principle? Oh! it is a want of self-knowledge, and an ignorance of his own deserts, that can lead any man to act with inexorable severity towards his fellow men. Can any one, who has been taught the infinite value of immortal souls, deliberately condemn thousands of human beings to a system which must work their eternal ruin? Away to your Bible, you that can coolly abandon your fellow-creatures to such a fate as this, and who, on the ground of political expediency, shut out the kingdom of heaven from men."

The second chapter touches on the extreme rigour manifested towards crimes against property, which the author traces to an inordinate thirst for wealth, and the undue value which is set upon it. He argues, that it visits the poor only, and thus has a tendency to set one class against another—that it is opposed to equitable legislation, and that it sacrifices the poor, both soul and body, merely for the protection of the wealthy."

"In the present day, when there is much apparent zeal manifested for the well-being of the poor, it becomes us to examine well into the causes which operate most powerfully against them; and to take care that their just and equitable rights are not invaded. A system of legislation which favours one class above another, will thus appear to be an unjust system. The rich have, in many ways, the advantage over the poor; but the poor man's rights are as sacred as the rich man's, and an equitable legislation will seek to protect the one as well as the other. How much would it advance the interests of every class of the community, if those interests were cemented by a mutual feeling of good will!—but in the existing state of things, this is impossible. The poor cannot but be sensible that they are crushed by many state enactments which pass harmlessly over the rich. How large a portion of them are friends and relatives of those who have been sent

"out of the country! and will not such friends and relatives naturally identify themselves as sufferers from the same cause?"

The important subject of the evils attendant on the present system of convict management occupies the third chapter. The first of these enumerated is, "that it places arbitrary power in the hands of its officers;" a difficult position at all times, where there is a want of responsibility, and that wholesome restraint which might repress anything like a tyrannical exercise of authority. On this point we have the valuable experience of Captain Maconochie, who, during his superintendence of Norfolk Island, seems to have felt in his own person, and endeavoured as far as possible to mitigate the evil.

"Within the last two years indeed, public opinion has discounted the more flagrant manifestations of severity to prisoners. Local authorities have been, to a certain extent, under its influence; some, more humane naturally than others, have thus been restrained by their own better feelings from the perpetration of gross cruelties. Others, in whom the love of power, and the predominance of the fiercer passions receive some check from public opinion, are indeed withheld from those acts of tyranny which they would otherwise be disposed to commit. Thus there have lately arisen circumstances which tend to mitigate the evil. But what we wish to impress upon the reader, is, that *the system* does in itself contain the elements of arbitrary power, and that as long as it prevails, there is a liability to the continual recurrence of the evils here deprecated. Let it more-over be remembered, that the distance of these colonies from the Supreme Government, affords the greater facility for acts of petty oppression. The knowledge of such matters is not likely to be communicated to this country, because those who are the only mediums of communication have an interest in keeping the Government ignorant of their proceedings."

The next error is, that it bears some of the worst features of slavery; and here we have an extract from a Parliamentary Report in the year 1838, from which it appears that our laws, at an early period, expressly sanctioned the employment of convicts *as slaves* for the period of their sentences; and although this is now no longer avowedly sanctioned, yet in practice it almost amounts to the same thing.

"Whatever evils have resulted from negro slavery, have been manifested no less strikingly in the slavery of our Bond population in the penal colonies. The labour thus extorted is analogous to *brute* labour, and utterly unworthy of rational creatures, who, though they have justly deserved punishment, have not deserved to be degraded by

“their fellow-beings, to a position in the world of animal existences which the Creator never intended them to occupy. It becomes not man thus to depreciate his own species. Much less does it become any society among mankind to subject to such a degradation as this, an integral part of itself. Generosity forbids that we should trample in this way on our fellow-countrymen. We would not now *avowedly* sell our criminals as slaves; but do we not *virtually* do so when we submit them to a course of treatment which is thoroughly impregnated with slavery? Oh! let us give to this point the attention which it claims. If the name of Wilberforce has ever awakened in our minds a virtuous and philanthropic zeal for the extinction of slavery, let the same principle now be roused within us, by a claim not the less urgent because we have no Wilberforce to plead it. We have done well in abolishing negro slavery: we shall do still better by abolishing slavery in our penal colonies.”

It is a singular coincidence that the first speech of the Bishop of Oxford in the House of Lords should have been on this very subject. We would fain indulge the hope that the powerful appeal made by his Lordship on that occasion may not be without its effect on the Government, and that they may be induced to take more enlarged and enlightened views regarding the matter, and thus the amelioration so much to be desired may be more speedily effected than could be done by the efforts, however well-directed and zealous, of private individuals.

The next evil enumerated, is that of classifying prisoners, not according to their real character, but to the offences for which they were transported. The reasoning is so clear, that we cannot do better than give it to our readers entire:—

“This mode of classification has of late been adopted, but it is manifestly abortive, for it leaves the important object of preserving from contamination still unattained. It is well known that the most daring and hardened offenders are generally the most dexterous at effecting their escape, and therefore it often happens that when they are at last taken, it is for a very trifling offence. The man who has long defied the officers of justice, and successfully carried on his nefarious practices for some years, may at length be seized for some small theft, which makes him liable to only seven years’ transportation, when he has escaped detection in crimes which would have brought him to the gallows. Is this man a fit associate for the youth, who, perhaps, for the first time in his life, was tempted, or starved, or frightened into the commission of some crime which has led to his transportation for the same number of years? Those who know anything of London

"are well aware that hundreds of the young are daily sent forth to plunder what they can, under severe threats of punishment if they bring home nothing; and, grievous as it is to see such youthful offenders, it is far more grievous to know, that they are sentenced for many years to have no other companions than those who have become hell-hardened, and whose chief delight it will be to initiate them in every kind of villainy. It will thus appear, that classification according to the offence which lies against the prisoners, can be no safeguard against contamination. A far more efficient classification would be one which was the result of careful scrutiny into individual character, and the general deportment of prisoners during the earlier stages of treatment. With the assistance of the chaplain, this might easily be done; for, the decidedly vicious would soon shew their propensities, and it would quickly appear who among them were disposed to demoralise the others."

Again: by the existing system every incentive to virtue is excluded, rendering the practice of it nearly impossible; and the reformation of individual character is neglected, while men are exposed to certain deterioration.

"To shut out a human being from all means of reformation, and the to exclude all hope of well-being, whether in this world or the world to come, is an act which the great enemy of mankind alone can approve, and which the Almighty, who hath placed men here in a state of probation, must utterly abhor. Such a course, then, is plainly repugnant to religion, and no blessing can be expected from it. In fact, it proves that religion herself is entirely discarded; her aid is unsought; her potency denied."

From the above causes it follows, as an almost inevitable consequence, that "men are restored to society worse than they left it, and thus a moral plague is propagated throughout the world. For what can be expected from all this but that the convicts, if ever let loose upon society, *must return to it tenfold worse* than when they left it, and must become *agents of evil* wherever they go? The convict feels that he has a just quarrel to revenge on his native land. It is computed, indeed, that not more than one in a hundred ever does return home; for it frequently happens that sentence after sentence is heaped upon them till they have worn out a miserable existence in these penal settlements. Those who do regain freedom generally settle in some part of the Southern Hemisphere; and then the bad passions which have been roused in them, but which from sheer policy have hitherto been stifled, will begin to act with inconceivable energy, will

"tell fearfully upon the character of every community and islet which they may choose to visit. What is the cry from Missionary stations of Australia and the Pacific? what but that the convicts, let loose upon them, are demoralising and ruining the native population? Numbers of prisoners too are annually effecting their escape, and these, being outlaws themselves, delight in lawless acts of violence; they infest the seas, and even endanger British commerce. Who then shall venture to predict where these evils will terminate, unless indeed they be at once arrested, and a remedy for them quickly applied?"

"Oh! if we could but estimate crime as *God* estimates it; if we could but view sin, as *God* views it; we should be roused, not to implacable animosity against the perpetrator, but to fervent, strenuous efforts to deliver him from the soul-destroying evil. We should scan the eternal consequences to the immortal soul; this is the only accurate admeasurement, the only standard gauge of crime. And if this be our criterion, we shall not employ ourselves in selfish calculations respecting the amount of evil which our property or our persons may have sustained from the acts of the criminal, but we shall be disposed to rise above all selfish considerations, we shall be willing to consider the interests of time trifling as compared to the interests of eternity; we shall recollect that the being who has injured *us*, has injured *himself* far more; and we shall feel disposed to look beyond the lesser evil inflicted on *us*, and contemplate the greater evil inflicted by the criminal on *himself*. Such would be the dictate of practical Christianity. It would teach *us*, even as a nation, to *love our enemies* and to *do them good*."

When we contemplate the immense mass of human beings congregated together in those dens of iniquity which so abound in the metropolis and in our larger towns, and the squalor and abject wretchedness in which thousands of our fellow-creatures are thus doomed to wallow, vice, in its most hideous forms, constituting the only prospect on which they have looked, and with which they have become, as it were, identified, ever since reason began to dawn upon their minds, and the only sounds they have heard being those of blasphemy; we shall cease to wonder, that savage ignorance and the evil example of those who form the only society in which they are to mix, should of necessity blast those early affections, that might, under other circumstances, have been the buddings of the noblest feelings of our nature, and should lead to that precocity in crime of which nearly every day's reports furnish such painful instances. At the same time, be it remembered, that it is from

this source that our criminal population is mainly derived ;—and shall we then leave them to become more and more hardened, soothing our consciences with the false plea, that they are inaccessible to any moral influences,—thus, not only flying in the face of the word of God, but, with the happily increasing experience afforded us, leaving these immortal beings to pass into eternity unheeded—"no man caring for their souls?" To any who may be inclined thus to get rid of the responsibility which rests on each of us, and virtually saying, "Am I my brother's keeper?" we would earnestly commend the serious perusal of the following:—

"We might answer these by saying that it is our duty to make the attempt and leave the result to Him who has given us the command. We might answer that the Gospel was, in the first instance especially, to be proclaimed to murderers, even to the murderers of our Lord Himself; for the disciples were commanded to '*begin at Jerusalem*.' But we will resort to lower grounds than these. We will assert that in general the very circumstances of our transported criminals prepare them for the salutary operation of benevolent, reformatory efforts. True, many of them from their infancy have been doomed to some but vicious associations. The mother, whose drunken brawlings were the first sounds that met the listening ear of childhood, and who taught them to lie and steal; the companions, who through life's unhallowed scenes, have instructed them in ribaldry and every vice; these may indeed be the only teachers they have ever had. But who shall tell the effect of the first voice that in gentle accents awakens their sympathies? Who shall tell the eloquence of that appeal, which, in the midst of their wretchedness and hopeless misery, yet brings intimations of Him who is the sinner's friend; and pours forth that balm which the wounded spirit knows how to appreciate; and teaches for the first time that there is a God in heaven, who '*willeth not that any should perish*,' but that all should turn to Him and live? Yes, we have heard of instances where the hardened criminal, who had defied every vindictive chastisement, has yet been melted into tears at sounds such as these, and exclaimed: '*they are the first kind words I have ever heard*.' Surely the hardness of heart must be in the man who can be unmoved by such a spectacle of misery as this, and if he turn away from the poor criminal and '*shut up his bowels of compassion*' from him, how dwelleth the love of God in him?"

The poor creature has been accustomed to look upon himself in no other light than as an outcast; "his hand has been against every

"man, and every man's hand against him. But should his progress be suddenly arrested by a being clothed in all the attributes of benevolence; should his attention be awakened by an appeal to his own interests, and by a friendly manifestation of anxiety on his account: he will soon throw aside the weapons of his hostility; he will listen with interest to the proposals for his benefit; he will be melted into tears by the evident desire to do him good. Such is no exaggerated picture of the impressions often made upon our poor criminals, when they become the subjects of a benevolent agency. Let the magnanimous exertions of a Howard and a Fry bear witness to the success of efforts like these. Let the prisoners of Newgate acknowledge the omnipotent and irresistible force of kindness. Let our own hearts confess what it is that has most efficacy in subduing them; to what power we are most willing to surrender, the power that coerces, or the power that persuades."

But the great, the all-important fact, must not be lost sight of, that it is on the Gospel alone that we must depend for the renovation of this hideous mass of fallen humanity. "It is described as 'the power of 'God unto salvation to every one that believeth.' To deny its efficacy is to proclaim that we ourselves are strangers to it. To refuse it those whom we consider too vile to be made pure, is to falsify the statement of the Son of God, when He said, 'I came not to call the righteous, but sinners, to repentance.'"

In the fifth chapter, abundant evidence is adduced in support of moral treatment. The most remarkable instance is that of Dr. Browning, who, as surgeon-superintendent of the *Earl Grey*, accompanied "264 convicts in their voyage to Van Diemen's Land, during the year 1842-43." The self-denying labours of this gentleman for the spiritual and temporal amelioration of his charge were most signally blest; of which a most interesting account, and one well deserving perusal, is given; but we have already made such copious extracts, that we must refer our readers to the work itself. The same must be said of the evidence given by Sir Thomas Usher before the Committee of the House of Commons before mentioned; and also of the plan pursued by Captain Maconochie with the condemned criminals on Norfolk Island.

The chapter concludes with an account of the agricultural colony of Mettray, near the city of Tours, established under the name of the Paternal Society, and with the sanction of the French Government, for the purpose of exercising "a benevolent guardianship over children acquitted as having acted without discernment, who would be confided to the care of the society by the authorities, in pursuance of a ministerial order of

"3rd Dec. 1832 ; of procuring for these children, placed in in a state of
 "provisional liberty, and collected together into an agricultural colony,
 "moral and religious education, as well as elementary instruction—of
 "teaching them a trade ; accustoming them to the labours of agriculture,
 "and afterwards placing them in the country with artisans or farmers ;
 "overlooking the conduct of these children, and assisting them with its
 "patronage during three years after their departure from the colony."
 The consequence is, that "the children, on leaving the colony, have;
 "with only *four* exceptions, turned out well: they have been placed
 "with masters, according to the respective trades they have learned;
 "and it is a remarkable fact, that Mettray youths are sought out, as
 "being more desirable than others. This valuable institution is sup-
 "ported by voluntary contributions, and the king himself is its acknow-
 "ledged head. The children thus rescued from infamy, would otherwise
 "have been consigned to the ruinous operation of prisons, where they
 "would have been made adepts in crime, and from which they would
 "have emerged, only to plunge with greater eagerness into vice, to
 "become the pests of society, and to reap the bitter fruits of a life
 "spent in wickedness. How glorious then the effort to avert such
 "calamities ! Is it not the highest wisdom of a state, and especially of
 "a *paternal* government, to begin with the reformation and instruction
 "of the young ; and thus, by wise precautions, to *prevent*, and there-
 "fore to avoid the necessity of *punishing* crime ?"

Having thus pointed out the evils attending the present system, and the benefits which would arise from a more benevolent and enlightened mode of treatment, the remainder of the work is taken up with the plan proposed by Captain Maconochie, which he was prevented from carrying out, by the want of support from Government. His system is essentially *reformatory* ; it is also *social*,—the prisoners being associated together *for the purpose of reform* :—and, in order to furnish a stimulus to industry and economy, "he proposes to employ a *system of marks*, in the shape of wages, payable to each prisoner from day to day—to be forfeited by misconduct—and a fixed accumulation of "these marks to constitute a right to freedom."

"The certainty of procuring liberation when the adequate number of marks had been earned, would be an important advantage, both as respects the convict himself and the community at large. As regards himself, it would do away with the evils of a time-sentence. . His conduct, from the moment he landed in the colony, would thus have a direct bearing either for or against the acquisition of freedom. At present, the convict's main concern is to

"while away the time with as much sensual indulgence as will not actually bring him under fresh punishment, and to do as little work, and that as badly, as he can. Time-sentences must affect men differently in proportion to their age, to the family ties which they have formed, and the prospects which lie before them on their return to freedom. But the inequality of punishment thus occasioned by a time-sentence, would be, in a great measure, avoided, by offering to every man equally the chance of earning his liberty by a certain number of certificates of labour and good conduct. Again: the good resulting to the community at large would be no unimportant feature in such a system. For, while the accumulation of marks would ensure a man his liberty, the forfeiture of marks would also ensure his retention until such time as he should be able to give the necessary testimonials of good behaviour. In this way society would be protected from the return of such criminals as were likely to be obnoxious to it, and a guarantee would also be afforded that those who had been restored to freedom, were improved characters, were men who might be received without suspicion and distrust, and who had acquired habits of self-denial and industry, which were calculated to make them even valuable members of the community."

The method advocated by Bishop Wilberforce in the eloquent speech before alluded to, is somewhat different in detail, but in principle the same. He would have the work of reformation go on at home, and then send the criminal out to penal settlements to undergo the hardships and privations incidental to first settlers. So that "Providence and nature having placed these heavy penalties on first settlers, it was the duty of Government to tell the convicts, 'You must go out to settle distant lands at the greater risk of health and comfort, and you must clear the way for free settlers to go out and profit by what you have done, as the price of restoring again your character.' If this system were acted upon, he firmly believed that transportation would be made a blessing to this country, for it would take off that portion of society which, if permitted to remain, would lapse again into crime, and would furnish free outlets for the convicts to assist them in again becoming respectable members of civilisation. It would also be tempering the laws with mercy. It would assist in peopling the distant parts of the earth with the vilest sediment of our population; but who, with the punishment they had received, and the inducements to reform thus held out to them, would possibly re-produce our race in all its original greatness and nobleness. If past faults of system were confessed—if the error of the principle that convicts could better

"be reformed at a distance than at home, were acknowledged—if measures were brought forward on the principle he had referred to—then he was sure that Government would have adopted a system worthy of this country, and one which would prove a blessing to that world in which we were placed."

May suffering humanity, whether at home or abroad, never want a Wilberforce to advocate its cause; and may each of us be led to look upon every man, of whatever clime or colour, as a brother whom we must one day meet before the judgment-seat of Christ! And if we ourselves have indeed been made partakers of the redemption purchased by his blood, let us awake at once to our duty and our privilege, and use all our influence, by God's blessing, to make those who, as to soul and body, are "fast bound in misery and iron," happy participants in that "liberty wherewith Christ maketh his people free."

SONNETS.

"Sonnets, written strictly in the Italian style; to which is prefixed, an Essay on Sonnet-writing." By the Rev. W. Pulling, M.A., &c. Second Edition.

WORDSWORTH says—

"Scorn not the Sonnet, critics; you have frown'd,
"Mindless of its just honours."

But whatever critical scorn has been bestowed on this species of poetical manufacture, it is still abundant, and likely to remain so for ever. Our best plan is, not to attempt to write it down as a nuisance in the realms of poetry, but to endeavour to fix its value, and establish laws for its composition.

Its peculiarity, as a growth of modern literature, deserves more philosophical attention than we have power or time to bestow upon the subject. We pause, however, to mark the existence of this peculiarity. That ancient literature affords no instance of this species of writing, and that it prevails throughout modern literature, suggests the inquiry, whether later are distinguished from former ages by any development of the poetical mind, to which this form of poetical composition is necessary? In estimating the fact of this peculiarity, however, we must remember that there are approaches to it in the literary remains of the ancient world,

and that probably many more have perished, especially when we consider their slight, fugitive, and unconnected form. The Greek Anthology, the Odes of Horace, and, above all, the Epigrams of Martial, will occur to every one. But, in regard to many of the smaller pieces, both of the Greeks and Latins, which have come down to us, and which may be said to anticipate the use of the sonnet, we shall not, perhaps, err, if, speaking generally, we say, that they are too diffuse, as in the ode or elegy, and too epigrammatic in other compositions. We do not affirm that ancient writers needed a form between the ode and the epigram, for this involves the question of their poetical development; but we may see in this way how the sonnet comes in to supply a medium of composition in which they were actually deficient. When, however, the mind creates for itself any necessity, it will soon devise the means of fulfilment; and that the sonnet is of modern growth, implies, with certain qualifications, a different poetical psychology in ancient and modern literature. Let us attempt to obtain some views on this point which may direct us in our subsequent remarks.

First, we should remember that the genius of the ancient world was more practical than contemplative, while modern genius partakes more of the latter quality. Notwithstanding the profound thought to which the ancient Greek philosophy led the minds of its students, its analytical character made its influences eminently practical. Spreading through the later schools; and ending with the Sophists, it had little relation to such a poetical development as has become a chief characteristic of modern times. By the side of Philosophy, we find the Epic and the Drama. How completely they engrossed and characterised poetical genius, is seen, not only in the productions which remain, but also in the writings of the critics, especially in the Poetics of Aristotle; and at a later period, the epistle of Horace to the Pisoes. In this general character of philosophy and poetry, we discover the absence of a contemplative and imaginative genius, which might rest on single thoughts, or throw a poetical colouring over everything, finding in all that appealed to the mind something suggestive to the poetical faculty. When genius becomes contemplative, it is *minute* in thought and feeling, and hence a development takes place which requires a vehicle for particular or concentrated reflections on the common appearances of nature, or the common occurrences of life, connected with fugitive ideas, which, for want of such a vehicle, perish before maturity, or without an actual birth. Again, there was a want of *diffusion* in the poetical genius of ancient times. The poetical temperament was not, we suspect, national or popular, in any degree to be compared with its spread in modern times. Poets and the people act upon one another, but if they do not

live in a common atmosphere there can be no sympathy ; and if this atmosphere be not charged with poetical electricity, the productions of poets will seldom be contemplative or minute.

In ascribing a Provençal origin to the sonnet, and dating its prevalence from the thirteenth century, we have to study the poetical development of modern times among the most remarkable scenes ever enacted in the world. The most remarkable of these was the establishment of Christianity. This favoured the contemplative, minute, and diffusive character of modern genius. This remark applies not merely to pure Christianity, but also to the form it took from the corruptions and superstitions of the Romish Church. Religion must be always a contemplative element. However stirring the changes through which a nation passes, and practical its character in contrast to the prevalence of theories which mislead its activity, the religious element can never be widely diffused without stimulating the speculative and imaginative faculties, or even without controlling the intellectual exercise of the former by the moral impulses of the latter. Thus, the character of modern Europe displays an unparalleled combination of the practical and contemplative, as caused by the agency of Christianity and the Church, in their place among the events which quickened its social progress. The ancient world had a religion inferior in these respects to its philosophy, while both failed to produce that more complete development of the mind which has been, and is still the gradual work of our religion. As a poetical development comes from the moral depths of our nature, the application of these views to the subject in hand must be obvious to every one. The singular institution of chivalry was another element in society, and which aided most materially the spread of a poetical temperament, creating some of its peculiarly modern characteristics. If we remember that these things belonged to the civilisation of a people who inherited a reverence for the songs of the bards, and in whose thoughts poetry possessed the sacredness of religion and inspiration, when these ideas were worn out of the minds of the luxurious and degenerate Romans, we need not wonder that a new era of poetical literature then commenced, which, though incorporating much that was ancient, has exhibited a genius of its own, and originated modes of composition adapted to its peculiar nature.

If we had space to develop and illustrate these views; we think we could shew, that the poetical development of modern times has required some mode of expression between the Ode and the Epigram. The requirement might have been partially answered by short poems of varied construction, reducible to no one order or class. And this has always been, and still is the case with many writers who refuse the aid of the sonnet,

and who give us a multitude of compositions, neither songs, odes, elegies, or epigrams, but a *mélange* of all; or, as is often the case, a number of pieces in which the qualities of all are mingled in each. But the universal prevalence of such a state of things was impossible. Poetry is an art. Its necessities will always fall under rules. Those who practise it successfully make their practice artistical, and in this way become examples to others. That requirement, therefore, which we attribute to the poetical genius of modern times, has been met by the sonnet; and, instead of regarding it as a mere trick of art, or eccentricity of genius, we are disposed to view it as an important form of poetry, as itself an art in the highest sense, and therefore to be numbered among the most refined and beautiful efforts of poetical genius.

The nature, uses, and excellence of the sonnet may be inferred from these views of its origin and production. Its nature and excellence appear to us to consist in its adaptation to some particular conception of the poetical mind, combining a close and terse expression of it with variety and harmony. In regulating the use of it, the soundest judgment is necessary. Men incapable of condensing their thoughts, and who cannot reduce a poetical idea to one bright and burning focus of light, should never attempt the sonnet. It can never be successful in the hands of inferior men. Again, it should never be attempted even by men of poetical genius, while their ideas are in a crude state. Those who write as soon as the thought strikes them, and trust to the heat of composition for its perfect development, will fail in the use of the sonnet. A thought, also, for which this vehicle is chosen, should be as simple and uncompounded as possible. When the thought, as one and simple, is strongly fixed in a mind of true poetical temperament, the sonnet, we think, may be always used with effect. It is like a *lens*, however, which requires a steady hand to hold. Of course, its use requires a general felicity of expression—*curiosa felicitas*,—a familiarity with poetical language, a taste for the harmony and beauty of arrangement and versification, and great power of illustration, almost Homeric in its command of similes. It is difficult to suggest any rules for the occasions of its use, or for the class of subjects on which it may be employed. Love, after the example of Petrarch, seems by prescription to claim the use of the sonnet. In devotion, and the whole range of religious meditation, it may be employed with success. A didactic genius, one of those fine spirits which combine philosophy with poetry, may thus eliminate and recommend the most weighty suggestions of high and holy truth. Single thoughts may originate in strong efforts of the imagination, but only in this case is the

sonnet suited to an imaginative genius. The playfulness of fancy generally requires more scope for description than it allows : and, for the same reason, the sonneteer is seldom successful in description. Wordsworth, therefore, we think, often disappoints his readers, though every one is aware that many of his descriptive sonnets are eminently beautiful and impressive. When some particular beauty in a landscape furnishes a hint to genius, this composition may be used ; but the point of the sonnet lies in the development of the suggested idea, and, perhaps, in the manner in which its connexion with the subject described is shewn. A merely descriptive sonnet will be unsatisfactory, because there is no progress of thought, no emphasis, no point. The mechanism of the sonnet will encumber and perplex the sense, and its divisions of quatrains and tercets will have the effect of breaking a description into fragments.

The sonnet is thickly sown over the whole field of English literature. From the time of Lord Surrey to the present, writers of distinction have furnished us with specimens, while the whole herd of inferior scribes have made the number countless. This, we think, results from the modern development of our poetical genius, and, as a part of this, from the imitation of Italian writers, in which many of our most distinguished poets have set the example to their followers. We believe that the prevalence of this species of composition, in our own literature in particular, is owing to the causes which account for it generally. It is necessary to observe this as an objection to that depreciation of English sonnets to which such admirers of the Italian model as the author of the volume before us are prone. The greatest variety or laxity in this composition has generally prevailed. Many writers seem to have had no more definite idea of its nature, than that of a short poem, comprised in fourteen lines ; or, at most, of the fourteen lines as divided into two or three quatrains, to be followed by six lines of alternate rhymes, or a couplet. Still, those who are distinguished by this species of composition among our great writers, have made it the vehicle for condensed reflection or unity of thought, in a manner which gives a philosophical character to their sonnets. This is eminently the case with Spenser. Though uniformly erroneous in the rhymes of his two first quatrains, and adding a third, so as to make the whole end in a couplet, a certain point in each is so preserved as to give the true philosophical character to the poem. Something, though, we think, in an inferior degree, of the same high and distinctive merit, belongs also to the sonnets of Shakespeare. Such different opinions are given of Milton's sonnets, that it requires great resolution to speak of them in any decided tone. We are

sorry to find Mr. Pulling adopting the depreciating style. Milton's familiarity with Italian taught him a stricter observance of the Italian rhymes than is usual in English writers ; so that objections to his sonnets must regard either their pauses, or their general want of condensation and unity. There may be some occasion for the former of these ; but the latter, which, as far as we can understand his loose expressions, we imagine is Mr. Pulling's objection, we regard as utterly without foundation. We think Mr. Pulling, in too evident an anxiety to depreciate all English sonnets up to the publication of his own volume, has missed a triumphant illustration of the truth and importance of his theory, by his utterly misplaced depreciation of some of the most beautiful sonnets in our language. The same remark, though with some qualification of its importance, belongs to his observations on Drummond, Warton, Mason, and Ann Seward. In their approximation to the Italian model, they afford an illustration of its excellence, and a critical examination of them would elicit reasons for a stricter conformity to it, in accordance with the deepest views of its philosophical character.

To come to modern writers of sonnets, we have the same combination of laxity of composition with condensation and particularity of thought. Bowles, Coleridge, Wordsworth, and many others of merited celebrity, might be mentioned, as shewing the nature and excellence of the sonnet, though under the disadvantages of English laxity. One word on the most distinguished of these writers as a sonneteer. We have intimated above that his descriptive sonnets are unequal, and that this species of composition is too freely employed by him on subjects brought with difficulty within its range. To journalise a tour in a series of sonnets is a hazardous undertaking, and from the presumed failure of which much may be learned. There is one work, however, in which Mr. Wordsworth appears to us to have employed the sonnet with wonderful success, and to an extent which shews its powers more perhaps than any other work in English literature, or indeed in the literature of any nation. His "Ecclesiastical Sketches" must ever be held a work distinguished by philosophical thought and poetical brilliance. Though appealing to a restricted class of sympathies, and, within their circle, touching on many dangerous points of difference, they can be read by scarcely any one without admiration of the manner in which particular thoughts, of beautiful form and weighty import, seem, under his poetical touch, to rise out of the topics he selects, like fire from the flint when struck by the steel, or like electric sparks produced from bodies insulated for the purpose. This, we are persuaded, is chiefly owing to the

manner in which the sketches take the form of sonnets. Such thoughts as arose in the writer's mind, on surveying with the poet's eye the events and characters of our ecclesiastical history, required the form of the sonnet, when the use of this form preserved their particularity, and increased the vigour of their condensation, however lax and irregular their rhymes and pauses.

While, therefore, English writers of sonnets have thought themselves at liberty to vary their rhymes and divisions as much almost as is possible in the compass of fourteen lines, they have, nevertheless, established in our literature a species of composition, devoted to the poetical expression of particular thoughts according to that development of poetical genius which is one of the characteristics of modern times. We see in this way how absurd it is to plead the example of Petrarch for the unqualified condemnation of Spenser and Wordsworth, or pedantically to refuse the name of sonnets to such poems as the "Amoretti" of the one, and the "Ecclesiastical Sketches" of the other. This is the great blemish of Mr. Pulling's "Essay on Sonnet-writing," in which, by neglecting the philosophical view of the subject, he places his criticism of English writers on a false principle.

The volume before us contains one hundred and twenty-three carefully composed sonnets, "written strictly in the Italian style;" and preceded by an Essay of forty-two pages, to which we gladly refer our readers for much information on this interesting subject of poetical and critical art. Our author, as will be inferred from what we have said, makes the Italian sonnet his standard or model. This, however, is insisted on in too arbitrary a manner; for, with the exception of one passage, which we shall presently quote (on the manner in which the divisions of the English sonnet run into each other), he does not attempt to shew why the Italian model should be adopted. We regret this, because we wish to see this preference maintained, not as a sort of pedantic despotism, but as the ascendancy of truth and reason, and as the means of improving this composition in the hands of the greatest masters, as well as of preventing its growing abuse among the *servus pecus* of imitators.

Mr. Pulling's explanation of the Italian sonnet is as follows:—

"It is known by adepts that the sonnet is composed of two *quatrains*, and two *tercets*; and that this form, most frequently contained in *four rhymes*, never admits more than *five*." P. iv. "The mechanism, then, for the Italian sonnet, is the following:—the quatrains which form the first eight verses or lines ought to be on two different rhymes, which may be arranged in three different manners: in the first, which

"is the most used, the first line rhymes with the fourth, the fifth, and the eighth; the second with the third, the sixth, and the seventh: in the second, the first line rhymes with the third, the fifth, and seventh; the second with the fourth, sixth, and eighth: in the third, the first line rhymes with the third, the sixth, and eighth; the second with the fourth, the fifth, and seventh.

"With regard to the six lines of the two tercets, there are also three sorts of arrangement: the lines of the first tercet, in the first instance, being on three different rhymes, which have their respective corresponding ones in the three verses of the second, in any order whatever, according to the necessity or will of the composer: secondly, of these six lines, the first is made to rhyme with the third and the fifth; the second with the fourth and the sixth: lastly, the first rhymes with third, fourth, and sixth, and the second only with the fifth. These are the only methods in which the fourteen lines can be arranged to make a sonnet, on the true Italian model, in a grand or solemn style: or, at least, the best methods for the quatrains: and although the two tercets are less strict, yet the above are the most approved modes." P. vi, vii.

Among recent and living English writers who have formed a due appreciation of the Italian model, we are happy to quote Mr. Hallam, especially as uniting with this appreciation that justice to English sonnets in which Mr. Pulling is lamentably deficient.

"The legitimate sonnet (says Mr. Hallam) consists of two quatrains and two tercets; as much skill, to say the least, is required for the management of the latter as of the former. The rhymes of the last six lines are capable of many arrangements; but by far the worst, and also the least common in Italy, is that we usually adopt, the fifth and sixth rhyming together, frequently after a full pause, so that the sonnet ends with the point of an epigram. The best form, as the Italians hold, is the rhyming together of the three uneven, and the three even lines; but as our language is less rich in consonant terminations, there can be no objection to what has abundant precedents even in theirs,—the rhyming of the first and fourth, second and fifth, third and sixth lines. This, with a break in the sense at the third line, will make a real sonnet, which Shakspeare, Milton, Bowles, and Wordsworth, have often failed to give us, even where they have given us something good instead. The common form of the Italian sonnet is called *rima chiusa*, where the rhymes of the two quatrains are 1, 4, 5, 8—2, 3, 6, 7; but the alternate rhyme sometimes, though less regularly, occurs. The tercets are either in *rima incatenata*

"or *rima alternata*, and great variety is found in these, even among the "early poets. Quadrio prefers the order *a, b, a, b, a, b*, where there are "only two rhyming terminations, but does not object to *a, b, c, a, b, c*; "or even *a, b, c, b, a, c*. The couplet termination he entirely condemns. Quadrio, *Storia d'ogni Poesia*, iii, 25*."

These extracts are sufficient to shew the manner in which, as far as rhymes are concerned, the Italian model should be adopted for the purpose of remedying the inconsistencies and laxities of the English sonnet, and also for the purpose of making it for the future more available as a vehicle for single sentiments. By comparing different sonnets of our best writers, we may see, that the nearer they have approached the Italian model, the more effective their composition proves; while many might be pointed out as containing some beautiful thought, but obscuring it by the mazy meanderings of a loose and involved versification. The confined nature of the poem has preserved the thought, while the mismanagement of its peculiar construction has occasioned its obscurity. It glimmers upon the sense of the poetical reader, who reads the unfortunate sonnet again and again, till, after analysing its construction so as to disentangle its sense from the confusion of misplaced rhymes and ill-adjusted pauses, he understands it, and is pleased. But such a critical, or rather poetical reader, will also discover, that, by another arrangement of the rhymes, and a collocation of the pauses according to the divisions by which they are so plainly indicated, the thought of the writer might easily be developed with beauty and power. We advise our readers to try this experiment, according to the Italian model, on some of the *bad* sonnets of *good* poets; and we think, that, by a readjustment of rhymes and pauses, guiding the progress of thought and illustration into the channels thus provided, the superiority of the strict Italian to the lax English sonnet might be demonstrated to the most sceptical, and at the same time the excellence of this species of composition be felt and appreciated more than it generally is at present.

It will be seen, in these remarks, that we not only contend for a certain adjustment of rhymes in two quatrains and two tercets, but also that the pauses should be made according to these divisions.

"Sonnets (says our author), to be strictly according to the Italian "model, or that of the nations by whom this species of poetry has been "cultivated successfully, must not only have the rhymes, and the "quatrains and tercets, already mentioned, but the divisions must be "distinct; for, if they run into each other, as is the case in very nume-

* Hallam's "Introduction to the Literature of Europe," &c., vol. iii, p. 41, note.

"rous, almost numberless English sonnets, they lose their regular character, and assume the form of blank verse; and this is one great cause, perhaps the chief, why this department of the muse has been so little productive of pleasure in this country. The ear becomes wearied, in consequence of having no regular places on which to rest; and this little poem, which is susceptible of the most delightful harmony, is deprived of its power of pleasing, and even loses its distinct character, and its pretensions to the name it bears." P. viii.

There are many reasons for this, belonging to the nature and proper use of the sonnet. The development of a particular thought, or even the description of some particular beauty in nature or art, requires an observance of the old rule, which prescribes to the artist, a beginning, middle, and end. This is provided for in the first quatrain,—the second,—and the two tercets taken together. If this appear too artificial, still it must be remembered, that there is always a progress of thought in the transmission of any idea from one mind to another. When, therefore, the sonnet is used, it must be with the design of making this progress gradual, distinct, and, finally, clear, full, and impressive. If the divisions of the sonnet be of any use, the pauses must be regulated by their arrangement, as necessary to the preservation of their utility. All this will still more clearly appear, if the peculiar nature of a poetical thought or sentiment be considered. It is not common-place, it is not familiar; it is original, perhaps startling,—perhaps, in all its truth and beauty, questionable; or, at least, is such an emanation of genius, that the mind of a common reader cannot receive it—if presented abruptly, but recoils from it in confusion, if not in doubt. It is electric, and therefore occasions a dangerous shock, if not carefully transmitted to the recipient. Hence there must be some preparation. The reader must be safely placed *en rapport* with the poet. He must be made to feel *the thought* arise in his own mind as it did in the mind of the writer, and will thus be made to adopt the expression of it in the conclusion of the sonnet as his own. It is plain that a strict observance of the divisions and corresponding pauses contributes to this end. Even if the thought conveyed be the most calm and simple, or if it be merely the revealment of the beauty of some common thought, there must be some striking illustration, the happy conception of which constitutes the poetical effort; when the subject must be proposed, the illustration given, and the application of it made to the adornment or exaltation of the subject by the strict use of established divisions. Whatever order be observed in introducing the subject and illustration, this rule will still hold.

Still, it may be asked, though some such divisions, generally conceived as three, be distinguished by their rhymes, and be made distinct-

tive of the pauses, why must the Italian form be insisted on as our model? To this question we might reply at length by the argument from convenience. It is desirable to have an authority, and to make this authority as complete as possible. We have, indeed, virtually recognised Italian authority by confining the name of sonnet to poems of fourteen lines, and adopting this form into our literature. But, from not making this authority prescriptive of rhymes and pauses, the greatest uncertainty has been introduced into this composition, and the greater number of poems taking the name have been found unsatisfactory and perplexing. It is best, therefore, in adopting this authority at all, to do so completely, or shew what modifications are desirable, and work them, as no modifications of the Italian style are yet worked, into an English model. Let us have a model of the fourteen-lined poem, whose peculiar structure may be adapted to the development of single poetical thoughts. First, the thought and the subject to which it belongs, the illustration chosen for it, or the link of common sentiment by which the mind of the reader is to be drawn to the poet, point out two connected sentences or stanzas. And such are found in almost every English sonnet. Here the chief variation from the Italian model is the separation of the rhymes of the two quatrains, instead of the two rhymes of the first being continued in the second. But what imaginable advantage is gained by this variation, except the facility of composition? But those who have not sufficient command of diction to overcome the difficulty of the English language in this respect, should not, we think, attempt the sonnet. Why should they place themselves under the authority of Italian art only to break its rules? Besides, while no advantage to the excellence of the sonnet is gained by this variation, an obvious one is lost. Though this part of the poem be divided into two quatrains, a delicate contexture is preserved by the implexity of its rhymes. A pause, more or less significant, according to the sense, is necessary to distinguish the first quatrain from the second, when this implexity of structure abates its separating power, and is therefore finely and beautifully adapted to the conveyance of those distinct but related suggestions, which compare one sentiment or idea in the mind with something else. When the mind is thus prepared for the inference, emphasis, or point of the sonnet, the chief pause takes place. The variation of this is rare, and is scarcely ever indeed found, except in that clumsy mechanism in which, in rhyme, one line is made to invade another, in the manner of blank verse, the pauses necessary to the beauty of one species of verse being so misplaced in another as to destroy its characteristic charm. Passing this, our business is with the last six lines of the sonnet. The variations from this part of the Italian

model are generally such as make a quatrain, followed by a couplet, sometimes answering to one of the rhymes of this quatrain, and sometimes adding one of its own. We have therefore to consider, in English sonnets, together or separately, the addition of a third quatrain, and the conclusion of the poem by means of a couplet. Again, we ask, what is the advantage of these variations? The plea of facility in composition does not hold here, for at best the English variation gains no more rhymes than the Italian model contains, and sometimes less than are allowed. We suspect that caprice is active here, and that because the Italian sonnet seems to relax its rigidity at this point, as if it allowed all possible liberties, all conceivable antics, at the last. But here relaxation is according to rules; and, if these rules be not observed, the relaxed tone of the sonnet will spoil the whole. The general rule seems to be, to have either two alternating rhymes, or, in the case of three, to postpone each returning rhyme to the second tercet. This breaks the uniformity of a short poem, and gives to this part of it a character of its own. Our great point, then, must be, to avoid an additional quatrain, else we restrict the variety of the sonnet, add to its strictness, formality and stiffness, and destroy the *concordia discors*, in which so much of the peculiar harmony of a sonnet consists. But there is another objection to this quatrain, and that is, the kind of conclusion on which it forces the writer. The couplet, after a series of alternating rhymes, creates so great a separation, that the sense halts, and leaps lamely along; or these two insulated lines either become an expletive, or give the point of the sonnet briefly and obscurely in two lines instead of six.

In short, then, we maintain that the Italian model is not only the one which has, historically, as successfully employed by the greatest writers in this department, the strongest claim to be received as an authority, but that the most severe analysis of its structure will prove its exact relation to the constitution of the mind in the transmission and reception of ideas. And this might be expected *à priori*, viewing it as a work of art, on which men of the greatest genius in modern literature have employed their powers. In the cultivation of this art, we cannot place any of our English writers by the side of Dante, Petrarch, and Filicaja; for though Spenser, Shakspeare, and Milton, must, in other respects, be regarded as their equals or superiors, yet, in this particular department, their productions must be viewed either as immature exercises, or relaxations of their genius. The only writer of high and imperial fame who ever seems to have given the full force of his mind to efforts of this description, is our present Laureate. But, much as we admire his sonnets in themselves, and regard them as evidences of the capabilities of this poem, we think that, as sonnets, they are evidently

too unartistical to compete with the authority of our Italian masters. Even supposing that the art of the writer was a neglect of the rules of Italian art, we humbly think that he has failed of success ; and that, in this respect, he will never become an authority and example. Recollecting the critical and philosophical powers, and the great artistical genius, possessed by Petrarch in particular, we may regard the sonnet as moulded and perfected by such a writer,—as one of those finished pieces of art, any deviation from which will prove a departure from nature, and a surrender of the triumphs achieved by genius in one generation for the use of another. The sculptor might as well attempt some great effect by deviations from his Grecian models, or the epic poet scorn the imitation of Homer.

We shall not dwell on the sonnets before us. They are remarkable as a volume of correctly composed specimens ; but we should be very sorry to adopt them as a standard of the excellence of such poems in the English language. Mechanical accuracy seems to have been the anxious study of the author, and they have little else to recommend them. They indicate amiable feelings, united with undissembled vanity. They are religious in their style, but they illustrate none of the great principles of Christianity*. They touch upon a variety of pleasing subjects, suggestive of important thoughts, but they often fail to prove the existence of any thought in the writer's mind. They sometimes read like "nonsense verses" in sonnet-writing, perfectly correct in their rhymes and pauses, but aiming at nothing more. Can we reasonably expect anything more from a writer, who tells us in his Essay, "The sonnet, essentially musical, essentially founded on the harmony of the sounds, the name of which it bears, *acts on the heart much more by the words than the thought?*" P. v. Let Mr. Pulling be assured, that there is no composition which can be defended on this principle. Indeed, we believe that there is no species of composition in which it is more important than in the sonnet to remember,

Scribendi recte, sapere est et principium et fons.

We conclude in the words of the French critic, just as true now Mr. Pulling has published his volume, as when they were written :

Un sonnet sans défaut vaut seul un long poème,
Mais en vain mille auteurs y pensent arriver ;
Et cet heureux phénix est encore à trouver †.

* The sonnet "written at Versailles," &c., p. 13, and beginning "Thy boons, O Fortune !" indicates a sadly imperfect theology. We lament to find a clergyman of our church praying that the "bloody death" of Louis XVI *might atone for his sin!*

† Boileau, L'Art Poétique, c. 2.

A LETTER BY PROFESSOR LEE TO DR. PUSEY, ON HIS
LATE SERMON PREACHED AT OXFORD.

Trinity College, Cambridge, March 10, 1846.

REV. AND DEAR SIR,

When I last addressed you on a sermon of yours preached before the University of Oxford, I took upon me to shew, that you had misunderstood your subject, and misrepresented your authorities*. How far I may have then succeeded, it is for others to say. I have received some testimonies, however, which have convinced me that my labour was not then in vain. From the tone of your last, it is, I think, evident enough, that your mind remains much as it was, either marvellously blind to the most obvious and important truths, or else recklessly bent upon the propagation of error. To this latter alternative I am very unwilling to subscribe, knowing, as I do, the almost insuperable difficulty of persuading minds much attached to certain groundless notions, particularly in Theology, that these are wrong and sinful. I have, nevertheless, thought it my duty to do the best I could for this end; and if, as before, I should fail of convincing you that your course is not good, I do trust I shall succeed in shewing others how far it ought to be avoided, and how the question you have now mooted ought to be considered and concluded upon. This question would, from its nature, seem to involve a vast variety of topics, and this it really does. All that is essential, however, seems to me to lie within a very small compass; and, as it is my wish to be short, I shall endeavour to shape my course accordingly.

The question now before us is, How far is the priest or minister of the Christian religion enabled, either publicly or privately, to pronounce the remission of sins over any penitent? This, I think, is the main question insisted upon in your late sermon. But, before we can enter

* "Some Remarks on the Sermon of the Rev. Dr. Pusey, lately preached and published at Oxford." London: Seeley's & Co. 1843.

fairly on this, we must inquire who the ministers or priests of Christ's religion are.

By "priests" you probably mean ministers ordained by bishops and presbyters, either of the Church of England, Rome, or of any other true Episcopal church; and to these exclusively, I presume, you give this title. It is not my intention here, to raise any question as to the correctness of these your views generally, but only to point out a distinction, made in *the Word of Christ*, which you have omitted, and which, as it seems to me, your system will not bear. It is this: viz. the *Word of Christ* recognises priests of two different kinds; the one *public*, the other *private*. In the Epistles of St. Paul to Timothy and Titus, directions are given as to the choice and ordination of priests or ministers of a *public character*. Of this sort, indeed, were the Apostles of our Lord, as chosen, ordained, and sent out by Him as *public ministers* of the Word; and, in this capacity, *to bind and loose publicly*, and, it may be, *privately*, as occasion might require, according to the commission entrusted to them. Of this, there will probably be no dispute between you and me. I may add, all such I believe those to be who have been duly commissioned, as taught by St. Paul, to this great and important work.

Of the other class of priests, the Word of Christ speaks thus (1 Pet. ii. 5, 9):—"Ye . . . are built up a spiritual house, an HOLY PRIESTHOOD, to offer up spiritual sacrifices, acceptable to God by Jesus Christ. And again, "Ye are a chosen generation, A ROYAL PRIESTHOOD, a holy nation, a peculiar people; that ye should shew forth the praises of Him who hath called you out of darkness into his marvellous light." There can perhaps be no doubt here, that by this the whole body of true believers is meant; they are termed "*an holy nation, a peculiar people*," which must necessarily apply to the whole body. Then, again, as to their priestly acts, they are "*to offer up spiritual sacrifices by Jesus Christ*," and "*to shew forth the praises of Him who hath called them out of darkness into his marvellous light*." To this is to be added, of necessity, all the duties generally prescribed to Christians: they are to "*teach and admonish one another, in psalms, and hymns, and spiritual songs*," (1 Col. iii. 16; Eph. v. 19), as they also are to "*confess their faults one to another, and to pray one for another*," (James, v. 16); all which, I have no doubt, you will allow are priestly duties, although they involve nothing interfering with the *public* ministrations of priest; excepting only, privately to further and assist them. Nor shall I object, should you interpret the "*faults*" (παρρησιάζεσθαι), quoted from St. James, by "*sins*," because all faults are sins, and because

the term used here (*ῥαπαρῳματα*) does occasionally mean "*sins*;" and further, because nothing like the *absolution* which you contend for can be extracted from this context. If it could, then indeed would your power of the keys be as much in the hands of the people as of their *priest*, as they are here both the confessors and confessed.

We have here, therefore, two distinct and different kinds of priests, the business of both of which is, *to offer up spiritual sacrifices to God by Christ; to shew forth the praises of Him who hath called them out of darkness into his marvellous light; to teach and admonish one another in psalms, hymns, and spiritual songs; to confess their faults or sins one to another, and to pray for one another*, and the like. To one of these classes, viz. the ordained priests, this ministration is committed as *public servants* of the Church,—not to exercise a lordship over it,—while they also sustain the character of *private ministers*, or *priests*, in common with their brethren, the laity.

Let us now approach the question which involves the power of the keys, in other words, the priestly absolution contended for in your sermon. From your context, it appears that it is to penitents *alone* that this can be extended. You argue, moreover, that this absolution is in its nature positive, perfect, and complete. Let us see, first, whether this *be possible*. It is assumed throughout your discourse, that *repentance* must accompany the confession, whether this be *public*, as used in our Church, or *private*, as elsewhere observed. But, by "*repentance*" must here necessarily be meant, not only sincere repentance of known sins past, but also that *sort of repentance* which is prescribed in the Word of God. It can avail a man nothing, according to its requirements, to repent that he has not prayed to the Virgin Mary, or to saints generally; or that he has not made a pilgrimage to the tomb of Becket, fasted on Fridays, or omitted to do countless other things, which superstitious, ignorant, and impious men have devised and made binding; all of which may indeed secure some glory with men: but with God, whose forgiveness is to be sought, they can only be considered as abominations, and be treated as such. *Repentance*, or *Penitence*, must therefore, to be worth anything, be both sincere and scriptural.

It is then, on these grounds alone, even on your own shewing, that absolution can be positively pronounced. To pronounce a *positive* and *full remission of sins* must, also, depend on a perfect knowledge obtained, that the repentance offered has been *sincere* and *good*. I may, indeed, *persuade* myself of the goodness of the repentance; I may, supposing I were so commissioned, go on then to pronounce an abso-

lute, positive, and complete remission of sins. It is, nevertheless, impossible for me to *know this*: the thing lies beyond the reach of humanity. It will therefore be quite out of my power to pronounce, under this ignorance, any such absolution. I may, as just noticed, believe the repentance to be true and good, and upon this belief I may pronounce the absolution. But this will leave the matter just as before. I could only *suppose* this fact, and upon *this supposition* only could I proceed. And, if so, the absolution given could be *only a conditional one*. Its positiveness and certainty, supposing I really had the power to affirm this, must rest on grounds of which I could have no cognisance whatsoever; and the consequence must be,—whether I acknowledge this or not,—the absolution pronounced by me could, even in my own estimation, rise no higher than the real value of the repentance, which I could only suppose accompanied it.

Supposing, then, the power to forgive sins, had really been committed to me, it would be quite out of my power to pronounce anything beyond a *conditional remission*. This the nature of the case absolutely requires: common sense, moreover, and common honesty, forbid us to go further; and it will follow, whether we are willing to confess this or not, that the fact will remain unaffected by this consideration. We may, nevertheless, persevere in teaching the contrary, and in acting accordingly; which, to a conscience tender as yours seems to be, must be to persevere, in the face both of God and man, to teach and to do that which all must feel is heterodox and abominable.

If, then, in the next place, remission can be given by the priest *only conditionally*—which we have seen is necessarily the case,—in what can this differ from preaching the Gospel generally? as when it is said, “*Believe in the Lord Jesus Christ, and thou shalt be saved,*” (Acts, xvi, 31); and again, (Acts, x, 43, where we have an appeal to the testimony of the prophets to the same effect), “*To him give all the prophets witness, that through his name whosoever believeth in Him shall receive remission of sins.*” where remission is to be given upon *belief in Christ*; a condition, as before, of which no man can judge. And again, indirectly, in the words of our Lord Himself, (Luke, xxiv, 47), “*And that repentance and remission of sins should be preached in his name among all nations,*” where it is evident *remission of sins*, through faith, was to be preached by the Apostles, just as much as repentance was; while none but God could judge of the goodness of either.

How then, let us now inquire, did the Apostles act under this commission? They were to be endued with power from on high*, and they

* Acts, i, 4, 8.

were so endued*. Of this they availed themselves, and actually wrought miracles. They spoke in various languages, which no human power could have taught them, circumstanced as they were. Now we know that they availed themselves of these several powers. They also availed themselves, no doubt, of the power of the keys both *to bind* and *to loose*, both *to retain* the sins of their converts, and *to remit them*. But in what way? Do we anywhere find them pronouncing an *absolute and unconditional pardon of sin*? or, indeed, *pardon of sin* in any way similar to that contended for by you †? Miracles they certainly wrought; but no instance can I find in which *they pardoned sin*. If you had found any such place, you would no doubt have advanced it in your sermon, where much of infinitely less importance is advanced: but no such thing as this is advanced there; I conclude therefore, that you could find none. The same is the case with the orthodox Fathers of the Church; they have

* Acts, ii, 1—4.

† There are two passages which some have supposed go to this point: viz. 1 Tim. i, 20, and 1 Cor. v, 5, which we shall see can have no such meaning. The first says, "... whom I have delivered unto Satan," (i. e. Hymeneus and Alexander), "that they may learn not to blaspheme." Let us suppose, for a moment, that this literally took place, and that they were actually consigned to the prince of the power of the air. These men were then, now positively placed in the hands of the author of all evil, in order that they may learn not to blaspheme! Is it, I ask, possible to conceive of a thing so utterly repugnant to every thing taught in the Bible? But, if this had been denounced upon them, unless they repented and changed their lives, we can readily see and appreciate its force. We shall presently see, that Holy Scripture frequently adopts this usage in similar cases: whence, it must be evident, that this passage cannot be cited in support of your doctrine of the keys. The other place, 1 Cor. v, 5, can admit of no other interpretation. There is another place, viz. 2 Cor. ii, 10, not unlike these, which deserves notice. It is said, "*To whom ye forgive any thing, I forgive also: for if I forgive any thing, to whom I forgive it, for your sakes forgive I it in the person of Christ.*" In the first place, the verb used here is not *ἀφίημι*, I forgive, or pardon, upon which you lay so much stress; but *χαρίζομαι*, I am gracious, favourable to, or the like. In the second, this favour was not primarily conferred here by the Apostles, but by the Church: it could therefore be no exclusively priestly absolution. And again, "*this punishment*" was (2 Cor. ii, 6) "*inflicted of many*:" in 1 Cor. v, 4, 5, the whole church was evidently concerned. And again, "*In the person of Christ*" may be rendered, as it has been taken by some eminent commentators, &c., *in the presence, or sight, of Christ*. At any rate, as the whole Church was concerned, the priestly binding and loosing which you contend for, cannot possibly be meant. The probability is, that a denunciation of excommunication from the church conditionally, was publicly made, and that it had its desired effects in working repentance in the culprit.

adduced no instance, as far as I can remember, in which an apostle positively forgave sin; nor, indeed, any in which they themselves either assumed their power to do so, or practised it. In What way, then, did the Apostles fulfil their commission in this respect? I answer, they preached the forgiveness of sins to all men, through the faith that is in Christ; in other words, they went about teaching (Rom. iii, 21, 22) that "*The righteousness of God, witnessed by the Law and the Prophets, even the righteousness of God*" (that is, *pardon of sin*) "*by faith of Jesus Christ*" (is) "*unto all and upon all them that believe.*" Justification from all things (see also Rom. v, 16—18) is therefore, here taught and fully argued by the Apostle, under the condition of a full and *scriptural* faith in Christ, apart from every system of works whatsoever, even though the works themselves should be the very observances of the Mosaic law. And, if *this faith* were the condition, then, I say, would even an apostle be as unable to judge of the goodness of this—so long as a fair outside should be exhibited—as any other man would be of the goodness of repentance, offered therewith; and of this the apostolical writings afford us sufficient evidence. "*God,*" says St. Peter, (Acts, xv, 8, 9), "*which knoweth the hearts, bare them witness, giving them the Holy Ghost, even as He did unto us; and put no difference between us and them, purifying their hearts by faith.*"

I think it must be allowed, that St. Peter here teaches that *God alone* knoweth the hearts of men*, excluding even the Apostles, of whom he

* This difficulty has occurred to Archbishop Tillotson, who tells us, upon 1 Cor. xiv, 24, 25, that the gift of discerning spirits was extended to the apostles and elders of the early Church, and that they could hence exercise the power of the keys; because, he says, "They who had the privilege of knowing men's hearts, might do this upon certain grounds, and were secure from mistake," &c. (Serm. clixvi, vol. ii, edit. 1712). The place adduced by him, however, will prove no such discernment. All that it intends seems to be, that, by the prophesying (preaching) of the church, a stranger coming in would be made to feel the depravity of his heart, judged as he would be in this respect by all. This would have the effect of laying open his heart, so as to induce him to fall down, confessing his sins, and worshipping God, and seeking for forgiveness. The place (1 Cor. xii, 10), speaking of the gift of discerning spirits, tells us that it was given to *some*, as other gifts were to others; implying that all did not possess it. The evidently inferior office here assigned to this gift, is, I think, sufficient to convince us, that an insight into character generally is all that could have been meant. The Church had not, therefore, any insight here into the secrets of men's hearts; and we shall presently see, that this was not vouchsafed even to the Apostles themselves. The Archbishop tells us, however, that he cannot easily

was certainly not the least: and, be it observed, the question is here about *the faith which purifies the heart*. If we turn to the Old Testament, (1 Kings, viii, 39), we shall find the same sentiment in the mouth of the wisest king of Israel; viz., "*Thou, even Thou only, knowest the hearts of all the children of men,*" (Compare 1 Sam. xvi, 7; 1 Chron. xxviii, 9, &c.) And again, (Acts, i, 24), we have the whole company of the Apostles saying, "*Thou Lord, which knowest the hearts of all men, shew whether of these two Thou hath chosen.*" Here, it must be evident, the whole company of the Apostles is excluded, and God appealed to as the only discernor of the thoughts of the heart. Again, in the case of Simon Magus, (Acts, viii, 13, 18 *seq.*), it is said, "*Then Simon himself believed also; and, when he was baptized, he continued with Philip*" &c. Here we are told, even by the inspired writer, that *Simon himself believed*, and further, that he *was baptized*. There does not appear to have been any suspicion entertained among the Apostles, as to the deficiencies of Simon's faith; if there had, surely they would never have baptized him. And again, baptized as he was, even by apostolic hands, he still *continued a reprobate*. Some time after this, upon Simon's seeing that the Holy Ghost was given by the laying on of the Apostles' hands, he offered money with the view of purchasing this power. Upon this occasion it was that Peter pronounced him a reprobate, and the reason is given in these words: "*Because thou hast thought that the gift of God may be purchased with money.*" The Apostle continues, "*Repent, therefore, of this thy wickedness, and pray God, if perhaps the thought of thine heart may be forgiven thee; for I perceive that thou art in the gall of bitterness, and in the BOND OF*"

believe, that, although ministers cannot now see into men's hearts, this remission signifies nothing more than preaching the Gospel. Then, I ask, what can it possibly mean? He allows, that a complete remission cannot be given, because ministers cannot judge of the goodness of repentance. What, I want to know, is the midway between these two extremes? I know of none: nor does any man else, as far as I can see. In the case, however, of Ananias and Sapphira, (Acts v, 1 *seq.*), Peter was apparently enabled to discern the secret proceedings of the party; which seems to have been granted to him for that particular occasion, just as Paul was warned that the Jews would not receive his testimony, (Acts, xxii, 18); that bonds and afflictions awaited him in every city, (Ib. xx, 23); and that there should be no loss of any of those who sailed with him, but of the ship only (Ib. xxvii, 22). If so, these formed a part of the signs and wonders promised to be given for the establishing of Christianity; and were given accordingly as occasion required, but were not always possessed.

"INIQUITY." Peter perceives here, then, not from any power inherent in himself, but by the deed done, that Simon was *in the bond of iniquity**. And How did he proceed for the purpose of *loosing him*? Did he say, *Confess thy sins to me, and I will absolve thee*? He seems to me to say anything but this: his words are, "*Repent . . . of this thy wickedness, and pray God, if perhaps the thought of thine heart may be forgiven thee.*" He does not merely say "*repent,*" but also "*pray God.*" The *repentance* here recommended must therefore, have been that which is elsewhere styled, "*repentance towards God;*" to which is added, "*and faith toward our Lord Jesus Christ,*" (Acts, xx, 21), which Paul declares was the substance of his teaching. Repentance is here then, to be made to God, not to man; both Peter and Paul are unanimous in this, as indeed are all the sacred writers; and this repentance must be combined with faith. Peter therefore, sends the sinner to repentance towards God, and to prayer to Him; and these in the faith that is in Christ. How then, I ask, does it happen, that the very founder of the See of Rome, according to Papists, has not one word to say here in favour of the confessional?—sends the sinner not to the priest, but to God, as the Being who alone could receive his repentance, and release him from the bond of iniquity; and this, again, not until after Simon had shewn, by his deeds,—of which any believer could have judged just as well as the Apostle,—that he had neither part nor lot in this matter? And then, after all, Peter gives him anything but an assurance that he shall be accepted and forgiven, by saying, "*If PERHAPS the thought of thine heart may be forgiven thee;*" doubting, as it should seem, whether he would offer true repentance.

Now, observe how the Holy Spirit, in the Revelation, applies the

* Yet you tell us positively, (p. 25 of your Sermon), "The first," (i. e. baptism), "not only remitting all sin, but changing the whole man, making him "another self: before out of Christ, now in Christ: new-born, new-created," &c. &c., just in the same positive manner, and in the very same context as you speak of the absolution given by the priest. Nevertheless, a little farther on, (p. 47), you tell us that "*it benefits not those who receive it feignedly.*" It must follow, then, that no man can say positively and certainly whom it does, or does not benefit. Its benefits, consequently, can be held forth only *conditionally* by ministers of Christianity; all else must be groundless and false. The true and enlightened believer will indeed know, and feel, the power and value of this, and every other means of grace; but then this very enlightenment will teach him, that, if he can rejoice, it must be with trembling.

powers of Christ to the very question here in dispute: "*I am*," says our blessed Lord, "*the first and the last ; I am He that liveth, and was dead ; and behold I am alive for evermore, Amen ; and have the keys of hell and of death*," (Rev. i, 17, 18) : and again, (Rev. iii, 7), "*These things saith He that is holy ; He that is true ; He that hath the key of David ; He that openeth, and no man shutteth ; and shutteth, and no man openeth*." Here I think it is plain, that the possession of the keys is reserved to Christ alone, as is the power to open and shut. But this is not all ; man is wholly and entirely excluded, as to any and every actual exercise of this power. If you appeal to Isaiah, (xxii, 22 *seq.*), you will find similar language applied to the son of Hilkiah. How, then, are we to reconcile these places? No doubt, as in the case of Christ and his Apostles ; making Him the sole judge and avenger of his own law ; they, as his ministers, to publish this law, and to declare its penalties, as well as the means whereby these may be averted. So in Eliakim : he is here made a father to the inhabitants of Jerusalem, that is, to *administer* the affairs of the state in the faith and fear of God, as a faithful and wise steward, and in no case to go beyond this. And, be it further observed, he was no priest.

Now compare this for a moment, with the knowledge and practice of our Lord. Of his knowledge St. John says, (ii, 24, 25), "*He knew all men, and needed not that any should testify of man ; for He knew what was in man*." And again, (Matt. ix, 4 *seq.*), "*Jesus knowing their thoughts said, 'Wherefore think ye evil in your hearts ?'*" It is added, "*But that ye may know that the Son of man hath power on earth to forgive sins (then saith He to the sick of the palsy), 'Arise, take up thy bed, and go unto thine house.'*" We have here, I say, the power both to discern the thoughts and intents of the heart, for *He saw the faith* of those who approached Him (Matt. ix, 2) ; and also to forgive sins, for He said, "*Son, be of good cheer ; thy sins be forgiven thee*." Here, then, we have the true marks of Deity,—the power at once to *know* what was in man, and, at the same time, *fully to forgive sins*.

Allow me now to add your own testimony to the justness of these conclusions, as resulting from the want of knowledge inseparable from Christian ministers. You tell us in your Sermon (p. 26), that "*grievous sins, after baptism, are remitted by absolution ; and the judgment*," you add very properly, "*if the penitent be sincere*, is an earnest of the judgment of Christ. . . . Yet," you continue, "the same penitent has yet to appear before the judgment-seat of Christ, that, *according to his sincerity*," [the Italics are mine], "the Lord may ratify or an-

"nol the judgment of his servants." And again (pp. 46, 47), in the words of Cyprian, "If any have deluded us by a feigned penitence, God, who 'is not mocked,' and who 'looketh on the heart' of man, will 'judge of those whom we have not seen through; and the Lord will 'correct the sentence of his servants.'" It must follow, therefore,—whatever sophistry may be advanced to the contrary,—that no minister of Christ can pronounce forgiveness of sins in any but a *conditional* way; that is, can presume to go beyond *the declaration*, that, if the sinner repent truly of his sins, and believe in the Lord Jesus Christ, then shall his sins be remitted, and he be saved; which is nothing, either more or less, than preaching the Gospel. So also, in the Apostles, no power beyond a ministerial one, as servants, is either professed or practised. They never so much as hint at a commission holden by themselves to forgive sins; nor do they anywhere, either directly, or indirectly, pretend to put forth such power; marking, as I think, and intending to mark, their office as *purely ministerial*;—great indeed, and good beyond comparison, but nevertheless, confined to earthly vessels, and the ministrations of men.

The same again, is true both of priests and prophets under the law. In no case—and in some instances both these were inspired—has the power either to know the thoughts and intents of the heart, or to forgive sins, been assumed or put forth; the knowledge necessary to the one, and the power adequate to the other, have ever been ascribed to God alone. And it may be safely affirmed, that, if a priesthood so highly privileged as this—religion remaining essentially the same—was not vested with the power either to judge of the goodness of repentance, or to forgive sins in any way, and never either assumed, or pretended to exert any such power; it can scarcely be expected, that, under an infinitely more liberal system, any such powers would be granted. And, we have seen, that the Apostles of our Lord,—the only authorities we can look up to in such questions,—neither laid claim to any such powers, nor did, on any occasion, exert such.

Nor again, did the Apostles, at any time, deliver any such powers to their successors. In Paul's Epistle to Timothy and Titus, in his address to the Elders of Ephesus, and indeed in the whole of his writings to the churches, and his addresses as recorded by St. Luke in the Acts; throughout the whole of the New Testament, moreover, and, indeed, the whole range of orthodox ecclesiastical antiquity, we find not so much as one word said, sufficient to assure us that the ministers of Christ, either ever laid claim to any such power as this, or attempted to put it forth. We have a right to conclude therefore, both, that no such power was

ever granted to men as ministers of Christ, and also, that no such was ever laid claim to.

As to true believers generally,—who may be styled the *ordinary ministers* of Christ,—just as unbelievers may, the *ministers of Satan*, and such these really are,—they are much in the same situation, excepting only that *no public ministry of the word and ordinances* has been committed to them. It is their duty therefore, as it is their privilege, to “*speak as the oracles of God* ;” to *hold forth to all* within the sphere of their influence, *the pure word of truth*, and to exemplify this in their conduct and dispositions ; even as written epistles of Christ, and to be read and recognised as such by all men.

How, then, it may be asked, are we to understand the terms “*bind*” and “*loose*,” “*remit*” and “*retain sins*,” as cited in the text prefixed to your Sermon * ? We have seen, that neither the nature of the case, considered in itself, nor the teaching, coupled with the practice, of the Apostles,—nor indeed, that of all orthodox antiquity—will justify the sense which you have put upon them. Is there, then, any other way, in unison at once with all these conditions, in which they can be understood and applied ? I answer, There is : and this I now proceed to lay before you.

There is a scriptural usage of very extensive application, which speaks of things *as done*, when a *declaration* only of this is meant. We have, for example, (Jer. i, 10), “*See, I have this day set thee*” (Jeremiah) “*over the nations and over the kingdoms, to root out, and to pull down, and to destroy, and to throw down, to build, and to plant* ;” where it is sufficiently evident that the Prophet is commissioned only to declare or pronouncethis. Again, (Isa. vi, 9, 10), “*Go and tell this people, Hear ye indeed, but understand not ; and see ye indeed, but perceive not.—Make the heart of this people fat, and make their ears heavy, and shut their eyes,*” &c., which receives the following interpretation in the New Testament : “*In them is fulfilled the prophecy of Esaias, which saith, By hearing ye shall hear, and shall not understand ; and seeing ye shall see, and shall not perceive. For this people's heart is waxed gross, and their ears are dull of hearing, and their eyes they have closed ; lest at any time they should see,*” &c. (Matt. xiii, 14, 15), In John, xii, 39, 40, the place is given thus : “*Therefore they could not believe, because that Esaias said again, He hath blinded their eyes, and hardened their heart, that they should not see with their eyes, nor understand with their heart, and be converted, and I should heal them.*”

* John, xx, 21—23.

You will observe here, that what Isaiah is *positively commissioned to do*,—just as the priest is to forgive sins,—is stated to have been nothing more on his part than saying this ; “ *because*,” we are told, “ *Esaias said again*.” In St. Matthew in like manner, “ *In them is fulfilled the prophecy of Esaias, which saith*.” All that Isaiah did therefore, on this occasion, was, *to prophesy* of this event, not to bring it about by any authority committed to him. And, in strict conformity with this, it is said, “ *In them is fulfilled the prophecy . . . For this people’s heart is waxed gross, and their ears are dull of hearing, and their eyes THEY HAVE CLOSED*,” &c. If their eyes were now closed therefore, they themselves had closed them ; and the same must be true in the other cases. Again, the foreknowledge here shewn, as well as the commission given, is expressly ascribed to Christ by St. John (xii, 41). Isaiah therefore, acted *ministerially* only : and the same is true of Jeremiah. The declaration too, “ *He hath blinded their eyes*,” i. e. “ *The Lord*” mentioned above, can be understood here in no other sense than intimating Christ’s foreknowledge and declaration of this event ; otherwise it could not have been truly said, that this people had closed their own eyes. Nor, for the same reason, are we to imagine, that, when it is said, “ *they could not believe*,” (John, xii, 35), any natural impossibility stood in their way. It was “ *the god of this world that had blinded their minds, lest the light of the glorious Gospel of Christ should shine unto them*.” (2 Cor. iv, 4). It was neither Christ Himself therefore, nor his Prophet, that had done this.

We have (in John, ix, 39) another instance of this usage. “ *For judgment*,” says our Lord, “ *I am come into this world, that they which see not might see ; and that they which see might be made blind* :”—that is, as I understand it, I am come into the world to establish a system, under which judgment shall be “ *declared and pronounced*” of those (i. e. the Gentiles) who now see not, that they see ; and of these (the Jews) who see, that they perceive not. Our Lord adds moreover, (John, ix, 41), in answer to the Pharisees, who felt the force and point of this, “ *If ye were blind*,” (i. e. utterly unable to see), “ *ye should have no sin ; but now ye say, We see ; therefore your sin remaineth*.” He, who knew the hearts of all men, knew here perfectly well, that the love of sin had blinded them : He therefore, justly pronounced this judgment upon them. In like manner, He says of Himself, the very Prince of peace, (Matt. x, 34 seq.), “ *Think not that I am come to send peace on earth : I came not to send peace, but a sword ; for I am come to set a man at variance against his father*,” &c. ; which can probably signify nothing more than to declare, that this should unhappily attend upon the preaching of his Gospel.

It would be endless to cite all the examples of this kind which occur in Holy Writ. Those here given will be sufficient to satisfy any mind anxious for the truth, that this usage ought not to be lost sight of in our endeavours to understand the Scriptures*. What now, let me ask, must any reasonable man say should I here affirm, that a literal interpretation is not to be departed from? If I urged, for example, that Jeremiah was, in my first citation, commissioned and empowered so to rule over the nations, as, with his own hands, to root out, pull down, destroy, throw down, build, and plant? and that Isaiah was in like manner, in my second, sent to the Jews, positively and irresistibly to make their hearts fat, their ears heavy, and to close their eyes?—that is, to inflict on them the several diseases of enlarged hearts, deaf ears, and blind eyes; for your system demands a strictly literal interpretation? And, supposing I were blind enough also to stickle for this, How should I now extricate myself from the difficulties so created as to the New Testament? I cannot help thinking, that the judgment of our Lord upon the blind Pharisees just noticed, must fall upon me in all its force and terror. Pray consider this.

We have seen then, that the *binding and loosing*, the *remitting and the retaining* of sins, contended for in your sermon, is both incompatible with the nature of the case, and at variance with the teaching of the Apostles. We have also seen, that there is an usage of frequent occurrence in Holy Writ, which will give a solution of this whole question, strictly in conformity with the usage of the Apostles, and of all orthodox Christian antiquity. Let us now, then, examine the arguments that you have advanced against this. I shall pass over your citations from the Fathers, occurring up to page 10 of your sermon, because

* Of this sort are the following, Exod. ix, 12:—"The Lord hardened Pharaoh's heart," with its parallels which, many have affirmed, makes the Lord the author of Pharaoh's hardness, because forsooth, the terms used *literally* say this. But, in 1 Sam. vi, 6, we are told, that "*the Egyptians and Pharaoh hardened their hearts.*" Which then, of these places is to be literally interpreted? Both cannot certainly. The Scripture itself shall tell us. In Exod. vii, 14, "*the Lord said . . . Pharaoh's heart is hardened:*" and again (Exod. vii, 15), "*when Pharaoh saw that there was respite, he hardened his heart . . . as the Lord had said.*" We are told here therefore, that Pharaoh *hardened his own heart*, just as the Lord had said *he would*. So, our Lord made Himself the Son of God, when He said he was so, (John xix, 7; Comp. x, 33—37): and so our terms, "*justify*," "*magnify*," and the like, mean nothing more than to declare, or pronounce, one to be *just*, *great*, &c. In this way it is, moreover, that Peter *binds* Simon Magus, (Acts, viii, 23), already adverted to: he "*declares and pronounces*" him to be in this state.

they contain nothing in your favour, and shall proceed to examine your exposition of our Liturgical form of absolution. You say, on the words "Almighty God hath given *power* to his ministers to declare and "to pronounce to his people, being penitent, the absolution and remission of their sins," "Now power implies an authoritative act; and "to pronounce our pardon,' if penitent, is a present act, not a mere "abstract declaration, that God forgiveth the penitent." I remark, I do not see very clearly how the word "*power*" implies an *authoritative act*; I can only see in it *an authority given to declare and pronounce something*. I can discover no *act* here beyond this of declaring and pronouncing: and I will venture to affirm, that neither you nor any other man can. You add, "It is a present act; not a mere abstract "declaration," &c. I answer as before, I can see here, that this *declaration* or *pronunciation* is—how abstract soever either of these may be—a present act, and nothing else.

Then again, as to the object of this "declaration" or "pronunciation:" it is plainly to instruct the assembled congregation of *God's people*, that, upon their *being penitent*, pardon of sin shall be granted to them; which,—torture as you will,—amounts to nothing more than a *conditional pardon*; and the condition is such as to be quite out of the power of the priest to pronounce upon at all. But, it is added, (which, for ~~some~~ reason or other, you have thought right to omit), "He" (that is, "Almighty God") "pardoneth and absolveth all them that *truly repent*, "and *unfeignedly believe his holy Gospel*." The real *act of absolution* therefore, is here reserved to Almighty God Himself, and cannot be claimed by the priest. And again, this remission and absolution is declared and pronounced as available to those alone who *truly repent*, and *unfeignedly believe* his holy Gospel. But of this as before, no man can judge:—no Apostle ever presumed to judge of such a thing. The *act of absolution* is therefore, the prerogative of God alone; that of *pronouncing* his will to the *truly penitent* and *unfeigning believer*, is the *ministerial* duty of the priest, as plainly inculcated in this formula. All you have said therefore, about the priest's alone pronouncing this; the people's kneeling posture in receiving it; the priest's standing up; its title, "The Absolution;" the word "pronounce," signifying occasionally to pronounce sentence; the place of the formula in our prayer-books; the solemn preamble; the penitent being objects of absolution, not of exhortation, as copied from Wheatley, is as weak, as unworthy, and as little applicable to the question at issue, as can well be imagined!

You next tell us (p. 10), that, "As the penitence may in each case be

"supposed to be deeper, the absolution by the Church" (you mean by the priest, for the priest alone pronounces this) "becomes more authoritative, and fuller." I ask, if the authority is plenary in the first case, and the absolution complete,—and I can conceive of no real authority or absolution as incomplete here,—How can the authority be greater, and the absolution be considered fuller, in the one case than in the other? But, if there be a deficiency of authority, or of absolution, in any case; then in that case must both be worthless; which reduces our first and "least solemn form of absolution," as you are pleased to term it, to a perfect nullity! And then again, as to your grades of penitence: they are matters of which neither the Church, nor the priest can judge. We are next conducted (*ib.*) to "The Visitation of the Sick," in illustration of your position, where you say, "She" (*i. e.* the Church, when the priest alone ministers!) "speaks, with the full consciousness of the authority "by Apostolic descent transmitted to her, words which, if not authorised, were blasphemy: 'By his authority committed unto me, I absolve thee from all thy sins,' " &c.

We have seen, that the Apostles themselves exercised no such power as that here contended for, as we also have, that they delivered no such to the Church. The authority which they did deliver, and to which the priest is here made to appeal, was—as in our first absolution—to *declare* and *pronounce* the absolution and remission of sins only to such, as had "*truly repented, and unfeignedly believed his holy Gospel.*" This visitation service too, contains matter of precisely the same import, which you have, in your wisdom, thought proper to omit. It is this: "Our Lord Jesus Christ, who hath left power to his Church "to absolve all sinners who *truly repent* and *believe in Him, of his great mercy forgive thee thine offences.*" Here then, before this conditional absolution is given, prayer is made to the great Head of the Church, who alone can know the heart, that the offences of the penitent, supposed to have satisfied the priest, may be forgiven; which is just as much as to say,—and that in the most solemn manner,—that none other can undertake this *act* of pardoning sin. The *ministerial* duty of declaring absolution, and this under *the authority committed*,—which, as already seen, is altogether conditional,—is then performed by the priest. This formula is indeed, less carefully worded than the other, but is nevertheless, sufficiently explicit,—where the head is clear and the heart sound,—to ensure its just interpretation: not so, indeed, with those who can make the Articles of the Church support the very sentiments against which they were expressly written! You tell us, and I think truly, that, if absolution is positively given here, the terms used were blasphemy, if not authorised. I answer, The priest-being a minister only;

for him to deliver them in your sense, would certainly be blasphemy of the grossest sort. It would be to assume, that he could judge of the truth and goodness of the repentance offered, before this absolution could be pronounced; which would be to assume the power which Scripture has everywhere reserved to God alone. It would be, to do that which the very context of this formula virtually condemns. It would also be, to lay claim to an authority, to which no Apostle had laid claim, and never delivered to the Priesthood. It would be, moreover, to do that which you yourself have allowed, *may be reserved in the day of judgment*, and therefore, unauthorised and worthless.

Suppose then, for a moment, such a case to occur,—and thousands of such must have occurred under this blasphemous assumption,—What think you must the amount of his guilt be, who should thus have sent one soul only into the presence of its Maker, with all its sins and imperfections on its head, under the flattering assumption, that he had been absolved? when, alas! it had never been taught, what real penitence was, or what it was *unfeignedly to believe in the declarations of God's holy Gospel!* Or, What are we to think of the impiety of that man, or set of men, who can arrogate an office and power, which none but God can rightly and fully exercise? What of the faith, which is made not to depend on the mercy, faithfulness, and righteousness of Christ, but on the caprice, or, it may be,—as it has been in cases innumerable,—on the cupidity of the priest?

As to what follows here, (p. 11), on the duty of parochial ministers inviting their people to open their grief at all times to them, and, in visiting the sick, “to move the sick person” to make *special* confession of his sins, if he feels his conscience troubled with any weighty matter, &c., Allow me to tell you, what you do not seem to be aware of, that every *faithful* minister of our Church does invite his people to this sort of conference,—does wait *upon him* at his home, not *for him* at the confessional; and, with the Bible or the Prayer Book in his hands, does urge upon him the necessity of self-examination, prayer, repentance, confession to Almighty God in the faith of Christ, and the opening of his grief to himself, as his friend and brother; and, if he choose, even to confess the sins and difficulties by which he feels himself distressed. And thence he affords him all the advice and comfort, which the Word of God, and his commission as a public teacher of it, have placed within his power. Above all, he sends him, just as Peter did Simon Magus, or Paul, the jailer of Philippi*, to seek for pardon and peace, by re-

* Acts xvi, 30. “What must I do to be saved?” “Believe on the Lord Jesus Christ, and thou shalt be saved, and thy house.”

penance and prayer, to the Lamb of God, whose meritorious sacrifice has taken away the sins of the world; and here he assures him,—which is the only absolution man can give,—that, if he seek this sincerely, and as God has prescribed, he shall assuredly find it.

Such an one feels it to be his duty, as it is his privilege, to seek up and down in this naughty world, the sheep of Christ's pasture, and to lay before them, and to invite them to accept, the inexhaustible riches which He has in his mercy provided for their salvation. In these interviews, he makes them to feel the warm interest which he entertains both for their temporal and spiritual welfare. He weeps with those that weep, and he rejoices with those that rejoice, just as the great Apostle of the Gentiles did before him. With them he reads and explains the Scriptures, and brings their saving declarations home to the heart, by the sincerity which he feels, and the sympathies which he betrays while he does this. With them he prays, leads them in general confession, gives thanks, and, shall I not add?—feels with them, that it is indeed good to be there; that his best instructions are thus matured, and that a communion of saints thus grows up, unprescribed, it may be, by rituals, unknown to ritualists, and which never did, and never can, consist with the formalities, penances, hollow absolutions, and other abominations, of the Confessional. You may sigh, as you seem to do, for the restoration of Mediæval discipline, consisting in public exhibitions of penance, in which the heart may have remained untouched, and the ungodly have been supplied with matter for ridicule and blasphemy: priests have been worshipped as deities, and the people labouring under darkness which might be felt, but which never did, and never could, train up a nation in the true faith and fear of God; no, nor even in the common requisites of civilised life! I would further suggest to you, that you have calculated without your host here. Do you imagine that you would, under such a system of discipline, be allowed to retain the honours, offices, and emoluments of the Church, while you were using every effort in your power to bring about its ruin? that, while you were professedly citing its formularies, and the writings of its martyrs, confessors, apologists, and greatest ornaments, you were, at the same time, translating, putting forth, and recommending the writings of its bitterest foes; speaking of its rival and irreconcilable enemy, only as another "vineyard of the Lord;" professing yourself too, willing to subscribe to its Articles, only in the sense which their composers repudiated? How do you think, Dear Sir, the discipline you are anxious for, would deal with conduct such as this? And, to press this matter one step further, Have you so far succeeded in smothering the better knowledge and

feelings, which a better system must have taught you, as to imagine that any priestly power can, or Divine justice will, absolve you from the sin of such a course?

But, to leave this, Allow me now to examine your proofs of the position, that the Church—by which you evidently mean the priesthood exclusively—can positively and fully forgive sins. Your first proof, which is anything but a convincing one to me, advances nothing beyond your own opinion that this is the case, followed up by certain feelings, which you appear to consider *confirmation strong as proof from Holy Writ*. But here, if your statement of these feelings may be adduced to prove anything, it is, that you have suffered yourself to be imposed upon. “She ‘knew’” (that is, the Church,—p. 16) “that the gift of reconciliation was ‘lodged in her. Mourning with those that mourned, she knew the ‘rather that they were comforted, whose restoration was furthered by ‘her love, and deep sighs and prayers. The discipline,” you add, “under which the penitent was brought and was humbled, was the very ‘token of his restoration.” I remark, a more perfect instance of a vicious circle of reasoning can, I think, scarcely be imagined. The Church (*i. e.* the Priests) establish a system of discipline, imposing pains and penalties upon an ignorant population: this alarms, terrifies, and terrors the individuals subject to its influence; it exacts, therefore, an outward obedience; and consequently it is good, and of Divine authority! And may not the same thing be said of Mohammedanism, urged as it has been by the sword? of Hindooism, carried on by the fear of the Idol? and, indeed, of every religious system hitherto devised by man? They have, alas! all made converts,—satisfied them with a false security; and we are, therefore, to conclude that they are good and true!

Hence, you suggest, (at page 15), that “This... is probably one ‘ground why so little needed to be said in the New Testament as to the ‘forgiveness of sins of a Christian very grievously fallen: that our Lord ‘had left a living provision in his church, whereby all penitents, how- ‘ever fallen, should be restored*.” Would it not have been more

* You tell us, in another place, (p. 32), that it has power to alter ceremonies; which, however, no one ever doubted. But this is the least important consideration that will offer itself here; for, if the Church, *alias* the priests, have the power of supplying what they may imagine the New Testament has left untouched, what, I ask, may it not supply? and, as to the fact, What has it not presumed to supply? You kindly favour us here, therefore, in the shortest possible way, with the doctrine of developments lately proposed by your fellow-labourer, now in another portion, as you say, of the Lord's vineyard.

simple and correct to have stated the question thus? It is true, the New Testament has not said one word in my sense, on this subject; but this is of no importance. The Church,—alias the Priests,—can always supply the needful. I need not perhaps, say one word more on the cogency of the reasoning of this part of your sermon.

We may now come then, to those parts of your discourse where you would have it inferred, as it should seem, that the New Testament is really with you. You tell us then, (p. 16), in the strain just noticed, that “the workings of that” (priestly) “power were the pledges to individuals. When she, in her Lord’s name, said to the lame, “Arise and walk,” and to the leper, “Be cleansed,” and to the blind, “Wash in the pool of Siloam,” i. e. of Him who is sent, and the palsy of past sin was healed . . . no one needed to ask, “By what power or authority doest thou these things?”

Here, be it observed, our Blessed Lord’s miracles are called in, by a sort of side-wind, for the purpose of giving authority to the assumptions of a corrupt priesthood! We are tacitly called upon to believe, that, just as our Lord performed miracles, so have Priests vested within themselves a similar power! I need only say here, this may seem very cogent reasoning with you, Sir, and your school; with me, it is a weak and wicked perversion of Holy Writ.

After citing the miracles wrought by Peter, (Acts iv, and iii, 16) for the same purpose, you kindly furnish us with this corollary, viz. (p. 17) “Thus the practice of the Church,” (the Priests?) “became the comment upon Holy Scripture, upon which the practice rested.” Another beautiful instance of a vicious circle in reasoning! The same is then said of the Creeds; which, whether true or false, no one will be childish enough to accept for argument. You add, “We think not of title-deeds when we are in possession of our inheritance from above.” Which not only assumes the whole question in debate, but also lets out a very important principle of Romanism; viz. That men need only persuade themselves of the authority of their priesthood; all else may be considered as superfluous and useless!

You next favour us with your views on the difficulties of Holy Scripture, as to the remission of sins, and on the conflicting and unsatisfying theories of some men on this important subject. You say (p. 18), “In the absence of such practice,” i. e., of priestly absolution, “it must be expected that much will become obscure, and minds will be driven backwards or forwards, not knowing how much of Holy Scripture to apply to their own case.” Again (p. 19), “Apart from the doctrine and practice of ‘the power of the keys,’ there would be difficulty as to

"the case of very grievous sin of the Christian. What is the amount of the restoration? how may he know that he is restored? is his restoration complete?" . . . "For," (p. 20) "the study of the New Testament, could we imagine" [it?] "pursued apart from the light which we derive unconsciously from the instructions of the Church, might well affright the sinner," &c. We are then told (p. 22), "That Luther and Calvin make remission to be effected through the remission of our baptism; others, in these days, say, that on an act of faith sin is forgiven," &c. I answer: Suppose I allow all this to be true, What then? Am I, therefore, to believe upon the strength of your bare assertions, that the notions you have embraced within the last few years, will sufficiently meet and remove all those difficulties? That, because there are difficulties in Holy Scripture, and differences in the opinions of men, you have at length discovered where and how the truth, and a perfect unanimity, are to be found? If so: What is your proof of this? The context of your sermon only says,—and I presume you *can* say nothing further on the subject,—you feel inwardly convinced that this is the case; and that this conviction is quite sufficient! In your own words (p. 18) "*Proof is lost in knowledge, and intuitive perception displaces reasoning.*" How far this presumed knowledge and intuitive perception may be relied upon, it is not in my power to determine; that they have succeeded in banishing everything like reasoning from this discourse of yours, few will perhaps be disposed to doubt, and as few, that your assertions are therefore to be believed.

Notwithstanding all this presumed knowledge, upon which you have here propounded your notions, you have a little farther on (p. 27 seq.) favoured us with a few reasons in their favour:—"The commission," you say, "upon which the authority of the Church [Priests?] rests, as it has ever been understood by the Church" (i. e., the Priests), "was given, in part in different words, at three times. Before the Resurrection, first to St. Peter, as a type of unity: 'I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven,' &c., (Matt. xvi, 19) . . . and then in the same words to all the Apostles;—both these in promise; and then to all in fulfilment" (Euthym. ad. loc.), "in that solemn inauguration, the commencement of the Apostolate . . . 'As my Father hath sent Me, even so send I you.'" You add,—after a citation from Hooker, which has nothing to do with your question,—(p. 28): "So, then, our Lord premises his commission with those full brief words, conveying at once both the extent of the commission, and a rule and guidance to it." To this you add a quotation from

Cyril of Jerusalem; which, like that from Hooker, has no real connexion with your subject. Your comment now is, "So when He sent them in his stead, He imparted to them the Comforter, who being from Himself as from the Father, was to replace Himself." Again (p. 36), "As our Lord sent his Apostles in the same way in which the Father had sent Him, so the word by which He expresses the power 'to forgive, is the very word by which He himself forgave' (*ἀφέναι*) is the blessed echo of his own words; 'Son, be of good cheer, thy sins are forgiven thee (*ἀφέναι*),' " &c. And, again, (p. 39), after certain citations from Pacian, Augustine, and others, which are nothing to the purpose: "All then combines to induce us to receive unhesitatingly the heavenly gift . . . the solemn investment of the Apostles with his" (our Lord's) "own power, 'As my Father sent Me, even so,' &c., which, taken plainly, cannot fall short of the sense 'in which the Church' [the priesthood?] 'has ever understood them,' &c. More might be cited to this purpose, but it would be unnecessary, as no doubt can rest on the mind of any, as to what your object is; viz., to vest the Apostles with the full and entire powers of Christ, and, after them, the Priesthood.

Let us examine the reasoning here advanced. It is said, "*As my Father hath sent Me, even so send I you.*" You seem to imply, that the terms of comparison, "*As*" and "*even so*," are sufficient to place the Apostles on an equality with Christ, as far as the mission of both is concerned. But, do you seriously think that any man in his senses will receive this as an argument, affording proof to this extent? The same may be said of the stress you have laid upon the vocable (*ἀφέναι*). That both our Lord and his Apostles were sent to seek and to save what was lost, there can be no doubt; so far the missions in both cases had the same general object before them. But, it is not about *generals* that we are now inquiring: it is, as to the *particular* persons employed. Our blessed Lord then, was sent to be *made sin for us, who* (Himself) *knew no sin; to die, the just for the unjust; to become a merciful High Priest, touched with the feelings of his people's infirmities, and ever to live making intercession for them; both to fulfil the law in their behalf, and to make an atonement for their sins,* that remission of sins might be preached universally in his name: to fulfil, also, the promises made to the Fathers; to be made an universal King both in heaven and earth; and at last the Judge of the quick and the dead: to the Church, the treasure of all wisdom and knowledge, and the temple of the fulness of the Godhead bodily; and, as such, to receive all honour, glory, worship, and praise. I ask, Did the com-

mission in question impart to the Apostles any such powers as these, merely because its words are, "*As my Father hath sent Me, even so send I you?*" You will hardly affirm this, perhaps; and yet, the reasoning you have adopted will justify it as fully, as it can the conclusion which you have adopted.

Let us now see how this commission is worded in other places. In Matthew (xxviii, 18 seq.), we have: "*All power is given unto Me, (i. e. Jesus) in heaven and in earth. Go ye, therefore, (i. e. because I have the power to send you), and teach all nations, baptising them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost: Teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you: and, lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world.*" In Mark (xvi, 15 seq.), it stands thus: "*Go ye into all the world, and preach the Gospel to every creature. He that believeth, and is baptised, shall be saved; but he that believeth not, shall be damned.*" It is added (v. 20) . . . "*They went forth, and preached everywhere, the Lord working with them, and confirming the word with signs following.*"

It will be observed here, that our Lord does not give to his Apostles all power as possessed by Himself; He merely commissions them to *preach, baptise, and teach*. The *signs and wonders* moreover, which believers should have it in their power to shew, are not confined to the Apostles (vv. 17, 18): "*And these signs shall follow THEM that believe,*" (i. e. generally), which, as detailed here, are the very powers exercised by the Apostles themselves: and, beyond which, nothing is recorded as done by them. In the next place, it was our Lord Himself, "*working with them,*" by whom all these signs were *actually wrought*; not the Apostles. And, again, "*He that believeth, and is baptised, shall be saved:*" which is just the same thing as to say, that his sins shall be remitted, and himself loosed from the bondage of sin and Satan. And "*He that believeth not, shall be damned:*" which is equivalent to, *Whosoever receiveth not you, and your message, receiveth neither Me, nor the pardon to be obtained through Me*, which it will be your business to teach. They were also to teach and preach "*whatsoever He had commanded them.*" They were not commissioned, and therefore, not empowered to preach anything else. Other *words* they might use; the whole of Scripture they were commissioned and enabled to unfold: but then, all this was the word of Christ; for it was His Spirit that moved the Prophets from first to last. Now, as I have already shewn, to this work of preaching and teaching they adhered: miracles they wrought, as did other believers; but sins they neither pro-

fessed to forgive, nor did they ever forgive on any occasion. They stood not therefore, in any case, "*instead of Christ*," or *in the place of Christ*," as you groundlessly and blasphemously assert. The side-wind too, 'by which you put His words and deeds into their mouths and hands respectively, is a gross delusion,—a wresting of the Divine word for one of the worst and most dangerous purposes possible; viz. to put the creature in the place of the Creator; and thence to ascribe to him the power and honour, which are due to God alone!

I must now remind you of the utter failure of your argument, as propounded by you above. You have urged upon us, again and again, your notions of the full and unlimited divine powers possessed by the Apostles; but you have nowhere proved either how they received these, or committed them to their successors. You have only assumed all this. You probably thought that the "*knowledge*" and "*intuitive perception*" which you possessed, and about which you could talk freely enough, would go much farther than reasoning would; and, so far, you are consistent. But, if this be true of you, as being an ordained Priest of the Church, surely you cannot deny; that the same will be true of others ordained under the same authority, and who may be full as well qualified as you are to judge on the subject. And to What will this lead us? Just that to which every Mohammedan, Hindu, and Buddhist priest, also lays claim, and upon precisely the same grounds; viz. his own "*knowledge*" and "*intuitive perception*," under which, as you tell us, actual possession precludes the necessity of examining title-deeds: doctrines, which Paul could not but have considered as those of another Gospel, on the propagators of which, he has certainly not pronounced his blessing. I will only add one word more on this subject; viz. that, from all we can find, either in the Scriptures, or in the Orthodox Fathers of the Church, no such power was ever given by ordination; nor, indeed, was any ever laid claim to, before the apostacy of the Roman Church found it necessary to fabricate and to urge it, for the purpose of giving currency to its impositions, superstitions, and falsehoods. It shall now be my endeavour to lay before you, as briefly as I can, what the true Church of Christ is, and what the powers are, which it really possesses. I think it desirable to do this, because the vague and arbitrary manner in which you speak of it, and in which people generally think and talk of it, seems to make this necessary.

The church of Christ then, is that body of believers whose faith is placed on the declarations of the Prophets, Evangelists, and Apostles, as its foundation; Jesus Christ Himself being the chief corner stone. Of

this body, considered as a flock, the priests duly ordained are the shepherds, pastors, leaders, and guides. It is theirs, under the great and good Shepherd, who laid down his life for them, to lead these and to cause them to lie down in safety and peace, in those fresh and green pastures, and by those pure and still waters, which He has so abundantly provided for them. In this sense they are *ministers or servants* to the flock, not its lords, for *they are God's heritage*, not that of the ministers; not to tyrannise over therefore, devour, and disperse, but to feed, watch, instruct, rebuke, counsel, comfort, even as a father would his children, that they may present them blameless and without spot when the great Shepherd shall appear.

As to the flock, again, they are *ministers and servants* one to another, as already shewn; ministers and servants, too, in this sense, to their pastors, highly esteeming them for their work's sake, and praying for them, that they may speak boldly *the word of truth*, even as they ought to speak; and both working together with one mouth and one heart, with the view of glorifying their Redeemer, and of extending his kingdom. Such must the Church of Christ be, and such is the Protestant Church of this happy land, in all and every of its appointments; not, alas! in all and every of its servants.

In such a Church there will, from the nature of its constituents, necessarily be two parties, as it was the case in that of the Jews and of the Patriarchs. Both of these together will constitute *the visible church*; one of them, the *true*, and this the *invisible one*, as it respects human judgment. It is to this latter that the promises of the Gospel are directed; and by it alone can these be fully applied, appropriated, and enjoyed. In earlier times too, he was not a Jew who was one outwardly only, but circumcision, in the sight of God, was that of the heart; not merely in the letter, but in the spirit, whose praise also was of God, and not of man (Rom. iv, 28, 29), for the obvious reason, that God alone could see, appreciate, and reward it.

In this purer flock again, there will necessarily be characters varying in growth and proficiency, from the babe in Christ, that can receive nothing beyond the milk of the word, up to the full-grown man, who can take the more solid and substantial meat, and can easily and profitably digest it.

The introduction to this system is very aptly termed "*Regeneration*," because every one is here introduced as a mere infant in spiritual things, to an entirely new state of being, and, in this sense, as a child of God and incipient inheritor of the kingdom of heaven,—which indeed, is but another name for the religion of Christ. For his growth in

this state, there are provided ministrations, ordinances, helps in the word of God, as also in his ministers, his people, and Holy Spirit, all working for his good; and these are adequate to the end of making him meet to be a partaker with the saints in light, in a higher and better world. Under these provisions some will profit, and make healthy progress; others not. All may have received some portion of grace at their introduction at baptism, or in other subsequent ordinances; but, like the talent laid up in a napkin, this may have been turned to no good account, and its possessors may finally perish. But who these are, or are not, none but God, who alone knoweth the heart, can possibly determine.

To talk therefore, as you do of men made perfect at once in baptism, or, as put into a state of certain salvation, merely by priestly absolution, is virtually to deny the necessity of sanctification and meetness for heaven, which can result from nothing short of the perfect work, both of faith and of patience; and this must generally be a work of time. It is utterly inconsistent with the character of real membership of Christ's church, to suppose that even, if sins could be wholly pardoned by the priest, and this, after a due introduction to the church, a man would necessarily be thence *meet* for the heavenly inheritance. But no such pardon can be given. Pardon is promised and granted only on the condition of a *true and lively faith*; which, again, like a tender plant, will require much watching, care, and culture, as it also will the grace of the Holy Ghost to give it effect and make it fruitful; all this too must continue even to the end of its earthly course. It is then only, that the soul can be received and blessed by its Redeemer and Judge; and, of its meetness for this, none other can possibly be cognizant. The hope of salvation must therefore, remain steadfast to the end, suspended on the exercise of an active and lively faith; and this faith again, must be the gift of the Holy Ghost (1 Cor. xii, 3, 9), the real exercise of which is carried on between the soul and God alone.

To What amount of sufficiency then, will grace, granted first in baptism, afterwards in the holy communion, prayer, repentance, giving of thanks, and a holy life, really come? I answer, to that which shall be adequate to every day's want. "*My grace is sufficient for thee*," is the answer given to Paul in such case; "*My strength is made perfect in weakness*," and hence, says the apostle, "*I will glory in mine infirmities*" (2 Cor. xii, 6—10). Here, I say, we have the full recognition of man's weakness; we perceive the great value of being brought to know and to feel this; and thence again the adequacy and fitness of the promise, "*As thy days, so shall thy strength be*" (Deut. xxxiii, 25).

This constitutes the good work and warfare of faith; this insures sustenance to the man; the grace of the Spirit within, and the providence of God without make him to feel, and to *know that the doctrine is from God**, and, that He who has *begun so good a work within him, will continue the same even to the day of Christ* (Phil. vii, 6, 9—12), when both work and warfare shall be succeeded by perfect, and everlasting, rest and peace.

A most important aid, too, in this labour and conflict will be, the admonitions, rebukes, encouragements, and consolations, which the faithful pastor will, ever at hand, be ready to administer; as also will the teaching and admonishing of Christian brethren; their good examples; their unfeigned love and faith: and to these their unfeigned and constant prayers, will, through the promised mercy of the Redeemer, give a lasting effect. Here will the power of God be so put forth, and felt,—as indeed it ever has been with the true disciple,—that, while the believer feels the testimony in himself that he is nothing, nay unable even to *think anything as of himself*, he will know that this too is a token for good; an earnest that He whom he loves and serves, is his Redeemer, his high Priest, his Brother, his Friend; and that He will finally *make him more than a conqueror*. This will be, spiritually to delight himself in God; to put no trust in man; no, nor in any of his vainly assumed powers; but, on the contrary, it will constitute the life of that faith which realises “*the substance*,” even here, “*of things hoped for*,” and “*the evidence of things unseen*,” and by which the elders, of other times, “*obtained a good report*.” So “*by faith*” (not by some single act of faith, as you seem disposed to represent this doctrine) “*Abel offered a better sacrifice than Cain; that Noah, when warned, prepared*

* John vii, 17. “*If any man will do his will [i. e. of God], he shall know of the doctrine, whether it be of God, or whether I speak of myself*” [i. e. as man]; where this knowledge is made to depend on a persevering exercise of faith, not on ministerial offices of any sort. You are kind enough, however, to tell us (p. 24 of your Sermon), that “*certainly there is not one word in Holy Scripture . . . of our applying to ourselves the promises of the Gospel*.” This is consistent enough, indeed, with your theory, which makes *all* to depend upon priestly authority and doings, not on their faithful and scriptural ministrations, as shepherds and servants to the flock. (See 2 Cor. iv, 5, with the context, ver. 1—8). St. Paul tells us, nevertheless (Heb. v, 12), that there were persons who then did actually “*inherit the promises, through faith and patience*,” and Peter (Acts i, 39), that the promise was given “*to all men . . . even as many as the Lord our God shall call*,” which surely must mean, that believers should take hold of these and apply them; and, in this sense, every Christian is a part of a “*royal priesthood*,” as already shewn.

"an ark, 'and became heir of the righteousness which is by faith.'" It was by this faith too, *that Abraham obeyed*, and looked for a city whose builder and maker is God: that Sarah received strength to bear a child, "*because she judged Him faithful who had promised*:" in other words, she applied the promises. The time would indeed fail me, to tell of all the victories achieved by this active, persevering, and true scriptural faith, which forms, at once, the only means of victory over this world, and a full and well-grounded assurance of acceptance in that to come.

This I take, dear sir, to be a faithful, though faint outline, of the characters which constitute *the real*, and, in some sense, *the invisible Church of Christ*: as it also is of the professions at least of those who form *the true visible church*. Now, it is to this first solely, and exclusively, that this promise of Christ's continual presence is given, that He will lead them to all (the) truth, and will effectually preserve them from error; not, indeed, in matters of smaller moment, such as the verbal criticism of his word, the rites or ceremonies of his house of prayer, the true solution of every possible casuistical difficulty, the unrevealed purposes of his own mind, the state of departed spirits, and the like; but so, that "*that wicked one touch them not*," and that they be *preserved as the apple of an eye*. This, it is reasonable to believe and to trust, a faithful and powerful God will do: and it is for this that a pure and unfeigned faith, standing in the power of the Holy Ghost, in patience awaits. Mistakes may, and will be made by the best; lapses too will occur, chastisement in trials and afflictions will be administered, and this, to be effectual, must occasionally be severe. But then, faith will view all this as inflicted by the tenderest of Fathers, and as a means which, under so good a parent, cannot but work together with other things for good; nay, to the working out a far more exceeding and eternal weight of glory, looking, as such dear child will, not to *the things THAT ARE SEEN*, but to *THOSE THAT ARE UNSEEN*.

Now, I say, as this true Church of Christ never did assume the powers claimed by you for the priesthood, so in principle it never could. This peculiar people knew full well, that no such powers had ever been delegated either by Christ to his apostles, or by his apostles to the priesthood, and that none such powers could be had recourse to, in the life of real faith and hope; which, indeed, could rest in nothing short of the present power of the Redeemer, and in the view which extended itself to *things* unseen. Nor could the *true visible church* ever possibly consider itself as vested with the powers for which you contend, because this church could consist of nothing short of both people and

priests; the people as the flock, the priests as their pastors and public ministers. Your claim moreover, is confined solely and exclusively to the priests; whatever you may have said for the purpose of giving plausibility to your notions, about the authority of the church; and, by priests alone, has it ever been advanced. To claim the authority of *the church* here therefore, can stand you in no stead; for, on its authority no such thing has been, or could be either sought or exerted. No, it is only a portion of *the visible church*, and that a *fallen church* at most, which has ever thought of such a privilege; and even here, this is to proclaim the existence of *schism* within itself, and to pronounce at the same time its own condemnation.

I cannot see therefore, how a claim made by a corrupt priesthood alone, can be supposed for a moment to rest on the authority of the Church of Christ generally; much less on that of our truly Catholic and Apostolic Church, whose real excellence consists in the fact, that it opposes itself to all such weak, worldly, and beggarly claims. That your Jesuitical school can torture and twist the language of its formulas, so as to look something like Romish, nobody doubts; and that it can mix up a large quantity of apparent piety with this, is equally certain. But can you persuade yourself, that this is a legitimate mode of recommending the truth? or, that people in the habit of judging of things, as well as of words, will be convinced by it? I certainly am one of those, who cannot but feel extremely unwilling to believe this. You never "meant to speak controversially," you tell us (p. 3, of your Sermon). Well, I answer, but you ought to have afforded us proofs of the positions you advanced, not to have affirmed that "intuitive perception" "displaced reasoning," and that actual possession made it unnecessary to consult title-deeds; which is virtually to assume the prerogative of infallibility, and thence to affirm as truth any thing you please.

Allow me to suggest the real state of the case, and to which, I am tempted to believe, you are no stranger. Your views and feelings are in direct opposition to those which are taught and urged in the reformed Church of these realms. To this circumstance is to be ascribed the badness of your reasoning, the faultiness of your scriptural interpretations, and the unintelligible style and manner in which you generally express yourself. You have evidently something in view, which you have not courage enough to name; something ulterior, which your readers are expected to arrive at, and which seems, in a few instances, to be faintly provided against. Then again, our most eminent divines, are quoted,—misunderstood it may be,—but certainly misapplied. The Articles of our Church are commented upon, to the same purpose and

effect; and the same is done with many of the Fathers of the Church. Some of your dearest disciples have either understood you, or misunderstood you, or both; for they are gone, as you tell us, into another vineyard of the Lord. You seem to be of opinion, that they have misunderstood you. I believe this most cordially. I do not think it ever was your intention to go over into that other vineyard,—in which all the priestly powers you can desire are fully exercised,—but only to be the happy instrument of recommending to our reformed Church the adoption of all the abominations of that body, and of which it has, in its wisdom, so happily ridded itself. You have unhappily adopted these vanities; and the false security which they have inspired, constitutes the sole and real cause of all the “knowledge,” “intuitive perception,” “actual possession,” and the like, of which you boast: and thence of your pertinacity in inculcating them upon others. The gross instances of mistake pointed out in my former letter,—which you neither have refuted, nor can refute,—should have admonished you, that the truth can be but very partially with you. I may perhaps affirm the same of this communication. If so, my conclusion must be, and perhaps that of every well-judging person, that the symptoms of unsoundness in your mind are too palpable to be mistaken; the fruits too rotten and hollow, to have been the production of a sound and healthy tree; the grapes too much savoring of gall, to have been gathered from the true vine, and such as can only afford in the end the most deadly poison.

Believe me, none can bewail your wanderings more sincerely than I do; none lament more deeply, the length and breadth of error into which you have been led; and my prayer is, and shall be, that He, “unto whom” alone, “all hearts be open, all desires known, and from whom no secrets are hid,” may so enlighten the eyes of your understanding that you may prove what is that good, and acceptable, and perfect, will of God.

I remain,

Rev. and dear Sir, very faithfully yours,

SAMUEL LEE.

PASSION WEEK.

THOUGHTS of the Saviour's birth and youth,
His deeds of love, and words of truth—
Glad, exulting thoughts! be still,
And let the soul with terror thrill!

Let all the powers God has given
To link the child of earth with heaven
Be centred in that mystic woe,—
The God was born a man to know.

Think of the Saviour as he stood
Among his foes athirst for blood!
Solemn and sad his lessons were,
For the black cloud of death was there.

Think of the traitor's deed of guile,
And the last supper e'en the while;
The garden of Gethsemane,—
The prayer amidst its agony!

Think of the base betrayal o'er,
When coward flight afflicted more;
What grief of soul was in the look,
The thrice-forsworn apostle shook!

Think of the cruel, mad arraign,
The hate no justice could restrain;
The scorn that could for felon pray,
But flung the Saviour's life away!

Think of the cross! but, more than all,
Think what dread weight of woe could fall,
When, in that dark mysterious hour,
The sufferer's *soul* confessed its power.

Blood, pouring from his hands and feet,
Shewed not his sufferings half so great,
As the loud wail which silence broke,
And of Divine desertion spoke.

Thought ! centre here your searching power,
 And here devote each chosen hour !
 Heart ! let your passions here be drawn,
 To sanctify each eve and morn !

Spirit of God ! in earnest mood,
 Be every power by thee subdned ;
 Chasten with solemn thoughts the mind,
 And let me health in suffering find.

Often to Sorrow's home we go,
 And comfort draw from human woe ;
 So let me at the Saviour's cross,
 Count all my worldly pleasure loss.

There let my heart be stricken sore,
 Never in sin to harden more ;
 The healing of the broken heart,
 Will peace and holiness impart.

My Saviour suffered for my sin !
 This thought can work a change within,
 Inspiring highest notes of joy,
 When other themes my lyre employ.

GOOD FRIDAY.

WHEN on the cross the Saviour hung,
 And anguish dire his spirit wrung,
 His sufferings were for *sinners* borne,
 His heart for *guilty* man was torn :
 He died to place our sentenced race
 Within the reach of heavenly grace,
 And, by the shedding of his blood,
 To reconcile the world and God.

Now happy in a second birth,
 And placed within his Church on earth—
 Now own'd as those his mercy leads,
 His flock on earth, to heavenly meads—

We still must thousand evils bear,
And often drop the heart-wrung tear ;
Full many dangers round us lie,
And Satan threatens victory.

What now his love, who, when we lay
Sinners in Destruction's way,
From heaven to our rescue hied,
And suffered as the crucified ?
Suffers he still, as friend with friend,
Or has his sympathy an end ?
Pangs of death on Calvary o'er,
Suffers he for man no more ?

When parted from his friends below,
Who saw him into heaven go,
That loving, tender, human heart,
Where they so long had own'd a part,
Was still the pulse of life and love,
And still remains the same above ;
There still it yearns o'er human grief,
Intent to give divine relief.

When, sad to death, the sufferer's soul,
What thoughts of anguish o'er him stole !
Thoughts the Divinity begot,
Sadder than fall to man's sad lot !
Now sits the Man Divine on high,
His glorified humanity
Makes his Divinity to care
For all the griefs the faithful bear.

Redeeming care is o'er us spread,
Where'er in Sorrow's path we tread ;
For He, who mercy for us won,
Has not his course of kindness run.
Far distant still that day when we
Shall see fulfill'd Christ's destiny,
And He the mediator's power
To God—" God all in all"—restore.

As long as his redeem'd are found
 In life's dark sphere of suffering bound,
 He, as a priest of mortal line,
 Is touch'd with feeling pure and fine :
 In all their griefs he bears a share,
 The tenderness of heavenly care ;
 He suffers with his saints, when tried,
 For whom, as sinners, once he died.

Make faith, O God, this day to prove,
 Trust in the Saviour's *present* love ;
 And while my heart with grief is sore,
 And day by day my sorrows more ;
 And though the cup thou bid'st me drink,
 Makes life's last hope within me sink ;
 Aid me to trust, however tried,
 Him who for me as Saviour died !

By the Garden's agony,
 By his agonising cry,
 By all his sufferings when he died
 In torments of the crucified,—
 And for the sinners died, who now
 Before his cross in sorrow bow,—
 I seek, in his still suffering heart,
 The troubled Christian's humble part.

EASTER DAY.

THE spring's bright sunshine gilds the turf,
 Whose verdant freshness owns its power ;
 And e'en the worn, grey gravestones glow,
 Tinged with the beauty of the hour.

The spirit owns the sympathies
 It holds with Nature's outward frame,
 Yet suns itself in brighter light
 Than ever beams from solar flame.

The Light of man—whose vital rays
The spiritual of life impart—
Shines from its central point on high
On man's bereaved and bleeding heart.

And whispers softly float around,
As if upon these rays from heaven,
The chorus of angelic song—
“ Jesus the gates of death hath riven ! ”

Green be the turf, and fresh the flowers,
Nursed by affection's mournful care ;
And strong the tree whose tupal leaves
Autumn and winter cannot sear.

But soon the hand that tends the grave,
Wherein our loved ones hidden lie,
Will feel itself the palsying touch,
And torpor of mortality.

Bright flowers shall unheeded die,
The bay perennial shall decay,
The turf be trodden down in sport,
Marble and granite melt away ;

But over this forgotten spot,
A Light, O Sun ! outvying thine,
Shall, on the day this day foretells,
From heaven's interior glory shine.

Who can the glory tell, or feign,
Of that bright Resurrection morn ?
Unearthly glory spread o'er earth !
A heavenly world—the world new born !

As far above this cheering scene,
The glory to which Faith aspires ;
So will the gladness of the soul
Transcend the joy this scene inspires.

The man that owns a sympathy
With sunlight o'er these verdant graves,—
Till pleasure in the sight is join'd
With faith in Him who sinners saves,—

Will feel a kindred unison,
 When he descends the dead to raise ;
 And, like a harp, at touch divine,
 Breathe forth new notes of joy and praise.

This sympathy is human joy,
 Felt while the soul with flesh is bound ;
 And *to be* felt, with power intense,
 When souls again have bodies found.

All will be raised, exalted, then,—
 The scene, the sympathies of man ;
 And each immortal placed on earth,
 Feel more than mortal ever can.

Then the raised man will rush to meet
 The joy new heavens and earth impart ;
 And tell abroad in other worlds,
 The raptures of his human heart.

R. O.

MISCELLANEA.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE UPON EXTENSION OF UNIVERSITY EDUCATION, PRESENTED TO THE BOARD OF HEADS OF HOUSES AND PROCTORS, *March 16th*, 1846.

THE following paper, with some others on the same subject, was communicated to your committee :—

“ Considerable efforts have lately been made in this country for the diffusion of civil and spiritual knowledge, whether at home or abroad. Schools have been instituted for the lower and middle classes ; churches built and endowed ; Missionary Societies established,—further schools founded, as at Marlborough and Fleetwood, for the sons of poor clergy and others ; and again, associations for the provision of additional ministers. But between these schools on the one hand, and on the other the ministry which requires to be augmented, there is a chasm which needs to be filled. Our universities take up education where our schools leave it, yet no one can say that they have been strengthened or extended, whether for clergy or laity, in proportion to the growing population of the country, its increasing empire, or deepening responsibilities.

" We are anxious to suggest, that the link which we find thus missing in the chain of improvement should be supplied by rendering " academical education accessible to the sons of parents whose incomes " are too narrow for the scale of expenditure at present prevailing among " the junior members of the University of Oxford, and that this should " be done through the addition of new departments to existing colleges, " or, if necessary, by the foundation of new collegiate bodies. We have " learned, on what we consider unquestionable information, that in such " institutions, if the furniture were provided by the college, and public " meals alone were permitted, to the entire exclusion of private entertainments in the rooms of the students, the annual college payments " for board, lodging, and tuition, might be reduced to 60% at most; and " that, if frugality were enforced as the condition of membership, the " student's entire expenditure might be brought within the compass of " 80% yearly.

" If such a plan of improvement be entertained by the authorities of " Oxford, the details of its execution would remain to be considered. " On these we do not venture to enter, but desire to record our readiness, whenever the matter may proceed further, to aid, by our personal exertions or pecuniary contributions, in the promotion of " a design which the exigencies of the country so clearly seem to require.

" SANDON.
ASHLEY.
R. GROSVENOR.
W. E. GLADSTONE.
T. D. ACLAND.
PH. PUSEY.
T. H. S. SOTHERTON.
WESTMINSTER.
CARNARVON.
T. D. ACLAND, Bart.
W. BRAMSTON.
LINCOLN.
SIDNEY HERBERT.
CANNING.
MAHON.
W. B. BARING.
J. NICHOLL, Judge
Advocate.

W. J. JAMES.
SIR R. GLYNNE.
J. E. DENISON.
WILSON PATTEN.
R. VERNON SMITH.
S. WILBERFORCE.
R. JELF.
W. H. HALE.
W. HEATHCOTE.
EDW. BERENS.
J. WOOLLEY.
HORACE POWYS.
W. HERBERT, Dean of
Manchester.
G. MOBERLEY.
A. C. TAIT.
H. LABOUCHERE."

Your Committee having considered these communications, and having

made some inquiries into the present state of the University with respect to accommodation and expense, beg to submit the following Report :—

It appears to your Committee most desirable that the University should be considerably extended; that the advantages of academical education should be afforded to many more of the sons of the higher classes of the community, whatever their destination in after-life; and, above all, they apprehend that there is an urgent call for many more than the University now sends forth to meet the daily increasing demands for additional labourers in the ministry of the Church of England at home and abroad. They believe it also to be highly desirable that increased aid and facilities should be afforded to the sons of the poorer clergy and gentry, who are often unable to sustain the usual expense of a University education.

It should not, however, be forgotten, that much has been already done within the University of Oxford to meet the increased demand for admission subsequently to the peace of 1814.

The number of under-graduates on the books of the University increased from 1022 in 1812, to 1346 in 1820; to 1481 in 1830; and it was 1480 in 1845. The matriculations, (a better criterion of the number of under-graduates under actual instruction), which were 227 in 1812, rose to 444 in 1824; and they averaged 415 during the ten years ending 1829; thus, the period of residence being three years, we find an increase of above 400 resident under-graduates, and below the standing for the degree of B.A. an increase of 550. During the ten years ending 1839, the matriculations averaged 385, and 407 during the six years ending 1845.

The number of students who passed their examination for the degree of B.A. was 153 in 1812; but it amounted to 224 in 1820, to 273 in 1830, to 323 in 1840, and 297 in 1845. The number of educated persons, therefore, sent forth annually by the University has been considerably increased; in a ratio, indeed, exceeding that of the increase of the population of England and Wales during the same period. And, not to speak of the larger increase in the number of persons educated at Cambridge within the same period, or of those who have been sent forth by the new Colleges and Universities which have arisen since the peace, the number of persons now existing who have been educated at Oxford alone must be between 4000 and 5000 more than were living thirty years ago.

To accommodate so much larger a number of students, (all, with very few exceptions, obliged by statute to lodge for the first three years within the walls of collegiate buildings), several colleges and halls have

added considerably to their number of rooms ; some to the extent of a third or fourth ; the total addition being about 170.

At the present time, however, notwithstanding the great increase in the number of under-graduate members, as well as in the total amount or names on the books of the University, (above 2200 more than they were thirty years since, and nearly 500 more than in 1830, when the matriculations were the most numerous), it may, nevertheless, be inferred, from the decrease in the average number of the matriculations subsequently to 1829, and the increase in the number of rooms, that there are rooms in the University unoccupied, perhaps from sixty to to eighty ; so that a considerable number of students might obtain immediate admission in the University.

With regard to expense, also, much has been done with a view to the regulation and diminution of the necessary expenses of the students. And it will scarcely be found practicable to reduce them to a much lower scale. It is probable that, in some cases, the regulations are somewhat too strict at present, the students being thus exposed to the temptation of supplying from without what they think deficient within the walls. In some instances, when a college has itself supplied everything, it has done so at an actual loss ; and, in all cases, the expenses would be higher were it not for the contributions of the colleges themselves towards the support of the establishment.

The expenses of the commoners, as they appear on the books of several colleges and halls, are found to vary from about 55*l.* per annum to about 104*l.* ; the average annual rate of expense being in some colleges 65*l.*, in others 75*l.*, in others 80*l.* These include, besides the expenses of the table, (except grocery), tuition, room-rent, coals, dues to the University and the college, servants' wages, and, in some cases, washing and other items. Suppose the whole expense to be 73*l.*, and deduct for tuition 16 guineas, room-rent 10*l.*, dues 3*l.*, servants 4*l.*, then the expense of living will appear to be about 39*l.* for the academical year. But individuals are living at a still smaller expense ; at little more than 30*l.* per annum, and this without being secluded from the general society of the college.

To estimate these expenses properly, we should compare them with those of our public schools and new collegiate institutions. They would, in fact, be larger, were it not for the endowments of colleges and professorships. Hence the commoner's tuition for the entire period of his academical education is from 48 to 64 guineas, (the payment being distributed over the several terms, usually of four, sometimes of three years) ; whilst professorial instruction is, in many cases, gratuitous, the

lectures in the department of theology entirely so ; for which, in other places, the remuneration exceeds the whole expense of tuition at Oxford*.

As to expenses without the walls of colleges, they must depend, for the most part, upon the prudence and principle of the students themselves, and upon the efficient co-operation of their parents with the endeavours of the college authorities. The subject has frequently engaged the serious attention of the authorities of the University. There are existing and effective regulations against expense ; others have from time to time been devised, and abandoned as ineffectual. If the student will combine with the tradesman to evade the sumptuary laws of the University or the college, he will frequently succeed, and escape detection. And additional impediments have been imposed of late to the University laws affecting the tradesmen of the place by the rapidity of communication with the metropolis.

These are circumstances, then, to be borne in mind in considering the suggestions which have been offered for increasing the accommodation and diminishing the expenses of the University.

For these purposes, it has been suggested to found a new college, or build a new hall, under its own officers and government ; to add new buildings to existing colleges, with a distinct economy, but under the government of the existing college authorities ; to provide exhibitions tenable by members of any college or hall ; to provide for the accommodation of a greater number of students, by abridging the statutable residence within the walls of colleges or halls ; or to allow students to lodge in houses not locally attached, as the statutes at present require, to some college or hall, but under the supervision of some senior member or fellow of a college.

1. There appears to be no reason why the Crown should refuse a charter, or the University deny incorporation, to a new college properly endowed and regulated. But to build and adequately endow a new college is suited rather to ancient munificence than to the economical views of modern times. A hall without endowments, or a college insufficiently endowed, would, of course, entail heavier expenses upon the students for tuition and other advantages, than they incur in the ancient foundations, where the tutors and other officers (being usually fellows)

* At King's College, London, the fees for the proposed theological lectures, for two years, are to be 72 guineas, besides 4*l.* 13*s.* entrance-money ; at Chichester, the tuition is at the rate of 50*l.* per annum.

are in part, and the heads of colleges are altogether sustained by the endowments. A new college should also be independent. The University, it is presumed, would decline to incorporate any institution analogous to a proprietary school. But supposing a spirit of munificence to arise equal to the occasion, it is little likely that a new institution (although for a time, under peculiar and stringent regulations, it might introduce some improvements, or diminish some expenses) would long continue better, or more economical, than the old. The average expenses at the new University of Durham, for example, do not fall below the amounts above-mentioned at Oxford. In a few years the general character and regulations of any new institution would probably be as like the rest as these are like one another.

2. To add new buildings to existing colleges, whether with or without a distinct economy or regulations, or with a diminished rate of tuition, or lower rent of rooms, or with furniture or other advantages supplied gratuitously, is a much simpler expedient, and would require much smaller funds. And it would of course require no other consent but that of any college which might be willing to receive aid from without for such a purpose. It does not, however, appear desirable to create any order of students in a lower rank, or what would be considered a degrading position; nor to endeavour to restrict them altogether to public meals.

3. A still simpler expedient, and one which might either be united with the former or kept distinct from it, would be the foundation of exhibitions to be conferred, not upon grounds of literary merit, but of poverty, character, and economical habits, for the direct purpose of aiding those, and only those, who need such assistance; and to be forthwith taken away from those who would not conform to regulations of strict economy.

No plan can be suggested more consistent than this with our actual system. Advances of money also, to cover the first expenses of the University, the fees, caution-money, and cost of furniture, might often be serviceable to parents of narrow incomes, and might be afterwards in part or altogether repaid. And such advances of exhibitions might be given at the discretion of the college authorities, or by other parties, either openly, or, as is sometimes the case at present, privately, without the knowledge of any one besides the persons who confer and who receive them.

Since the year 1812, it may be mentioned, about thirty scholarships

and exhibitions have been founded at Oxford, (in several cases by the colleges themselves), besides five fellowships and nineteen university prizes or scholarships for literary attainments. Few, however, if any of these are intended solely to meet the case of straitened circumstances.

4. With respect to the suggestion for increasing accommodation and diminishing expense, by abridging the statutable residence at the University, your Committee are of opinion that it would not be expedient to shorten the period of necessary residence.

5. Lastly, as to the suggestion, that students might be permitted, under proper regulations, to reside in houses not locally attached to colleges, but kept and superintended by senior members of the University, responsible for the students under their supervision, your Committee are for the most part not prepared to recommend any relaxation of the existing statutable restrictions upon the residence of under-graduates without the walls of collegiate buildings.

But, it would appear, upon the whole, that there is ample room for the exertions of benevolence and liberality such as your Committee are rejoiced to see indicated in the paper prefixed to this Report, whilst there are several methods by which they might be carried into effect consistent with the present statutes and practice of the University.

“Resolved,—That the Board, without expressing any opinion upon the suggestions contained in the preceding Report, permit the Provost of Worcester to communicate copies to any of the parties whose names are attached to the paper prefixed to it.”

B. P. SYMONS, Vice-Chancellor.

Delegates' Room, March 16, 1846.

NOTICES OF NEW PUBLICATIONS.

A Peep into Architecture. By Eliza Chalk. With Illustrations. London: Bell, Fleet-street. Windsor: J. Brown, Castle-street. 1845.

THIS Peep is inviting enough to induce a more intimate acquaintance with its subject, and will be found instructive to the beginner, and pleasing to the more advanced student in architecture. Information is conveyed in the form of letters, agreeably written, and bringing the subject in its varieties familiarly before the reader, from the temple of Latona to the crumbling cromlech—from the time-defying pyramid, to the crypt and coffin of salted royalty. The authoress mentions “the custom of embalming with salt in the 11th and 12th centuries, as practised on the bodies of persons of rank, and names Henry the First and the Empress Maude as being thus preserved, and afterwards inclosed in hides or leather.” There are several plates illustrative of the different orders, and many appropriate specimens, all clearly and prettily executed. With this expression of our approval of this little volume, there is one error of which the authoress has been guilty, and which it has been the fashion among many to propagate, and which we think it right to correct—that of ascribing Augustine to have introduced Christianity into this country. Augustine but resuscitated a flame which had burnt far purer and brighter in a more primitive age, and far simpler fed. A very little reading will convince of the truth of this corrective remark.

Wild Flowers of the Year. London Tract Society. 1846.

THIS is the third volume of “the Monthly Series,” now in the course of issue from the depository of an establishment in Paternoster-row, which has for many years past sent forth a constant succession of works more or less imbued with evangelical doctrine. Doubly needed in the present day are such efforts, when a religion of mere outward forms and ceremonies is advocated and promulgated by many of those whose duty it is to teach and inform the public mind on those essentially scriptural principles which are the ground of our faith and the essence of our reformed national church.

The present volume is an admirable little manual for the student of nature, being a clear and comprehensive “guide-book to the fields, and lanes, and woods.” It is unincumbered with technical phrases, nothing scientific beyond the Latin name, to indicate, to such as may desire it, where further information can be found. For all common purposes, however, this volume contains amply sufficient; the arrangement of the matter is excellent, and we have seldom seen 192 pages so well filled. The author is evidently well acquainted with her subject, both practically and theoretically; we say *her*, feeling assured that it is a lady who has written this book, and one, too, known to the public as a floral writer.

THE

CHRISTIAN'S MONTHLY MAGAZINE.

MR. FABER ON MOEHLER'S SYMBOLISM.

LETTER VII.

To the Editor of the "Christian's Monthly Magazine."

SIR,

IT has occurred to me, that some Remarks on the *Symbolism* of Dr. Moehler late Professor of Theology in the Popish University of Munich, as translated into English by Mr. Robertson, may form no inappropriate sequel to those which I have already transmitted on Mr. Newman's recent publication. Though the Principle of Development, which *now*, we find, is to supersede the *once* confidently cherished Principle of an Evidential Appeal to Antiquity, is but slightly touched upon by the German Divine: yet there is a measure of affinity between the two Works, which bespeaks a kindredness of mind in their respective authors. The same love of quibbling, *nearly* the same intrepidity of assertion without proof, and the *very* same misapplied ingenuity which to the young and ill-instructed should plausibly make the worse appear the better cause, characterise them both. But it would be an act of injustice to Dr. Moehler, if I did not state: that, so far as I am aware, he has never *publicly reprobated* doctrines, which all the while he *clandestinely believed*; finally alleging as a reason for such conduct, that it was *necessary to his position*. With an acknowledged feeling of national degradation, I admit, that *HERE* there is no sameness.

I shall not pretend to follow Dr. Moehler, sentence by sentence, through his whole Work: for *that* would be (what I have neither time nor inclination for) to produce *another* Work, rivalling in bulk the *Symbolism* itself. Rather would I, somewhat on the principle of the *Ex pede Herculem*, note certain of the most marked features, which distinguish the performance of the German Professor.

As I do not understand the language of the *Original*, I rely throughout upon the accuracy of Mr. Robertson's *Translation*.

I. In strict accordance with the law of Epic Poetry, Dr. Moehler, professedly expounding the doctrinal differences between Protestants and Papists, enters at once *in medias res*. For, doubtless, the ancient and scriptural Doctrine of Justification, unburied by Luther after it had lain buried more than three centuries beneath the rubbish of the Schoolmen, forms the very nucleus of the differences between the two contending parties.

Receive the Romish Doctrine: and, by what we shall all admit to be a legitimate development, the whole Babel of Popery will rise up, story by story, from this faithfully promising foundation.

Adopt the Protestant Doctrine: and down tumbles to the ground the entire compacted Edifice of Human Merit, Deeds of Satisfaction, Purgatory, Atoning Penance, Works of Supererogation, Sacramental Efficacy *ex opere operato*, Reiterated Sacrifice on an Altar, its correlative a Sacrificing Priesthood, and sundry other matters whereof it is superfluous to make a formal catalogue.

Hence, as Luther called the Doctrine of Justification, held soundly or unsoundly, the *Article of a Standing or a Falling Church*; so, with perfect good taste in regard to the rules of composition, does the learned Professor enter at once upon that vitally important Doctrine.

1. He contends, of course, for the Romish System: which was struck out by the Schoolmen in the latter half of the twelfth century; and which, in the somewhat late year 1547, was, for the first time, propounded by the Council of Trent, under the aspect of a necessary Article of Faith, confirmed by the usual decisive argument of cursing all dissidents.

That is to say, he maintains the Doctrine: that *Man is justified by a righteousness, purchased indeed by Christ, but divinely infused into him; and thus* (agreeably to the true remark of Hooker) *made as much HIS OWN PROPERTY as his intellect or his bodily strength or any other thing wherewith God has endowed his humanity.*

In other words, he professedly identifies *Justification* and *Sanctification*: and this identification, obviously and indeed confessedly, amounts to the position; that a *Man's own Holiness* INTERNALLY, and not *Christ's Merit* EXTERNALLY, is that which justifies a man before God. Vol. i. p. 32.

2. The Unanimous Doctrine of the Reformed Churches, on the contrary, is: that *Man is justified before God, SOLELY on account of*

the EXTERNAL righteousness of Christ, imputed to him when apprehended by the hand of Faith.

But, to this Doctrine of Justification, is always appended the Doctrine of Sanctification.

When a man has been thus justified *ab extra*, his Sanctification *ab intra* follows by a sort of moral necessity. Through the agency of the Blessed Spirit, the one is the proper *fruit* or *result* of the other: and Personal Holiness is necessary, not in the way of purchasing heaven, but in the way of qualifying us for heaven. Hence, according to the protestant view of the question, if there be no *consecutive* Sanctification, we have a sure proof that there could have been no *antecedent* Justification.

8. Now this primitive Doctrine, which was only *unburied* by Luther, our two countrymen, Mr. Newman and Mr. Ward, broadly assert to have been *INVENTED* by the Saxon Reformer: an assertion, which, by plain necessity, imports, that, *before* the days of Luther, such a Doctrine had never been heard of.

4. Dr. Moehler has a great hankering after this same assertion: but, either having read more, or else being more cautious, than our two English historical speculatists, he prefers a *hinting of the thing* to a *using of the word*. Nevertheless, being apparently fearful of committing himself, he occasionally qualifies the *hint* with admissions, that *some* traces of Luther's *INVENTION* may be detected in times long before Luther was born.

(1). Thus, so far as the *hint* of original SAXON *INVENTIVENESS* is concerned, the Professor, without the least shew of diffidence, proclaims the *PRIMEVAL ANTIQUITY* of the Romish Doctrine, and simultaneously announces the *UPSTART NOVELTY* of the Protestant Doctrine.

"The Catholic Church," says he, "could not possibly exchange her *PRIMITIVE* doctrine for the *NEW* Opinion." Vol. i. p. 141.

"Summoned now," he reiterates, "either to renounce as erroneous his *PECULIAR* Doctrine of Justification, or no longer to flatter himself with the title of a son of the Church, Luther felt necessitated, as he *was THE PARENT OF A NEW DOCTRINE*, to become the Father of a *new Church*." Vol. ii. p. 4.

(2). Dr. Moehler, it will be observed, does not absolutely say, in either of these two passages, that Luther was the *ORIGINAL INVENTOR* of the Protestant Doctrine of Justification: and still less does he patronise the extraordinary patristic discovery of Mr. Ward, that the very *phrase* of *JUSTIFICATION BY FAITH ALONE* was the pure coin-

AGE of this same ingenious Saxon, a manufacture to which he was driven by his notorious INVENTION of the *Doctrine*. But, while, *verbally*, the Professor seems to shrink from the extravagance of our two countrymen, we have hitherto encountered not a single qualifying expression which might impair the cogency of the *hint*: and, on the strength of the quiet statement that *Luther was THE PARENT OF A NEW DOCTRINE which under that aspect was of course PECULIAR to him*, an uninquiring dupe, no uncommon character in the realm of England, might forthwith set the Reformer down as the veritable original INVENTOR of the Protestant Doctrine of Justification.

Yet Dr. Moehler seems to have felt, that *every* reader would not be a passive uninquiring dupe. *Prudence* suggested the acknowledgment of an unsatisfactory truth, so dangerously protermitted by Mr. Newman and Mr. Ward: but the true *Instinct of Popery* whispered, that the acknowledgment should be made *in quite another place*, and that, when made (for the Professor's safety), it should be so wrapped up in a multitudinous volume of words *de rebus omnibus et quibusdam aliis*, as to have a fair chance of escaping the notice of the ingenuous youth whose perversion was meditated.

Most admirably, it must be confessed, has this been accomplished. The ingenuity of the management, with which an unwelcome truth is slurred over so that in the crowd it may easily escape notice, will not be perceived unless the whole passage be given.

"The Doctrine of Justifying Faith," says Dr. Moehler, "experienced the same fate as all the other fundamental Doctrines of Christianity. For fifteen hundred years, Christians had lived in and by that Faith, had formed many intellectual conceptions upon it, and had laid down the same in numerous writings: but had, withal, felt much deeper things, than could be comprehended in notions or defined by words. Yet, in default of an erroneous view of that Faith decisively put forth and asserted by many, men were as far from arriving at a truly sifting point and at the highest degree of evidence upon the matter; as, before Arius, upon the Doctrine of Christ's Divinity, and, before Pelagius, upon that of Grace. Hence it happened, that, in the same way as in the above-named Articles of Faith, much that was obscure, much that was self-contradictory, was found among Christian Writers before the Nicene Council and the African and Gallic Synods; so it proved, in the various expositions of Justifying Faith, prior to the General Council of Trent: and it became the great and earnest, as well as astonishing, task of its assembled Fathers, to define the pure truth and separate it from the dross of error. As

"Arius and Pelagius, men widely different in character from Luther and far his inferiors, did not draw their opinions from their own fancy; but only embraced with warmth, and developed to the fullest extent, obscure conceptions here and there current: so *Luther merely ADHERED to SOME OPINIONS that had PREVIOUSLY been started*, as we learn from that celebrated Confession delivered by him before the breaking out of the Reformation. In opposition to his teaching, the Church exalted now, to the highest degree of certainty, what, from her origin, had been taught perpetually and universally: established this in the form of a dogma: and separated it from mere individual opinions." Vol. i. p. 166, 167.

5. Save for my friendly Italics and Capitals, an unsuspicious reader would probably overlook altogether Dr. Moehler's reluctant acknowledgment, that *Luther ADHERED to SOME OPINIONS which had PREVIOUSLY been started*: or, if he *did* notice the acknowledgment, he would readily, when he should subsequently encounter the broad assertion that *Luther was THE PARENT OF A NEW DOCTRINE*, as he had already learned that *the Catholic Church could not possibly exchange her primitive Doctrine for the NEW OPINION*; he would (I say) readily conclude, that nothing, which bore any affinity to Luther's Doctrine, had previously existed, beyond a few scattered and unauthorised and mutually incoherent speculations.

Thus, in either way, would Dr. Moehler's object be accomplished. If the student carelessly overlooked the acknowledgment: so much the better. If he did not: the solution was ready provided. The Tridentine Doctrine of Justification, to wit, had, from the very beginning, *been taught PERPETUALLY and UNIVERSALLY*: and, if some Opinions, similar to the Doctrine of Luther, *had* been occasionally started during the lapse of fifteen centuries, they were the property of none save a few obscure individuals, who carried no weight of authority, and whose idle eccentricities stood in direct opposition to the universal teaching of the Church.

These two points shall now be examined in their order.

(1). As Dr. Moehler confidently asserts the now received Doctrine of his Church to have been *perpetually and universally* (with a few whimsical exceptions not worth specifying) taught *from the beginning*: we naturally and reasonably expect some EVIDENTIAL SUBSTANTIATION of the assertion.

It might, peradventure, be too much to demand *long citations in full* for the purpose of proving the joint Antiquity and Universality of the Romish Doctrine of Justification: but still, since an HISTORICAL FACT

is broadly alleged, the learned Professor might surely have furnished us, in a note, with a page or two of *simple references*, carefully and correctly, not loosely and vaguely, given; so that, by cautious hunters after truth, they might, in any collegiate or cathedral library, be *easily* verified. The insertion of a single leaf, the addition of merely two pages, could not, like long citations in full, have swelled the bulk of his work to any *very* portentous amount. To the Professor himself, if his statement be correct, the collecting of references must have been easy, by reason of their familiarity to him. And their insertion, I should think, would have rendered the Work more useful to the young Divinity Students who had heard it delivered in the shape of Lectures.

Nothing of the kind, however, is vouchsafed to us: so that, even if matters *really were* as Dr. Moehler *confidently states* them to have been, we still should have no *authority* for the asserted FACT beyond the Professor's bare ASSERTION.

There is exactly the same extraordinary defect in the ingenious work of Mr. Berington.

Like Dr. Moehler, he asserts; that the Doctrine of Justification, propounded by the Council of Trent in the year 1547, had been the universally declared Doctrine of the Church from the very beginning: and the professed object of his Publication is, to exhibit *The Faith of Catholics, as confirmed by Scripture, and as attested by the Fathers of the five first centuries.*

Here, then, we reasonably look for an EVIDENTIAL VERIFICATION of the remarkable assertion which is common to himself and Dr. Moehler. But we are doomed to be disappointed. While we are on the very tip-toe of expectation, Mr. Berington coolly tells us: that, "As all controversy on the subject, in regard to the belief of Roman Catholics, has, in a great measure ceased, I shall not insert the passages from the early Fathers, which I had prepared, and which, agreeably to my plan, should be here introduced." *Faith of Catholics*, sect. i. p. 6.

I never heard of any controversy respecting "the belief of Roman Catholics:" the controversy respects, not their *belief*, but the HISTORICAL SUBSTANTIATION of their belief agreeably to the plan laid down by Mr. Berington himself. Be this, however, as it may, PROOFS from the testimony of the Fathers are *promised*, but NO PROOFS are given. Mr. Berington had, it seems, prepared various EVIDENTIAL PASSAGES from the early Fathers. But none of these passages are produced. For reasons best known to himself, they are all suppressed. In his own words, "I shall not insert them."

Equally ominous is the conduct of the Tridentines.

A body of learned Divines assemble, under papal authority, in the year 1547 : and, at that late hour, more than fifteen centuries after the christian era, define, under pain of sundry anathemas to all dissidents, their own view of the Doctrine of Justification ; a definition, then, *for the first time*, authoritatively propounded, as constituting a necessary Article of Faith.

Their definition, however, late in the day as it hath appeared, they roundly declare to set forth " that true and sound doctrine of Justification, which Jesus Christ taught, which the Apostles delivered, and " which the Catholic Church, through the suggestion of the Holy " Spirit, has PERPETUALLY retained." Concil. Trident. sess. vi. preem. p. 43.

Now a Doctrine, thus characterised through the long period of fifteen centuries and more, must obviously be as patent and notorious as the sun in the firmament : and the difficulty would be, not in *finding* HISTORICAL TESTIMONY TO THE ALLEGED FACT, but in *compressing* its overwhelming abundance within any moderate limits. Yet, strange to say, not a tittle of SUBSTANTIATING EVIDENCE does the Council produce. Its *assertions* are just as positive, as those of Dr. Moehler and Mr. Berington : but its total silence in regard to PROOFS is the very type of the equally total silence of those two learned gentlemen in regard to the same not *quite* unnecessary commodity. On matters, indeed, which bear not on the real question, the Council gravely refers us to Jerome and Augustine and Tertullian and the several Councils of Orange and Africa and Milevi : but, in the chapter which specially treats of *the nature and ground of the Justification of the ungodly* (*Quid sit Justificatio impii, et quæ ejus causa*, cap. vii. p. 47, 48), it is as silent as the grave. Not a single reference is given to any one of those numerous ecclesiastical witnesses, whom it declares to have notoriously borne testimony to the Tridentine Doctrine of Justification, from the apostolic age downward, through fifteen whole centuries !

All this is very odd : and, to plain people, will look somewhat suspicious. Nay, it is not impossible, that an unmannerly querist may roundly pronounce it to be *more* than suspicious : a querist, I mean, who, very irreverently, has not before his eyes the fear of Mr. Newman's system of development.

(2). But Dr. Moehler, though he calls Luther's Doctrine a NEW Doctrine, yet, by his admission that traces of it may be found *anterior* to Luther, deprives the Reformer of that special honour of its INVENTION which the learning of Mr. Newman and Mr. Ward have induced

them so liberally to bestow upon him. The admission, however, of Dr. Moehler, extends no further than a very intelligible insinuation, that Luther's precursors, in "the heresy worse than Atheism and characteristic of Antichrist" (as Mr. Ward spoke *ex cathedra* of the now defunct British Critic), were obscure men of no account, mere crack-brained speculatists, whose uncatholic dreams were so utterly despicable, that the Doctrine, when propounded by Luther, might still be fairly called a *NEW Doctrine*.

I really tremble for the posthumous odour of the Professor's Orthodoxy, when I recollect his solemn adhesion to the New Creed of Pope Pius IV: by which he stipulated, vowed, and swore, on the Holy Gospels, as he hoped for the aid of God, that he would neither admit nor propound any interpretation of the Scriptures, save according to the unanimous consent of the Fathers. *Nisi juxta unanimum consensum Patrum*.

Now, if there be a matter upon which the Fathers are unanimous, from Clement in the first century down to Bernard in the twelfth, it is in their steadily and harmoniously propounding that very doctrine of Justification which Luther is said to have INVENTED: so that, instead of being a *NEW Doctrine* never heard of before the time of the arch-heretic, it is actually the *OLD Doctrine* of the Catholic Church from the very beginning.

Hence, most indisputably, it exhibits, what Pope Pius calls *the true sense and interpretation of Holy Scripture*, according to its universal acceptance by a *Consensus Patrum*. Nor was this *ancient* sense departed from, until, shortly after, or rather perhaps a trifle before, the death of Bernard, the *new-fangled* sense and interpretation was started, in direct opposition to the protest of the old Biblicists, by the speculative Schoolmen. And, finally, this same *new-fangled* sense was declared, by the collective wisdom of the Tridentines, to be the veritable *ancient* doctrine taught by Christ and his Apostles and the whole Catholic Church downward!

In a former Letter, I stated: that the concurring testimonies of the Fathers, both originals and translations, were given in my *Primitive Doctrine of Justification*. To repeat them here, therefore, would be alike wearisome and superfluous. Yet, as I gave some few specimens out of the mass in my last communication, I may be permitted to give yet another; the property of one of those obscure and insignificant individuals, who are admitted by Dr. Moehler to have thrown out some mere rambling hints which Luther worked up into his *new* system.

"Christ," says Augustine, "hath made our sins to be his own sins,

"that he might make his own righteousness to be our righteousness." August. Enarr. in Psalm xxii. Oper. vol. viii. p. 39.

"All, who are justified through Christ, are just, NOT *in themselves*, but *in him*." August. Expos. in Evan. Joan. tract. iii. Oper. vol. ix. p. 8.

"Good works FOLLOW AFTER the Justification of a person: they DO NOT GO BEFORE, *in order that he may be justified*." August. de Fid. et Oper. c. xiv. Oper. vol. iv. p. 28. Compare Anglic. Art. xii.

"A man works not righteousness, unless he be *first* justified. This agrees with that of the Apostle: *Believing in him who justifieth the ungodly*. He begins from Faith, in order to make it clear: that not good works, PRECEDING Justification, shew what man hath merited; but that good works, FOLLOWING AFTER Justification, shew what man hath received." August. Enarr. in Psalm cx. Oper. vol. viii. p. 464.

May I venture to subjoin a few more specimens from the almost exhaustless storehouse of yet another of Dr. Moehler's obscure precursors of Luther?

"Christ himself," says the last of the Fathers, "is the person, who was made unto us righteousness by God the Father." Bernard. Homil. in Octav. Epiphan. serm. iv. Oper. col. 82.

"When righteousness is brought in, he is brought in, who, of God, was made unto us righteousness." Bernard. in Psalm. Qui habitat. serm. iii. Oper. col. 519.

"Shall I plead my own righteousness? Lord, I will make mention of thy righteousness alone. Yet, thy righteousness is my righteousness: for, of God, thou hast been made unto me righteousness. Need I fear, that thy single righteousness should not suffice for us both?" Bernard. super Cantic. serm. lxi. Oper. col. 749.

"Even unto the death of the cross, he first loved us; and, in loving, he washed us: thus stirring us up to love him, who first loved us even unto the end. This is the righteousness of the sons of God." Bernard. de Amor. Dei. c. vi. Oper. col. 1144.

Unless words be altogether devoid of meaning, the Doctrine of Justification, resuscitated by Luther, is, in these and hundreds of other passages, as distinctly affirmed; as the NEW Doctrine, INVENTED by the Schoolmen and adopted by the Council of Trent, is proleptically repudiated. I need only refer to my preceding statement of the two systems, Popish and Protestant (see above § I. 1, 2.), in order that the intelligent reader may judge for himself, whether Augustine and Bernard, to say nothing of the whole *Catena Patrum*, symbolise most with

Dr. Moehler or Dr. Martin, as his friends were wont to call the illustrious Luther.

6. Perhaps the most perplexing part of the whole paradox is : that, while Dr. Moehler maintains the NOVEL Doctrine of *Man's Justification by a righteousness infused into him and thus made inherently his own righteousness*, he, at the same time, tells us, no doubt very truly: that "An imputation of Christ's merits can be proved to have been the "UNIVERSAL belief of the Church." Vol. ii. p. 294.

If *this* were the case, as most certainly it *was*, what possible use could there be in the imputation of Christ's merits to fallen man, when, all the while, he was to be justified, not by the extrinsic and imputed righteousness of Christ, but by the intrinsic and infused righteousness of his own proper self?

Cedipus, the very prince of riddle-solvers, would, verily, be dumb-founded, if such a question were proposed to him.

The matter would be all the more difficult, because the Professor, in magnanimous disregard of the whole unvarying testimony of History, goes on to tell us: that, "from the Council of Nicea in the year 325 "down to the sixteenth century, the peculiar Lutheran theory on this "subject, *with the exception of some slight and scattered traces*, is not "to be found." Vol. ii. p. 294.

Very slight and scattered, in good sooth, were the traces, when they are nothing more than a clear *Consensus Patrum*, from Clement to Bernard, through the eleven first centuries!

Apostolic as Rome was in *other* matters, she did not *finally* set the seal to her completed Apostacy, until, in the year 1547, she formally, as far as human power could go, dethroned Christ, by declaring man's Justification to rest, not on the imputed righteousness of Christ issuing in good works AFTER Justification (as Augustine most soundly speaks), but on his own inherent personal righteousness thus identified with his sanctification.

7. I observed, in my last Letter, that the notion of *Man's acceptance with God on the score of his own goodness* was the universal religion of what scripture calls the *Natural Man*, whether that religion might outwardly bear the name of *Paganism* or *Popery* or *Mohammedism* or *Mere nominal worldly Protestantism*. As my father's old clerk, I remember, pithily expressed it in the sententious vernacular of my native county: "It is all; *Addle and Have*." Which, when translated into the diffuseness of English, for the special benefit of Suthrons, will run: "In every "false religion, the principle is; that *Man merits the favour of God by "his own goodness, and buys it, to have and to hold, by his own good "works."*

Very curious is the remark of Dr. Moehler: that the Romish Doctrine of *Man's Justification by his own infused and inherent holiness* should also be the Doctrine of the Quakers, the Swedenborgians, and the Socinians. Vol. ii. p. 204, 275, 276, 340.

I was aware, that such was the doctrine of the Socinians: and, from my ignorance of their principles, I am not prepared to contradict the Professor in what he says respecting the Quakers and the Swedenborgians. All I know is, that such is the *universal* doctrine of the natural man: and, as I remarked before, I deem the *sole* exception, afforded to this general rule by the Gospel of Christ, to be one of the strongest internal evidences of the divinity and truth of Christianity.

8. It is worthy of note: that, although Dr. Moehler, at the very commencement of his Work, truly states "the great contest" between Popery and Protestantism to "turn upon the *MODE* whereby fallen man "can regain fellowship with Christ, and become a partaker of the fruits "of redemption" (vol. i. p. 32); yet he seems, studiously, perhaps instinctively, to avoid any statement of the question, in its most simple, and therefore most intelligible, form.

The very heart of the question, yea, its heart of hearts, is this.

What is the TRUE GROUND of fallen man's ACCEPTANCE with God?

Is it a holiness, infused into him, and thus made inherently his own property? Or is it the holiness of another imputed to him and placed to his account; producing, *AFTER* such imputation, a personal holiness, which can never *justify* him, because it is the *moral effect*, not the *meritorious cause*, of his justification or (in other words) his acceptance with God?

In short, to bring the question into the smallest possible compass: Is fallen man justified and accepted of God, *ab intra*, or *ab extra*?

Every true Christian will be a comparatively holy person. But *that* is not the present question. The present question is solely: *What is the GROUND of man's ACCEPTANCE with God?*

The Papist asserts the first part of the alternative: the Protestant asserts the second part.

Respecting this marked difference of assertion, I venture simply to ask: Which of the two speaks most in accordance with Scripture, as unanimously understood and interpreted by the recognised doctors of the Catholic Church through the first eleven centuries, or, as we may loosely say, from A. D. 60 to A. D. 1160?

II. Dr. Moehler admits, as doubtless he *must* admit, that the Doctrine of Justification is the very hinge, upon which turns the entire dispute between Papists and Protestants.

Hence we cannot wonder at the zeal and bitterness, with which Papists and Papalising Tractarians maintain *their own* view: and we can as little wonder at the fury with which they attack, or at the pertinacity with which they misrepresent, the *protestant* or rather the *primitive* and *catholic* view of the Doctrine.

According as the Doctrine of Justification is soundly or unsoundly received, it is, as the great Saxon Reformer most truly observed, *the Article of a standing or a falling Church.*

This is the reason, why, *toto corpore regni*, the Papists defend their own view.

According to their different temperaments and their several qualifications, Dr. Moehler, *cautiously* and *decorously*, endeavours to make out the most plausible case that he can: Mr. Newman, *dogmatically*, teaches his credulous proselytes, that Luther was the *inventor* of the Protestant Doctrine: and Mr. Ward, in the stupendous profundity of his ignorance, not only implicitly adopts the dogma of his leader, but improves upon it by asserting that Luther *invented* the very phrase of *Justification through Faith only* as well as the Doctrine itself; *furiously* pronouncing it, in his unskilfully rabid humour, to be a mark of Anti-christ and a heresy worse than even Atheism!

Such an estimate of the importance of the question has led me into somewhat of a lengthened discussion: and, unless a strenuous disciple of the Judicious Hooker greatly deceives himself, the sole refuge, now left for Dr. Moehler and the Romish Party, is that refuge of the destitute, *Papal or Conciliar Infallibility*. Admit this: and all may yet be well. *Roma locuta est: causa finita est.*

Dr. Moehler, accordingly, puts forth a plea for Infallibility on behalf of the *existing* Pope and his Church: extraordinary, no doubt, and, so far as I am aware, quite original; but inconsistent in itself, and, like the pasteboard helmet of the Knight of La Mancha, unable to bear the dint of war, albeit secured by plates of tin.

1. The plea rests upon the *identification* of Christ and his Church. Whence it follows; that, since Christ is infallible, his Church, being himself, must needs be infallible also.

Lest I should be charged with caricaturing the Professor's Theory, I shall give it in his own words.

"As, in the world, nothing can attain to greatness but in society: so Christ established a Community; and his divine word, his living will, and the love emanating from him, exerted an internal binding power upon his followers; so that an inclination, implanted by him in the hearts of believers, corresponded to his outward institution. And thus a living, well-connected, visible, association of the faithful sprang up:

“whereof it might be said; *There they are; there is his Church, his institution, wherein he continueth to live, his Spirit continueth to work, and the word uttered by him eternally resounds.* Thus, THE VISIBLE CHURCH, FROM THE POINT OF VIEW HERE TAKEN, IS THE SON OF GOD HIMSELF, everlastingly manifesting himself among men in a human form, perpetually renovated, and eternally young; the permanent incarnation of the same, as, in Holy Writ, even the faithful are called *The Body of Christ*. Hence it is evident, that the Church, though composed of men, is yet not purely human. Nay, as, in Christ, the divinity and the humanity are to be clearly distinguished, though both are bound in unity: so is he, in undivided entireness, perpetuated in the Church. The Church, HIS PERMANENT MANIFESTATION, is both divine and human: she is the union of both. He it is, who, concealed under earthly and human forms, works in the Church: and this is wherefore she has a divine and a human part in an undivided mode; so that the divine cannot be separated from the human, nor the human from the divine. Hence, these two parts change their predicates. If the divine, the living, Christ, and his spirit constitute undoubtedly that which is INFALLIBLE AND ETERNALLY INERRABLE IN THE CHURCH: so also THE HUMAN IS INFALLIBLE AND INERRABLE IN THE SAME WAY, because the divine without the human has no existence for us. Yet the human is not inerrable in itself, but only as the organ and as the manifestation of the divine. Hence we are enabled to conceive, *how* so great, important, and mysterious, a charge could have been entrusted to men.—On this account, the Church, in the catholic point of view, can as little fail in the pure preservation of the word, as in any other part of her task: SHE IS INFALLIBLE;—SHE MUST BE INFALLIBLE.” Vol. ii. p. 6, 7, 10.

2. Such a development from the figurative language of Scripture, in which Christ is described as the Head of his Church, and the whole Community of the Faithful is thence set forth as his Body, is worthy of Mr. Newman himself. But the Professor, I fear, travels far too rapidly for our protestant slowness of locomotion, when he pronounces, that “hence we are enabled to conceive *how* so mysterious a charge could have been entrusted to men.”

If the very conception be difficult, the difficulty will not be lightened when we resort to the stubbornness of FACTS: and I need scarcely repeat the familiar saying of Chillingworth, that, in this infallible and inerrable Church, “there has been Pope against Pope, Council against Council, Father against Father, the Church of one age against the Church of another age.”

8. But, in the hands of Dr. Moehler, *the development of the development* is, to plain persons, still more perplexing than even *the original development itself*.

If, as the Professor assures us, the Church is infallible by reason of its identity with Christ, who is confessedly infallible: then every individual member of the Church must, for the same reason, be infallible also.

Nothing of the sort, replies Dr. Moehler. "To no individual, considered as such, doth Infallibility belong: for the Catholic, as is clear from the preceding observations, regards the individual, only as a member of the whole, as living and breathing in the Church. When his feelings, thoughts, and will, are conformable to her spirit: then only can the individual attain to inerrability." Vol. ii. p. 10.

So far as I can understand what is not very intelligible, each individual member of the Church is fallible: but, when all these fallibles are added up together in one sum which shall collectively constitute the Church, the product is an infallible.

Truly, the theological arithmetic of Dr. Moehler is, in principle, the very same as the judicial arithmetic of that upright and enlightened body, the Commons House of England, in the time of King Charles. Laud was found guilty of diverse and sundry misdemeanors, not one of which *singly* constituted high-treason. But the virtuous Commons had determined *à priori*, that he *should* be guilty of that offence; just as Dr. Moehler has determined *à priori*, that his Church *shall* be infallible. What, then, was to done? Why, the clerk of the House of Commons added up the several non-treasonable items: and found the product to be the capital crime of high-treason. This judicial arithmetic cost poor Laud his head. From such a fate, the admirer of Dr. Moehler's theological arithmetic will be perfectly ensured: he will have no head to lose. Each of these ingenious modifications of arithmetic resolves itself into one and the same problem or postulate, call it which you will. The value of each individual cypher is nothing. But add together eight hundred or a thousand (no matter which) of these individual nothings; and the sum total will be a very respectable and substantial unit.

4. Yet, even when the development shall have been thus perfected, the difficulty will be how to make it practically applicable to the Doctrine of Justification.

The *present* Church is infallible: and, by virtue of her infallibility, infallibly ruled, some three centuries ago, the *present* approved Doctrine of Justification. But then the Church of the first eleven centuries must, by the theorem, have been equally infallible: and *that* Church, so far

as we can judge from the strict harmony of her successive theological documents through the whole of that long period, maintained that *directly opposite* Doctrine of Justification, which was taught in the Confessions of all the Reformed Communions, and upon which the Church of the last three centuries has industriously pronounced the astonishing amount of thirty-and-three anathemas ! How are we to settle between the *two* jarring Infallibles ; the *younger* of which, with bell, book, and candle, so fearfully curses and swears at the *elder* ? Our last resort, as an umpire, must, I fear, be the Bible ; notwithstanding Mr. Newman's discouraging statement, that he has tried it and has been disappointed. That inherent imperfection in all human language, *as such*, which, *thence*, inevitably attaches to Scripture as to any other book, may doubtless enable a hardened and inveterate quibbler to pervert *any* declarations ; sagely determining, by every law of quirk and Jesuitism, that *white is most assuredly black*. But, according to that plain and obvious construction of plain words, which honest conventionality demands, we may be tolerably sure, that the Bible will decide in favour of the *elder* Church of eleven centuries, and reverse the bans and curses of the *younger* Church of three centuries.

5. But there is no end to the perplexities, which Dr. Moehler so mercilessly heaps upon us.

If the Church, by virtue of its identification with Christ, be, in the aggregate, infallible ; while not one of its members, individually, be himself infallible : where and whence are we to learn the infallible decisions of this paradoxically infallible Church ?

The Professor, I suppose, would refer us to the canons of Ecumenical Councils ratified by the necessary assent of the Pope.

Councils, occasionally, may be very useful in their way : but this does not precisely meet my question. It is quite easy for Dr. Moehler trippingly to talk, of "the profoundest love, reverence, and devotion, with which the Catholic embraces the Church," and of "his inmost feelings revolting against the very thought of resisting her and of setting himself up in opposition to her will." Vol. ii. p. 10, 11. All this is quite easy, and may pass muster with the docile pupils of Mr. Newman or Mr. Oakeley or Dr. Pusey : but the question will still recur, *How are we infallibly to know this infallible WILL* (as Dr. Moehler speaks) *of the infallible Church* ? By his own shewing, the Church is only infallible by the union of all its fallible members in one great arithmetical sum total. Such being the case, the Church cannot speak infallibly, unless all its members be collected together in one enormous assembly, and all give an unanimous vote upon the question before them. On his

principle, it is nugatory to talk of an Ecumenical Council with the Pope at its head. So far from *any* Council being the whole Church, it is nothing more than a scanty synod of some five or six hundred *individuals*, every one of whom, from the Pope downward, is merely a *fallible individual*. From such unpromising materials, to extract infallibly the infallible will of the Church, is a project equalling in hopefulness the Laputan extraction of sun-beams from cucumbers.

March 7, 1846.

G. S. FABER.

LETTER VIII.

SIR,

THE great importance of the *Doctrine of Justification*, in its bearing upon the controversy between Papists and Protestants, must be my apology for having entered into the question so repeatedly and so very much at large. Dr. Moehler himself is perfectly aware of the fact: and, thence, on the assumption, that the new-fangled Doctrine (first put forth, in mood and form, as an Article of Faith, by the Council of Trent so late as the year 1547) is the true Doctrine, he uses it as a foundation to build other equally erroneous Doctrines upon; which Doctrines, therefore, even independently of their own intrinsic weakness, *must* fall to the ground, when the foundation, which supports them, turns out to be insecure.

I. I shall begin with noticing the Doctrine of Purgatory.

In his management of this point, the Professor, in more ways than one, has been not a little incautious.

1. He distinctly states: that "The Doctrine of an Ulterior State of Purification, of a Purgatory in fire, is involved in (what he falsely calls) the *Catholic* dogma of Justification, and is absolutely inseparable from the same." Vol. ii. p. 138. Compare vol. i. p. 240 et infra.

I am ready to allow, that Purgatory is at least a plausible development from the *popish* Doctrine of Justification: but what becomes of the development, when the Doctrine, out of which it is developed, is the mere figment of a comparatively late period? History, as we have seen, attests: that the Doctrine, taught during the first eleven centuries of the Church, was the Doctrine maintained by Protestants,

not the Doctrine enforced by Papists since the time of the Council of Trent.

2. He asserts, that the belief in a Purgatory "may be proved to have been authorised by the practice of the Primitive Church." Vol. ii. p. 139.

The *assertion* is defective in nothing, save its total lack of *PROOF*. He roundly *asserts*, indeed, that the point "may be *PROVED*:" but, as usual, whenever any marvellous asseveration is adventured, no *PROOF* is even so much as attempted to be produced. The *PROOF*, that *the Doctrine of Purgatory was held by the Primitive Church*, would, I submit, be a real theological curiosity.

3. That the Doctrine cannot be proved from *Scripture*, he tacitly admits: for he states, that it "is revered," by himself and his co-religionists, "as an *apostolic tradition*." Vol. ii. 139. And, in another place, he tells us: that "the Protestants, with their wonted arrogance, have rejected the dogma of Purgatory, so well founded as it is in *tradition*." Vol. i. p. 247.

(1). By *apostolic tradition*, we must, I suppose, understand *tradition originating with the Apostles and from them uninterruptedly handed down*: and, by the alleged circumstance of *the Doctrine being so well founded in tradition*, we must understand, I conclude, *a tradition clear and explicit and well defined in every successive age so that mistake should be impossible*.

Here, again, we have not a shadow of *PROOF*: we have nothing, save an intrepid *assertion*, which, if I mistake not, will place the Professor, like Prospero's Ariel, in a split pine between ignorance and dishonesty.

Polycarp, Athenagoras, and Irenæus, virtually deny the Doctrine by their total silence, where they *must* have mentioned it, had it been apostolically delivered.

Clement, Ignatius, Justin Martyr, the Author of *Questions and Answers to the Orthodox*, Hippolytus, Cyprian, use language, which shews, that they had never heard of any such Doctrine.

Tertullian seems to have been the first person, who even gave a hint of it: but this was not until he had lapsed into the fanatical heresy of Montanism; and then he had the audacity to claim, for his upstart unscriptural fancy, the sanction of the Paraclete.

The Doctrine, though still, as every novelty must be, in a grievously unlicked state, was honoured with the countenance of Cyril of Jerusalem: but he confesses, what we might naturally anticipate, that *MANY* (πολλοὺς) denied it.

At length, in the last quarter of the fourth century, Ambruse distinctly speaks of a penal purgatorial fire; which, however, he chronologically arranges, not as our modern Papists do, but between a supposed first and second resurrection.

When we descend a step lower in point of time, the tradition, in which (if we may believe Dr. Moehler) the doctrine is "so well founded," instead of becoming *more* distinct, appears through a haze of *complete uncertainty*. The great Augustine knew not what to make of it. He says, and unsays; hesitates, and affirms; doubts, and asserts; sometimes deems it a matter not altogether incredible, at other times gives it an apparently positive sanction. Still, however, the chronological arrangement of this *Ignis Fatuus* is as different from that of modern Popery, as a hawk from a handspike.

All these matters are verified at full length in my *Difficulties of Romanism* (book ii. ch. 5): and thither I must refer the cautious inquirer.

(2). And now, what can we think of Dr. Moehler and his UNPROVED because UNPROVEABLE assertions?

When he talked of apostolic tradition, and when he censured the arrogance of Protestants because "they rejected a dogma so well founded as it is in *tradition*," he either *must*, or *must not*, have known all this.

If he knew it: what are we to think of his honesty?

If he did not know it: how are we to estimate his qualifications for the Chair of Divinity at Munich?

(3). Peradventure, Mr. Robertson or some other friend of the late Professor may allege Origen about the middle of the third century.

Now, even if the speculation of Origen were to the point, we should scarcely have what Dr. Moehler claims, a *full and uninterrupted apostolic tradition*: but, in truth, though this fanciful theologian maintained a *sort* of Purgatory, he maintained it only by denying the existence of an eternal *Hell*. In other words, he transmuted Hell into Purgatory, by at once denying its eternity and ascribing to its fire a purifying quality.

Dr. Moehler is heartily welcome to a theologian, who, among other whimsicalities, seriously maintained the universal rotundity of human bodies after their resurrection.

II. In discussing the topic of Transubstantiation with its adjuncts, for the instruction, though I can scarcely say, for the theological information, of his pupils, the Professor is equally profuse in *assertion* and equally penurious in *PROOF*.

1. He assures us: that, "according to the clear declarations of Christ and his Apostles and the unanimous teaching of the Church, attested by the immediate followers of our Lord's disciples, (Roman) Catholics firmly hold; that, in the sacrament of the altar, Christ is truly present, and indeed in such a way, that Almighty God, who was pleased, at Cana in Galilee, to convert water into wine, changes the inward substance of the consecrated bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ." Vol. i. p. 333, 334.

(1). For this congeries of *broad assertions*, touching the clear declarations of Christ and his Apostles, the unanimous teaching of the Church, and the attestation of the immediate followers of our Lord's disciples; all of which are allegations, not of abstract doctrines, but of naked historical FACTS: we, naturally and reasonably, request to be favoured with the EVIDENCE.

The Professor, anticipating the request, refers us to what?

Why, verily, to the Council of Trent: specifying, with laudable precision, the fourth chapter of its thirteenth session; which session commenced on the 11th day of October in the year of grace 1551!!!

That is to say, he adduces, in the way of EVIDENCE FOR CERTAIN ALLEGED HISTORICAL FACTS, a document written full fifteen centuries AFTER the asserted occurrence of the facts *themselves*: which, I suppose, is pretty much the same, as if we were to prove the arrival of the Trojan Brute in Britain, his vanquishing the Cornish giant Corineus in fair fight, King Lear's contemporaneousness with the prophet Samuel, and other remarkable circumstances of our ancient insular history, on the grave authority of Geoffrey of Monmouth, in despite of the amusing denunciation of his veracity which I remember to have read in that *really* authentic historian William of Newbury.

(2). But it is only fair to presume, that, in referring us to the Council of Trent, he referred us to the HISTORICAL TESTIMONIES produced by the Council of Trent: for, undoubtedly, the learned Fathers of that Council make precisely the same *broad assertions* as our learned Professor makes.

Turn we, then, to Concil. Trident. sess. xiii. c. 4. p. 125, agreeably to Dr. Moehler's recommendations.

Here we find the following historical testimonies alleged, as affording AMPLE PROOF of the truth of those *assertions* which are the joint property of the Professor and the Council: Luc. xxii. Joan. vi. 2 Corinth. xi. C. panis, de cons. d. 2. c. cum Marthæ de celeb. Miss. infr. Can. 2. in 2 Later. Concil.

Verily, we must be most unreasonable beings, if dissatisfied with Dr. Moehler's *assertions* when thus *historically substantiated*.

2. The Professor goes on : " It is now evident to all, that the belief " in the real presence of Christ in the Eucharist forms the basis of our " whole conception of the Mass." Vol. i. p. 340.

And, *what* that conception is, he subsequently states to be *sacri-
ficial*.

" An invisible Church needs only an inward purely spiritual sacrifice " and a general priesthood. But it is otherwise with a visible Church.— " In the very idea of such a Church, an external sacrifice is necessarily " involved." Vol. ii. p. 72, 73.

By " the real presence of Christ in the Eucharist," Dr. Moehler, of course, means his *material*, as contradistinguished from his *spiritual*, presence : and he very truly says, that a belief in this *material* presence forms the basis of the whole Romish conception of the Mass. All this is quite clear : but, as usual, he produces no EVIDENCE for the *asserted fact* of a material presence : and I freely confess myself unable to supply his lack of service.

With regard to his assertion, that a purely spiritual sacrifice and a general priesthood characterise only an *invisible* Church, while an external and material sacrifice is the necessary characteristic of a *visible* Church, he refers, indeed, to what he calls an admirable observation by the Council of Trent : but it is the misfortune both of himself and of the Council to differ from St. Peter, notwithstanding they assert him to be the rock upon which the Church is built and furthermore (in defiance of the testimony of Irenæus) to have been the first Bishop of Rome.

The Apostle, in his first general Epistle, is certainly addressing himself to the *visible* Church, though specially to that portion of the *visible* Church which consisted of Hebrew converts : and yet those very characteristics, which Dr. Moehler would appropriate to an *invisible*, as professedly contradistinguished from a *visible* Church, St. Peter ascribes to the *visible* Church which he was addressing.

" Ye, as living stones," says he, " are built up, a spiritual house, a " holy *sacrificing* priesthood (*ιερέυμα*), to offer up *spiritual sacrifices* " acceptable to God through Jesus Christ." 1 Peter ii. 5.

To the Presbyterate or (as we speak) the Clergy, the title of *ιερέυς* or *sacrificing priest* is NEVER applied, because it would import that they offered up a *literal or material sacrifice*. But the whole collective body of Christians is styled, we see, by St. Peter an *ιερέυμα* or *sacrificing priesthood* : and the *ground* of this appellation is, as he tells us, that they offer up daily *spiritual sacrifices*.

These, as the universal voice of Antiquity, speaking through Justin Martyr and the whole Divines, constantly attests, until the commencing

Apostacy in the latter half of the fourth century introduced the vain figment of a *material* eucharistic sacrifice, though not as yet associated with the idea of a *transubstantiation* of the elements: *these* were the *only* sacrifices recognised by the Primitive Church; and, as these could not be seen and touched and handled, and as they furthermore required no *literal* altars, the constant reproach of the sensualising Pagans was, that Christians had in their strange worship neither altars nor sacrifices.

This reproach the old writers themselves record, with a full admission of its truth. Yet, at the same time, they claimed, and *truly* claimed, to have those *spiritual* sacrifices, that *figurative* incense, that *pure* offering, which Malachi foretold should be offered up unto the Name of Jehovah in every place under the then future Gospel Dispensation. Malachi. i. 11.

3. Speaking of Transubstantiation; Dr. Moehler additionally tells us: "Out of this faith sprung the Mass, which, in its essential purport, is as old as the Church, and even in its more important forms "can be PROVED to have been already in existence in the second and "third centuries." Vol. i. p. 335.

Here the Professor *threatens* PROOF: but PROOF he *gives* us none. However, upon second thoughts, he deemed it best to try his hand: for some troublesome person might ask him to carry his threat into execution. Accordingly, in the course of a few pages, we have the *assertion* repeated and the PROOF subjoined.

"This doctrine," says he, "which, *most undoubtedly*, was *at all* "times prevalent in the Church, though at one time more clearly at "another less clearly expressed, according as occasion seemed to "require, was, in the middle age, laid down as a formal dogma." P. 349.

Here, though with some prudent limitations and restrictions, we have the *assertion*: and below, in a note, we have the promised PROOF.

This PROOF rests upon the language of the old Liturgies: for they contain prayers, that "God would make this bread the honoured Body "of Christ and the liquor contained in the cup the honoured Blood of "Christ," and furthermore that "he would effect the change by his "Holy Spirit." P. 349.

The adduced Liturgies were not committed to *writing* until the fourth and fifth centuries. Hence, when we consider the facility of adding to *oral* tradition any matters which might suit the *developments* effected by the ingenuity of each succeeding age, they afford, in their present

written form, no valid evidence for more than the fashionable opinions and language of a period long posterior to the time of the Apostles.

However, I am not inclined to dispute the really *high*, though not *apostolical*, antiquity of the expressions adduced by Dr. Moshler. They may be traced back, as far as Tertullian about A.D. 200, or even as far as Justin Martyr about A.D. 150. Let Dr. Moshler, then, have the full evidential benefit of their very early *existence*. But the question, the only *real* question, still remains: namely, how far such phraseology will avail as a *proof* of his assertion.

(1). Mr. Robertson his translator, and the whole body of ordinary Romanists, will open at once with the cry: that *Nothing can be more clear*; that *No proof can be more perfect*. Nay, to the great delight of the Romanists, sundry ill-read Protestants, I fear, will join in the same cry: not perceiving, that, by their loud averment of the rank Popery of such phraseology, they unskilfully confess Popery to have been the religion of the Primitive Church. But I more than suspect: that an accomplished student like Dr. Wiseman, though he might *politically encourage* the cry, whether uttered by Papist or Protestant (if the latter, all the better), would *secretly smile* at its egregious though useful absurdity.

When such phraseology is used *now* by a *believing Romanist*, it, in *his* mouth, implies, of course, the doctrine of Transubstantiation: but *this*, as Dr. Wiseman, I suspect, knows perfectly well, is only a *sooty proof*, that the phraseology, when used by an *early Christian*, was intended to convey any such speculation.

It is language, which merely takes and reflects the sense of him that uses it.

During many centuries when no person ever dreamed of such a doctrine as Transubstantiation, the phrase was the mere innocent correlative of our Lord's own language. Respecting the eucharistic bread and wine, Christ said: *This is my Body*; and *This is my Blood*. On these words, the whole eucharistic prayer was correlatively formed: and, in the celebration of the Mystery, the President (as Justin Martyr speaks) only prayed, that the bread and wine might *be made* or might *become*, what Christ, at the original institution of the Sacrament, had said they *were*.

A *change*, no doubt, was prayed for in the Primitive Church: but what *sort* of a change?

Why, the old writers tell us, again and again, as plainly as words can speak, that the solicited change in the elements was purely a *moral*, not a *substantial*, change. It was a change of them, from a *low secular use*

to a *lofty religious use*: a change (such is one of their many illustrations), analogous to that which takes place in a building of stone and timber, when, by the prayer of the consecrating bishop, it ceases to be a house, and becomes a church. This is the explanation of the *change*, which is given alike by Cyril of Jerusalem, Pseudo-Ambrose, Ambrose himself, and Gregory of Nyssa. See my *Difficult. of Roman.* book ii. chap. 4. § VII. 2nd edit. Hence Justin Martyr truly says, what every devout Christian believes: that, in the Eucharist, after consecration, we do not receive *common* bread and *common* wine; but an aliment, which, by digestive permutation, *literally* indeed nourishes our flesh and blood, but, *sacramentally* in our Lord's sense, is the veritable flesh and blood of the incarnate Jesus. Justin. Apol. i. Oper. p. 76, 77.

(2). Peradventure, a hasty Romanist may say: that these remarks have been excogitated for the mere evasive purpose of serving a turn in controversy, and that I have no EVIDENCE to prove that the words, *Might be made* or *Might become*, were ever used in any other sense than that which Dr. Moehler ascribes to them.

A challenge to produce EVIDENCE is sometimes dangerous to the challenger. It is a recorded fact, that the old phraseology, which Dr. Moehler confidently adduces as PROOF POSITIVE that *The Primitive Church transubstantiated from the very beginning*, was actually used, in the celebration of the Eucharist, by the proscribed and avowedly non-transubstantiating Albigenses.

Our witnesses to this FACT are Roger Hoveden and Peter of Chugny commonly called *The Venerable*.

Mr. Maitland, indeed, by one of his not unusual blunders, would fain make out that the Albigenses were *Transubstantialists*: and his extraordinary PROOF is deduced from a palpably interpolated passage in Roger Hoveden, which makes them familiar with the term *Transubstantiation* some 37 years before the term itself was invented. But the Albigenses, though they scrupled not to use the old phrase of *Making the Body and Blood of Christ*, a phrase as old as Jerome and even Tertullian in the second century, held, along with the ancient phrase, no such purely modern doctrine as Transubstantiation. Hence they evidently shewed: that they associated no such idea with the phrase, as Dr. Moehler, for the purpose of converting it into a PROOF, would ascribe to it. On the joint and harmonious and unambiguous testimony of Moneta, Reinerius, Sacco, Peter of Vaux-Sernai, Radulphus Ardens, and the Actuary of the Synod of Orleans, we may safely aver: that they utterly rejected the doctrine of Transubstantiation, which was then beginning to creep into the Church; though, as yet, the term itself had

not been invented. Accordingly, as Moneta, by way of exemplifying their opinion, expressly tells us, they contended, just as a Protestant would contend in the present day: that the words, *This is my Body*, ought to be interpreted in the same way, as the words, *This rock was Christ*.

(3). I am sorry, that Mr. Robertson's Translation of Dr. Moehler's *Symbolism*, published in the year 1843, should have compelled me to travel a second time over ground which I had already trodden in the earlier year 1841. But, if Papists and Tractarians are determined, with all the coolness of deliberate system, to treat published confutations as if they had no existence, I see not what remedy we have save an equal perseverance in repetition. For a full discussion of the phraseology which forms the solitary PROOF of Dr. Moehler's wonderful ASSERTIONS, with all my authorities given at large, I must refer the reader to my *Provincial Letters*. See letter vii. vol. i. p. 174—187.

4. Dr. Moehler ascribes the rejection of the Mass by our Reformers to their disgraceful ignorance, associated with a sort of blind unconscious impulse.

"In default of historical learning," says he, "the high antiquity and apostolic origin of the holy sacrifice was unknown to them. If it cannot even be denied, that their whole system, when regarded from one point of view, should have led them, rather zealously to uphold, than to disapprove of, the sacrificial worship: yet they instinctively felt, that, in that worship, there lay something infinitely more profound than all the doctrinal foundations of their own theological system; and, accordingly, they were driven, by an unconscious impulse, into a negative course." Vol. i. p. 348.

That the apostolic origin of the holy sacrifice was quite unknown to them, I make no doubt: but, whether the circumstance arose from their default of historical learning, is, I do suppose, another question. As I do not understand the latter part of this extraordinary paragraph, I am certainly unable to answer it. I must, therefore, be content with requesting Mr. Robertson or any other admirer of the Professor to show their possession of that historical learning wherein we are defaulters, by adducing DISTINCT EVIDENCE for the apostolic origin of the holy sacrifice of the Mass as maintained and taught by the Church of Rome.

5. Whatever may be thought of Mr. Newman's developments in general, the adoration of the Host we may readily admit to be an obvious development of the doctrine of Transubstantiation. Nevertheless, on the conciliarly determined Romish rule that *the INTENTION of the Priest is necessary to the validity of his ministrations*, we may well

deem such adoration a somewhat perilous experiment: for, by the shewing of the Papal Church itself, if the Priest (what is not very uncommon) be an Infidel, and thence cannot possibly have any *intention* to perform the grand popish miracle when he reads the words of consecration over the elements; *then* no transubstantiation takes place, and consequently the prostrate votaries are idolatrously adoring nothing more than a morsel of bread and a cup of wine.

Dr. Moehler, however, by a fair argument, would retrogressively *PROVE* the doctrine of Transubstantiation by the *ASSERTED FACT* of the primeval adoration of the Host. Vol. i. p. 351. Append. p. iv—x.

Now it is quite clear, that, however fair the argument may be in the abstract, the cogency of the *PROOF* rests altogether upon the truth of the *ASSERTED FACT*. This the Professor feels: and, accordingly, he attempts, by *EVIDENCE*, to substantiate the *FACT* which he has asserted.

(1). His first testimony is derived from the Liturgy of St. Chrysostom: who flourished toward the end of the fourth century.

In this Liturgy, Dr. Moehler tells us, the Priest and Deacon, at the elevation of the Host, are directed to worship, saying three times in secret, *O God, be propitious to me a sinner*: the people, in like manner, all worshipping with reverence. P. 351.

The present testimony rests upon the circumstance, that, *at the precise moment of the elevation of the Host*, both the Clergy and the Laity are directed to fall down and secretly worship in the scriptural formula, *O God, be propitious to me a sinner*.

It is, I readily admit, a fair *presumption*, though it may not be an absolute *PROOF*: that, when a whole Congregation is directed to adore God in secret prayer *at the precise moment of the elevation of the Host*, the adoration must be viewed as addressed to the Host itself; in the full belief, that, by virtue of transubstantiation, the Host has become the Incarnate Filial Deity.

But is Dr. Moehler's account of the matter correct?

The Liturgy, which bears the name of St. Chrysostom, I had read several years ago: and I certainly had no recollection, that this enjoined secret worship of GOD had any reference to an *immediately preceding elevation of the Host*, so as thus to intimate that the Host *itself* was the Deity to be worshipped as GOD. But a prudent man will not trust to his memory alone. Hence, I forthwith turned to the Liturgy in question, edited, as the Professor, with laudable precision, truly remarks, by Goar, and, from his edition, translated into English in Dr. Brett's Collection of Ancient Liturgies. My memory proved to be correct. Not a syllable is said of any elevation of the Host, as *preceding* and

occasioning the act of worship prescribed in the rubric quoted by Dr. Moehler: and, though a subsequent rubric, not quoted by him, speaks of an elevation, it is wholly silent as to any adoration of the Host being either the intent or the result. The rubric, in short, quoted by Dr. Moehler as affording a PROOF of his ASSERTED FACT, follows, not any elevation of the Host, but simply a prayer of the Priest: and it directs the Congregation secretly to adore, not the Host (which is never mentioned), but GOD himself, in the scriptural language of the humble Publican, *God, be merciful to me a sinner.* Brett's Liturg. p. 39, 40.

That Dr. Moehler's extraordinary treatment of St. Chrysostom's Liturgy may the more distinctly appear, I shall now, on the principle of the *ecce subjecta fidelibus*, give the rubric quoted by him in the way of EVIDENCE, with its immediately preceding and immediately succeeding contexts: the quoted rubric itself, in order that it may stand forth quite conspicuously, being placed within brackets.

"The Priest prays with a low voice.

"Draw near, O Lord Jesus Christ our God, from the habitation of thy dwelling and the throne of glory in thy kingdom: and come and sanctify us, O thou, who sittest on high at the right hand of the Father, and at the same time art invisibly present with us here below: and vouchsafe to impart to us, by thy mighty hand, thine immaculate body and most precious blood; and, by us, to all the people:

["Then the Priest and the Deacon worship, each in the place where he stands, saying in secret three times: O God, be propitious to me a sinner! And the People, in like manner, all worship with reverence.]

"The Deacon, when he sees the Priest stretching forth his hands and touching the holy bread in order to make the elevation, says, with a loud voice:

"Let us draw near.

"Priest. Holy things for holy persons.

"People. There is one holy, one Lord Jesus Christ, in the glory of God the Father. Amen.

"Then the People sing the antiphon of the day or of the saint whose feast is celebrated."

This passage affords to Dr. Moehler a PROOF of his ASSERTION, that, in the time of Chrysostom or in the fourth century, the present Romish Adoration of the Host was the universal practice of the Church: which PROOF lies in the ALLEGATION, that, immediately at the elevation of the Host, the prayer, *O God, be propitious to me a sinner*, is to be secretly put up three times by the Priest and the Deacon and the People. What measure of TRUTH there is in the ALLEGATION,

the reader can now judge for himself. Nothing can be more unfortunate than the Professor's appeal to the Liturgies. I have carefully examined them all: and *not one* of them, save *the Roman Missal* as printed at Rome in the year 1647; contains *any* adoration of the Host. That alone *does* contain it.

(2). The second testimony, produced by Dr. Moehler, is that of Irenæus.

"Already, in the second century," says he, "St. Irenæus makes mention of the *ἐπίκλησις*." Append. p. iv.

To this *ἐπίκλησις* or *invocation*, said to have been mentioned by Irenæus, no reference is given. The Professor, I suppose, is unwilling to deny us the pleasure of hunting for it through the Treatise of that very early Father: but we are instructed to conclude, that the *invocation*, thus appealed to IN EVIDENCE, was the primeval invocation or adoration of the Host.

In various places, Irenæus treats of the Eucharist: and, on one occasion, he tells us, that a heretic, named *Marcus*, claimed to produce blood in an eucharistic cup. Here, and here *only*, does he employ the precise Greek word *ἐπίκλησις*, which Dr. Moehler has brought forward as evidence for the adoration of the Host in the second century. To this passage, therefore, I *must* conclude, that the Professor, though he has not thought it advisable to give *any specific reference*, wished to direct our attention.

"*Marcus*," says Irenæus, "pretending to celebrate the Eucharist with cups containing mixed wine, and extending the word of THE INVOCATION (*τῆς ἐπικλήσεως*) to a considerable length, made the liquor appear purple and red so as to resemble drops of blood." Iren. adv. hæc. lib. i. c. 9. p. 44.

Perhaps Dr. Moehler may have meant, that *Marcus imitated* the INVOCATION of the Church: which *imitation* would of course bring out the result, that the Church at that early period *used* a form of invocation.

Be it so. But what then? Is *this* any PROOF of the primeval adoration of the HOST? Irenæus, as the use of the definite article requires, alluded to *the invocation* which formed a part of the early Ecclesiastical Liturgy. Now the *only* invocation to which he *could* here have alluded, as is clear from the supposed imitative practice of *Marcus*, must have been *the prayer of consecration*: and *the prayer of consecration* in order that the elements MAY BE consecrated, I need scarcely say, is a totally different thing from *the adoration of the Host* in the Romish Church AFTER the elements have been consecrated.

Perhaps we may now see the reason, why Dr. Moehler did not judge a precise reference to be expedient.

(3). His next witness, for the primeval adoration of the Host, is Cyprian, who flourished in the middle of the third century.

Sore must be the nakedness of the land, when the Professor's EVIDENCE breaks down even by his own shewing.

The matter to be PROVED, we must recollect, was *The Aboriginal Adoration of the Host*.

Now the PROOF of this, from the testimony of Cyprian, is: that that Father, thus early, mentions the old eucharistic exhortation, *Lift up your hearts*. Append. p. iv.

As the same primitive exhortation is retained and used in the Communion Office of the Church of England, Dr. Moehler might, with equal emolument, have employed his ingenuity in proving, to the entire satisfaction of all whom it might concern, that we Protestant Anglicans notoriously worship the Host when elevated by the Priest.

(4). His remaining testimonies are sundry quotations from the old Liturgies. Append. p. iv—x.

What *could* have been his object in laboriously extracting the passages, exceeds my comprehension. In not one of these passages, as quoted by himself, is there the very slightest mention of any adoration of the Host.

6. With this remark, I might well drop the matter: but the Liturgies, even as *he* adduces them, are of considerable importance under another aspect.

They clearly shew, that, what was called *The Unbloody Sacrifice*, and what was afterward, in the downward course of superstitious corruption, identified with the consecrated elements *themselves*, thus most unscripturally making *them* to be a material sacrifice: they clearly shew, that this *Unbloody Sacrifice* of the Christian Church was, in its original ideality, neither more nor less than that *Spiritual Sacrifice of Praise and Thanksgiving*, which all the early Fathers celebrate; which is implied in the very word *Eucharist*, and which the Church of England in her Communion Office most correctly recognises.

(1). Thus the Liturgy, which bears the name of Chrysostom, puts together the *Offering up of Prayers and Supplications and Unbloody Sacrifices*.

(2). Thus, in the same Liturgy, when the Priest says, *Let us offer up the Holy Sacrifice in peace*: the choir respond, *The Sacrifice of Praise*.

(3). Thus, in the Liturgy which bears the name of Basil, the first

general prayer of the Congregation runs: *Thou, Lord, hast made us, unworthy though we be, the liturgic ministers of thy holy altar.* Us, be it observed, the whole Congregation collectively, at a figurative altar, agreeably to the doctrine of St. Peter (1 Peter ii. 5): not merely the officiating Presbyters and Deacons, at a literal altar, of which Christianity knows nothing save the alone true altar of the cross. And, harmoniously, the oblation is defined, in the very next sentence, to be a *Sacrifice of Praise*.

(4). Thus, again, in the Liturgy which bears the name of St. James, the *Unbloody Sacrifice*, which the whole Congregation offer up, is expressly called *A Spiritual Sacrifice*: yet, in the same Liturgy, what is very curious, we may observe the dawning of that corrupt transference of the original idea, which, to the consecrated elements *themselves*, gave the name of *The Terrible and Unbloody Sacrifice*; a catachresis, pregnant with the fearful heresy which now characterises the apostate Church of Rome.

(5). Yet, even when this vicious transference had been made, the true original idea was not immediately lost: for, in the old Gallican Missal, the prayer runs; that *This Oblation may be made a Spiritual Sacrifice*.

(6). Nay, in the Roman Liturgy itself, corrupt as it is, the primitive idea still peeps out, as if to call up a blush into the cheek of Popery: for there, in the midst of a puddle of vile superstitious will-worship, we have, *nominatim*, the ancient *Sacrifice of Praise*.

III. Our dauntless Professor is yet further prepared to vindicate what he himself calls the *invocation* of Saints. Vol. ii. p. 140—142.

1. This abomination he cloaks in the usual Popish fashion, that they are invoked for nothing save to intercede for us.

But, while he totally conceals the perpetual idolatrous prayers which are addressed to them for gifts and graces and benefits which God *only* can bestow, he neither explains to us, how we are to be certain that they can even *hear* our invocations, and still more how we can be certain that they can *simultaneously hear* myriads of invocations addressed to them from widely separated regions; nor yet does he offer a shadow of PROOF for the scandalous practice, either from *Scripture*, or from the *Primitive Church*,

PROOF, however, he *does* bring. And what is it? Truly, it consists in a reference to the *Council of Trent*, in its 22d and 25th Sessions, in the several particularly early years 1562 and 1563!!

2. Yet most curious is it, that he himself remarks the resemblance, between the adoration paid to Christ by the earlier Socinians, and the invocation of the Saints inculcated by his own Church.

The Socinians professed to adore God, as the first cause of our salvation, and to worship Christ, though they counted him a mere man, as the second cause of it.

"We see," observes Dr. Moehler with marvellous coolness, "that to Christ a species of invocation is addressed, bearing some resemblance to the *catholic* (an't please you) invocation of Saints."

Such invocation may be *Popish*: but, as a Christian, I beg to protest against its being styled *catholic* or *universal*.

IV. What Protestants are in point of faith, the Professor seems puzzled to determine: though, save and except certain episodes upon the Swedenborgians and Mennonites and Quakers and Socinians and Methodists, he professedly confines himself to Protestants in the day of the Reformation. Sometimes, he pronounces us to be Eutychians: but, at other times, he rather inclines to the persuasion, that we must be, in reality, Gnostic Manichæans! Verily, he was a most fructifying Professor of Divinity!

1. With respect to the first theory, he remarks: "If, in the Protestant system, the Divinity of Christ be rightly and truly upheld; yet the Humanity of the Redeemer is, by the Doctrine of *Ubiquity*, absorbed in his Divinity." Vol. ii. p. 320.

This, I believe, or something like it, was the doctrine taught by Eutyches. But, when we call to mind the opposing tenets of Papists and Protestants touching the Eucharist (with the exception, I admit, of Luther's favourite *Consubstantiation*), the Professor has surely made a very odd statement.

Where he learned that the doctrine of *Christ's Corporeal Ubiquity* was part and parcel of the *Protestant System*, I really cannot say, inasmuch as he gives no reference to his authorities: but I should have thought, that something very like it was the inevitable *development* of the Popish doctrine of Transubstantiation.

So far as the Church of England is concerned, she certainly, even in express terms, repudiates the Eutychianism, which Dr. Moehler would make the badge of what he calls the *Protestant System*. For, in avowed opposition to the Popish Scheme, she explicitly declares: that "The Sacramental Bread and Wine remain still in their very natural substances, and therefore may not be adored (for that were *IDOLATRY*, to be abhorred of all faithful Christians); and the natural Body and Blood of our Saviour Christ are in heaven, and not here; *it being against the truth of Christ's natural Body to be at one time in more places than one.*"

Now, though, as the Professor assures us, "all developments which "can be considered as resulting from formal acts of the whole body " (of the Church), are to be revered as the sentences of Christ himself:" yet we are not *quite* prepared, like Mr. Newman and his fellow-apostates, *thus* to revere that portentous development from Transubstantiation, the doctrine, to wit, of *Our Lord's Corporeal Ubiquity*. Vol. ii. p. 38, 39.

2. But Eutychianism is a comparative nothing in the *Protestant System*. With an intrepidity of countenance which Mr. Maitland himself might envy, Dr. Moehler declares: that we erring Protestants, every mother's son of us, are palpable Gnosticising Manichæans!

Mr. Maitland, through the medium of what he whimsically denominated *Facts and Documents*, ventured only to attack the poor unbefriended and calumniated and well nigh exterminated Albigenses.

But Dr. Moehler assails Protestantism *itself*, "towering in its "pride of place," and tolerably well secured as we trust it to be, with a courage, which, in this particular development, is matchless.

Nay, what is not a little amusing, by an odd sort of hocus-pocus, and with most beautifully retributive poetical justice, that *Malleus Manichæorum*, Mr. Maitland himself, in his at least *ostensible* capacity of an English Protestant pledged to what the Professor calls the *Protestant System*, turns out, under the plastic hands of Dr. Moehler, to be a stark and veritable Gnostic! Truly, we none of us know what we may come to.

"There is no religious phenomenon," says the Professor, "to which "the system of the Reformers offers more resemblance than Gnosticism.—During the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, we find "Gnosticism continuing in broken and detached systems. The Reformers, in the fifteenth century, embraced it under a milder form.— "Their sense of sin, pious, doubtless, but confused and distempered in "itself, tended, among the Protestants as well as among the Gnostics, "toward its own destruction: and, as it did not comprehend and thereby "maintain itself, it became utterly extinct."

So proceeds the Professor through ten weariful pages. Vol. i. p. 275—285. What he precisely means by *the sense of sin among us becoming utterly extinct, because it did not comprehend and thereby maintain itself*, as I am no Œdipus, I shall not pretend to determine. I have heard a young Tractarian, with turned up eyes, express his wonder at the profundity of Mr. Newman: but Dr. Moehler shews, that, in this vast profound, there is still even a lower depth. In each case, we must piously resort to the adage: *Omne ignotum pro Magnifico*.

March 14, 1846.

G. S. FABER.

OUR WORLD.—A FRAGMENT.

POET.

Where is the land in which we long to dwell?
 Around us are the shadows of the old,
 The dreary world, in which no song could rise.

TRAVELLER.

But see, among the shadows, rays of light,
 Inviting others, as they guided us,
 On to the land of song and happiness!
 See yonder turrets in the distance gleaming—
 There is the land in which we long to dwell.
 But say not that no melody was heard,
 Even in the dreary world we leave behind;
 For was it not the Poet's song that moved us
 To venture on this gladsome pilgrimage?
 Did not the voice of melody dispel
 The gloomy shades around us hovering there,
 With prophecies of brighter days to come?

POET.

O blessed land mine eyes have long'd to see!
 O land where all our reasonable hopes,
 Our warmest wishes and our richest love,
 Shall find their objects and their recompense!
 Here shall my eyes behold the forms I love;
 Here shall I know and clearly comprehend
 All that I meant in my mysterious lays,
 When, singing gladly, I conceived myself
 Inhabitant of a celestial world.
 There, waking, when I look'd around, and saw
 The dismal forms of all unhappiness,
 I felt my poetry a mockery—
 The world was not in concert with my lyre.
 Here I shall sing of what my eyes behold,
 And all the world around shall join my strain.

TRAVELLER.

Remember how this happy land lay hid,
 Even in that gloomy world from which we flee ;
 And in your thoughts of future happiness,
 Forget not to give honour to the past.
 How was this glorious Paradise prepared ?
 Not by mere dreaming, but by patient toil :
 Thanks to the Poets, who, amid the gloom,
 Still prophesied to us of lands of light,—
 Who lifted up the strain of hope and joy,
 Amid loud voices of discouragement.
 Nor thanks to these alone, the Sons of Song,
 But equal thanks to lowly, patient souls,
 Who, 'mid a world of pains and miseries,
 Kept holy in their hearts the gentle virtues
 With which this land is fill'd. From time to time,
 The best and brightest of the sons of men
 Have come as pilgrims to this land of love ;
 And here shall all good souls together dwell.

POET.

Happy the fortune of this tender child,
 Whose eyes shall open on this brighter world,
 Before the shadows of antiquity
 Have dimm'd his vision, or obscured his soul.

TRAVELLER.

Nay, e'en those shadows leave their use behind :
 Their recollection makes the light more dear ;
 And, in the land to which we travel now,
 From time to time, the Teacher spreads them forth,
 Opens the past with all its histories,
 And, by the dark and troubled ways of men,
 Confirms his scholars in the way of light.

POET.

All o'er the land shine solemn towers and spires,
 Surrounded with no blind and gloomy awe,
 But with a veneration pure and calm :
 For there, as round domestic hearths, are center'd

All purest, best affections ; there the man
Remembers how his childhood has been train'd—
How he was taught, by kind and patient lips,
No strange, abstruse, disheartening mysteries,
But how to know himself,—his fellow-men ;
How to live well in love, and die in peace.
Around these church-towers dwell religious men,
Not sever'd from their kind by superstition,
But made more sacred by superior love,
By higher wisdom, gentleness, and power.
There stands the Teacher, with no gloomy brow,
Amid disciples young and beautiful.
There are the Legislators, men of wisdom,
Train'd in pure science, studious in the lore
Of human life and history,—as free
From partial taint in setting forth its laws,
As when inspecting rays of solar light,—
Pure channels of divine intelligence,
Interpreters of necessary truth.
Their voice is calm and certain as the voice
Of solar systems in the heavenly choir.

All things are holy here—through all things flows
One spirit pure, intelligent, serene ;
And day and night, the sun, the moon, the stars,
All sounds of winds and waters and of birds,
The carollings of children in their play,
The joyous melodies of youths and maidens ;
Yea, and anon, the calm funereal strain,—
All harmonise with the celestial lore ;
And every child of this blest family
Lives in all others, and can never die ;
And all the joys of all the race are felt,
By sympathy divine, in every breast.
Here is no pining for a future world,
No loathing of the past, no vain regret,
No painted joy for ever out of reach,
No dismal error, in some dying part
Losing the health and brightness of the whole ;
No dreamy Paradise beyond the hills,
Never possess'd, but always further on ;—
But here, in every soul, through all the hours

Of life, in cares and pains, (for these are known),
 Labours and trials, (giving life its charm,
 Its thrill, its pathos, and variety),
 Through all and over all, shines, like the sun,
 The Life eternal,—catholic, divine.
 This happy land, of which young Poets dream,
 When shall it dawn upon yon waiting world?
 Lo! we approach the Temple—see, my child,
 Yon marble spires, and yonder glittering dome!

CHILD.

Beautiful! and surrounded all with flowers;
 And 'mid the garden, into the deep blue sky,
 Shoots up the silver fountain: now it falls,
 As in a shower of diamonds, on the roses.

POET.

Hush! listen to the music. Oh, how rich,
 How sweet, how full of happiness the sound,
 Not to be uttered in another way!
 These are the voices of the happy children.

CHILD.

Beautiful children! I shall sing with them!

POET.

And now the music ceases.—Let us enter.
 There stands the white-rob'd Teacher, with a smile,
 While, in meek awe and silent thankfulness,
 His young disciples hearken to his voice.
 List to the wisdom flowing from his lips!

TEACHER.

Sweet is the voice of Melody that tells
 Fulfilment of the hopes of many ages.
 Children! to make you happy as you are,
 Sages have thought, and Poets sung of old.
 It was the vision of a land like this
 Inspir'd the men who struck the sweetest lyres.

And here the souls that look'd through centuries,
And found no rest, find all their hopes fulfill'd;
While, in the wisdom flowing from their lips,
They dwell with us in everlasting rest.
Children ! you know the truth, that in our world
Each lives for all—all live for every one.
Look, when I raise this curtain, and behold
The pictures of the centuries pass'd away.
See yon fair marble city, brightly gleaming
Amid the olive trees. Yon forked hill
Is Mount Parnassus—that fair city, Athens !
In yonder street behold a lowly man,
Grey-headed Socrates, instructing youth
To *seek* that Truth, which, children, *dwells* in you.
And in the Academy, 'mid yon grove, behold
The high-brow'd Plato, questioning his soul,
And pondering deeply—all for love of you !
The picture changes—see proud Rome arise !
See her vast armies issuing from her gates,
And going forth to battle—and for what ?
See men destroyed by men—yon flashing swords—
And all because they knew not how to live
In truth, in love, and peace, as you live here !
But lo ! a brighter view—Judea's sky !
Behold—Jerusalem ! Mount Olivet !
Lo, from the lake that laves Capernaum,
Across Samaria, comes the Man of Love
Into Judea, to unfold the Truth,
The universal Way, the happy Life !
See how the children follow in his steps—
How tenderly He looks upon them all !
He points them to the lilies of the field,
Or to the glad birds carolling in the air,
And tells them of the Love, the Truth, the Life,
That flows through all—through sun, and moon, and stars,
And earth and water, and the souls of men,—
The flowers of the field, and angels in the heavens.
And, having in himself eternal Truth,
The Life of all, the Love by which we live,
As he lived in it, so for it he died ;
And died for us, that we might have it too !

And see, his followers come after him,
 A lowly band—(how much you owe to them !)
 Yon suffering children, who endured the flames
 With smiling faces, pass'd through fire for *you* !
 And those who, patient, from the bed of pain
 Sang praises gladly, lived and died for *you* !
 Then let us hallow all their memories—
 But how ? By no sad thoughts ; but by a life
 In peace and love—such life as they desired,
 Such as they hoped for, and, because they knew
 And loved it, *had* indwelling in their breasts.
 Live, then, in love, and you will know the Truth
 Which sages sought for, and fulfil the hopes
 For which a thousand patient martyrs bled.
 Oh, live in love, and you have all the world,
 The past and all the present, heaven and earth,
 In all their sweetness, as your constant food.
 Be like the sun who never sees a cloud,
 Because he shines upon it ! Let the shades
 On all the pictures you have seen call forth
 Your love to brighten them, and, from your lives,
 Shed light, glad light, on all the world around !

J. G.

THE CHURCHES OF ENGLAND AND JERUSALEM.

“ *Journal of Missionary Labours in the City of Jerusalem, during the years 1842, 1843, 1844.* By the Rev. F. C. Ewald, Missionary of the London Society for Promoting Christianity amongst the Jews, and Chaplain to the late Bishop of the Anglican Church at Jerusalem.” London : Wertheim. 1846.

It is now some time since we adverted to the subject of the Jerusalem Bishoprick. Circumstances have made the subject not less interesting. The sudden death of the first Protestant Bishop has shed a gloom over that scene of labour, but God will raise up a man for this and every other vacant post. Men at home seem almost weary with railing at the bishoprick. The noise of their own voices has drowned any cogency of argument ; and reflecting men have remarked, that only those cavil

at the conduct of the heads of our Church, in this instance, whose every aim is to overturn the fundamental principles of the Church itself. It has, therefore, gone into the same oblivion as all other Tractarian complaints and murmurs. It has become an undistinguished part of the chaos of their disappointed ambitions. They laid their hands on every thing,—new and old; but in the subject before us their failure has been signal. Perhaps their discomfiture has been almost too easy, and we have disregarded the magnitude of the victory in the facility of its attainment. Sometimes, however, we are reminded of the victory, by the lingering murmurs of men who, unable to argue, are anxious to outlive sound argument by the pertinacity of their suspicion. These are no uncommon class of men in this busy world; and, accordingly, the Jerusalem Bishoprick forms a staple part of their conversation, when the luxuries of the dinner-table have made them less zealous in more abstruse matters. We are not about to argue with men of this calibre, or even to identify them with the sturdy advocates of Tractarianism. They are a class of men who have objected to the bishoprick because others objected, and, being by no means over-anxious for the *truth*, have never lent their aid to the promotion of the scheme, or even examined any of the many interesting reports of missionary labour in the Holy Land. It is quite clear that there are only two reasonable kinds of objection, one of which is on the ground of principle, and the other rests on the idea that the scheme has failed in its practical effects. It is true that most objectors spoke of the difficulties of appointments, and, most of all, were angry because a foreign king had the alternate election. There was many a smile of grim complacency when the mournful news of the first vacancy reached England; and many a one asked the portentous question, “How will the King of Prussia act, so as not to compel our Primate to use “his veto?” The wish of a difficulty was father to that thought; and these wise men, having prophesied evil, were expecting a fulfilment. What will they say, when so good, so laborious, so energetic, so long tried a man is placed in that responsible office as Mr. Gobat. It becomes us not to commend the appointment, though we might do it on many, and even on *every* ground. We might refer to the long experience of Eastern churches and customs, to the dangers and perils in which the bishop elect has been, to his untiring zeal; but in all this it might seem that we agreed with the cavillers in doubting originally as to the hands in which the choice was vested. We value the establishment of a bishoprick in Jerusalem; but we are fain to add, that, in our opinion, it is no small cause of exultation, that the foreign orthodox churches were brought nearer to us in love and harmony, by leaving

the right alternately to the King of Prussia, and by admitting candidates to holy orders after a subscription to the Augsburg Confession. It is no mean privilege to be united with such a man as the King of Prussia, but it is a far higher pleasure to be reminded of those silken bonds of love and zeal which once held our several Protestant communions. It tells us of a brotherhood too long forgotten; it reminds us, that, in evil days, we have forgotten what Hooker and our early divines thought of the foreign Reformers; and it bids us not allow that "narrow Channel" to make so wide a difference between our feelings. And, perhaps, while we blame the want of orthodoxy in Germany, it would be well for us to remember, that, by our withdrawal from communion with them, we destroyed the very influence which might have cherished the truth, and discountenanced falsehood. It is certain that our Church owes much more to German activity and love, than we have repaid by sympathy and prayer. And yet it seems strange, that men, who so much laud our Book of Common Prayer, should so easily forget what Bucer did for it, or what was Peter Martyr's influence, or that Calvin's advice was asked, or that Melancthon's words were made use of in our Articles. Once our Church felt every throe which agitated the church at Amsterdam or Geneva; but, by degrees, we have cut ourselves off from them, and what marvel if they have fallen from the truth and purity of our common Catholicity! He that severs the union of the different branches of Christ's Church, paves the way for error in those which fall, and of pride in those which stand. What amount of pride and separation there may have been in our Church, will be best discerned by the fact, that, when our Primate only advances one short step towards the ancient union, some of our clergy have repined against it, as if the Church were about to commit an act of heresy, instead of shewing a sense of its duty. One thing is quite certain, that every person who is enamoured of our isolated position, as regards foreign churches, knows very little of the spirit of our Reformers or of our writers in the best part of the seventeenth century. At the present time our practice widely differs from that of primitive times; and surely we must beware, lest, cutting ourselves off from every age of the Church, and neglecting the wiser feelings and practices of our ancestors, we have no nation to sympathise in our sorrows, or rejoice in our successes. The Church of England and Ireland is assailed on every side, and does not perceive its danger: how, then, will it confess its faults, in proudly casting off all who come short of its apostolical customs and its scriptural Articles? We are at the present day more stringent in our practice than any church, while in our written law we are more

catholic; that is, more pure and more Christian than is any other branch. And if men ask how this contradiction exists, or by what process our rules are tightened without being altered, truth must confess, that we have our *traditions*, our imaginary line of a perfect orthodoxy, which, not content with teaching its own sons, hopes to bind down all other nations in its own belief, and yet exerts no visible means for the accomplishment of its object. It is true that our laws hamper the freedom of the Church's energies; but the question is, whether those laws are not in accordance with the sentiments of our clergy. The truth is, that even the laws which, emanating from the State, confine us within certain limits, are regarded by some as if they were decrees of the Apostles, instead of being the creation of worldly men, and therefore capable of alteration whenever more wisdom shall be brought to bear on the subject. Now, without in any sense denying that this fixity of tenure has had, and is at the present time shewing its advantages, it does appear too monstrous, that men of learning and reason should argue in favour of every particular, especially when this fixity has allowed some innovation to enter and fix itself on us. And we are compelled to say, that every one of the arguments which have been used against the Jerusalem Bishoprick have arisen either from this traditionary interpretation, or from the wicked and uncharitable hypothesis, that grace is conveyed only by sacraments, and that sacraments are administered only by an unbroken tradition of men consecrated by bishops, who are so *jure divino*; or, in other words, that Episcopacy is a doctrine, not a rite or ceremony. But, if this be the case, it must be plainly and clearly revealed as such in the Sacred Scriptures, according to our Sixth Article. Any member of the English Church, who is so honestly, will confess that the pure Word of God must be preached, and if he believes our Articles, he will not allow that such is the case in the Roman church. What, then, is the position of Ultra-Churchmen but one of perfect and miserable isolation? He unchurches the church of Rome, with those of the Greek and Armenian communions, because they have not the Word of God preached; and he unchurches Presbyterianism and the German churches, because they want Episcopal orders. He says, "I and my offspring are alone safe and sound; and I will hug myself in my own perfection:" and his thoughts are somewhat similar to those who say, "Stand by, for I am holier than thou." One class of objectors to the Jerusalem Bishoprick have now seen the danger of their position, as well as its absurdity. They felt that the Church of England was not the Catholic Church, but only a part of it; and when common

sense, honesty, and universal indignation denied the possibility of making us a part and parcel of Rome, they had no other remedy but to forsake us, and ally themselves to the Great Pretender. The commencement of their error was one which they imbibed by our tradition, for they saw no practical union between us and the German churches; and, therefore, they started with the hypothesis that no such union ever could exist, forgetting that contention between brethren does not destroy affinity. Our Church may learn no lesson from the fall of these men, but there is a weighty lesson in their fall. Those who boast of their isolation, may see no ill effects in it; but every deep thinker must long since have mourned over it, as endangering our peace, if not actually destructive to our existence. Christ's Church should be one; but there is no unity, no love, no sympathy amongst the different branches of his kingdom. Every man wages battle with his divided phalanx, and the victory of one portion neither rejoices, nor does their defeat make sorrowful, every other portion of the one body, even the Church.

We regarded, therefore, the Jerusalem Bishoprick as a practical acknowledgment of reviving union, not, indeed, with German error, but with Christian truth, for it is absurd to identify the German church with her perverters, as may be easily seen, when it is remembered that in our own Church there are very many who despise our whole system, and ridicule our Articles. We must not lose the catholic spirit of our Church in the tradition which has come down to us, which is neither old nor infallible, but must grasp the substance of truth—not so much the form, as the essence. There are ecclesiastical difficulties in the way of any decisive course of action, but these are not impediments in the way of other churches; as, for instance, we find in Jerusalem Armenian, Greek, and Roman Catholic bishops; and it would be hard if some imaginary form, some ecclesiastical fiction, should shut out our purer Church from that hallowed ground. It is true, that if our Bishop was sent for the purpose of empty rivalry, then the aim would mar the plan; but as we, unlike Rome, desire not our own extension as a Church, but the promulgation of the truth which is God's, there is no room for fear, no cause for disquiet, and all the cavil in the world need not shake our steadfastness. It is ridiculous to make schism an act which merely becomes such by a transition from one country to another. It can be no sin to teach the truth in every place in which error is taught; and wherever Rome is, there fatal error is forced on men, and thither should the feet pass of them who bring good tidings, and preach the Gospel of peace. It is scarcely reasonable for a sane man to object to so sound a means of

making known that which has been committed unto us. We violate no Apostolical order, but honour that order by sending it to preach pure, unadulterated truth, and thereby prove that Episcopal power is not inseparably connected with a fixity of error. It is the supremacy of truth which is neglected when objections are started, unless truth is obscured by the means used; but, unhappily, objections are generally excuses for inactivity, rather than suggestions of a laborious conscience. On all sides there are captious questions, doubts, and fears, but seldom is an earnest love and hearty active zeal found, and when found, it shines more brightly from the surrounding obscurity.

If it were necessary to defend the Jerusalem Bishoprick, there are abundant arguments by which it may be done; but we have glanced at the question more immediately as it affects our own Church, and compulsion has called forth our preceding remarks.

We may now pass to our author, in whose pages much is found which will excite deep interest in the state of the Jews, and much, also, which will call to our remembrance how little has hitherto been done in their behalf; and here we cannot avoid expressing our regret, that Mr. Ewald did not, by way of preface or appendix, give more information as to his missionary labours in Tunis. In this place he laboured for nine years; and all who have had the pleasure of watching those labours will bear witness as to the diligence of the missionary, and will rejoice in that a blessing was vouchsafed on it. It is clear, however, that Mr. Ewald's whole soul is set upon the Holy City, and scarcely a page of his Journal wants some allusion to the great histories which have been enacted in its borders. Many of our readers are aware that Mr. Ewald was once a German Jew; and of his two brothers, who have renounced Judaism, one is the great Hebrew scholar, Professor Ewald. We must not, however, any longer delay our readers, but plunge in *medias res*, which we cannot do better than by the following:—

“ I am now in the Holy Land; I have seen Mount Lebanon, and
 “ gazed at Mount Carmel, and had a view of Sharon, the hills of
 “ Ephraim and Judah, and, from the heights of Jaffa, have seen the road
 “ where once the tribes went up to bring their gifts before Jehovah. I
 “ have visited the place where it is said the Apostle Peter resided with
 “ Simon the Tanner, although this is a disputed point. The Latins say
 “ their convent is built on the precise spot; the Greeks point you to an-
 “ other; and the Mahometans shew you a little mosque, which they say
 “ stands upon that memorable place. I have said to myself, ‘ Who
 “ knows but that the very spot you now stand on was once the inheritance
 “ of your family? Who knows but that you may put your foot where

“ ‘the ashes of your fathers are sepulchred?’ and yet I confess I feel
 “ nothing of that glowing enthusiasm which fills the heart of many a
 “ traveller when visiting the Holy Land. I feel rather cast down; I go
 “ about mourning all the day long; my eyes are filled with tears and
 “ gush out. Is this the Holy Land? Is this the place where the pro-
 “ phets lived? where the Son of God went about doing good? where
 “ the Apostles preached the love of the Father exhibited in the Son?—
 “ this land, which is full of abominations and desolations! I look
 “ about, and am constrained to say, ‘Ichabod’, the glory is departed
 “ from Israel; the ways of Zion do mourn. What has caused this
 “ change? What? Sin—the sin of my forefathers, the sins of my
 “ people, of my nation, who have not believed as a nation on the Son of
 “ God, and God has cast them out of their own country. Oh, that my
 “ people would consider this! Oh, that they would rise to a man, and
 “ repent, repent of their sins; not only those who still reject the Messiah,
 “ but that also those of my brethren who have obtained the same precious
 “ faith with me, would repent and confess their sins as Daniel did!
 “ Who knows but that God would hear us, the Lord would answer us,
 “ Jehovah would turn the captivity of Jacob, and be again merciful to
 “ his land and people.” Pp. 21—22.

Jerusalem itself is but thirty miles from Jaffa, and yet it is a journey
 of two days, when females are in the party. “ ‘There are,’ he says,
 “ two kinds of conveyance for ladies and children, both easy and com-
 “ fortable. The one is the well-known taterwan or litter, carried
 “ between two mules, which is as easy as a sedan-chair, and will hold
 “ a lady and two or three children; the other is the ‘travelling pan-
 “ ‘nier.’ Two of them are fastened on the back of the horse or mule;
 “ in each of these a lady or a child may conveniently be placed, whilst
 “ the animal is led on by a guide. The latter is the only mode
 “ which the numberless pilgrims who yearly visit Jerusalem adopt
 “ for their wives and children.” “For a horse fifteen piastres is
 “ required, but for the ‘taterwan,’ for which four mules or horses
 “ are required, to change on the road, about one hundred piastres is
 “ expected.”

“At noon, just when the Muazin called from the lofty minaret his
 “ ‘Allah ackbar, la illa illah Allah, Mahmood rasool Allah!’ (God is
 “ great, there is no ruler but God, and Mahomet is his Prophet!), we
 “ left the gates, and traversed the picturesque market-place, situated
 “ immediately outside the city.

“We passed by various groups of the sons of the desert: here we
 “ saw several stretched on the ground, resting from their night-wan-

“ derings ; others were sitting cross-legged round some favourite dish
“ of theirs ; and others enjoying their pipes, while sipping their coffee
“ with delight ought of the neat finshan. Under a large fig-tree the
“ butcher had given the death-blow to a fat camel, round which the
“ Arab women were standing clamouring for their portion of meat, in
“ order to prepare the ‘ atsha ’ (evening meal) for their lords. To our
“ right and left we were tempted by the various kinds of fruit, which
“ were exposed for sale. I laid in a good stock of most delicious
“ oranges, for which Jaffa is celebrated ; and I advise every traveller to
“ do the same, because he will not meet with anything like them till he
“ is within the gates of the city of the great King.

“ For nearly two miles our way lay through pleasant gardens and
“ orchards rich in various vegetables, and richer still in a variety of
“ trees. The orange and the lemon, the fig and the pomegranate, the
“ almond and the palm-tree, are here at home : their blossoms and
“ their fruit fill the air with fragrance, whilst the luxuriant and green
“ foliage of their leaves refreshes the beholder’s eye.

“ In each of these gardens there is a well, from which the ground is
“ irrigated by rivulets, which are so ingeniously contrived, that a
“ sufficient quantity of water flows around each tree and shrub to keep
“ it in health and vigour.

“ There is no doubt the Psalmist alludes to such trees, when he
“ says, ‘ Blessed is the man that walketh not in the counsel of the
“ ‘ ungodly, nor standeth in the way of sinners, nor sitteth in the seat
“ ‘ of the scornful. But his delight is in the law of the Lord ; and in
“ ‘ his law doth he meditate day and night. And he shall be like a
“ ‘ tree planted by the rivers of water,’ &c.” Pp. 28—30.

After passing through the fertile plain of Sharon, they approach Ramleh.

“ The nearer we approached Ramleh, the finer the country grew.
“ Countless olive-trees adorned the avenues. The rain had opened
“ Nature’s flowery treasures : before us was spread a most magnificent
“ carpet wrought with divers colours of gold, crimson, red, and blue—
“ a carpet made without hands, in comparison with which the most
“ costly Persian in the Sultan’s harem dwindles into utter insignificance.

“ We came to a ruined tower, which is seen from a great distance :
“ it is a square building, about 130 feet high : there are steps within,
“ but the ascent is not altogether without danger. From the top we
“ enjoyed a splendid view. Around the tower there are fragments of
“ ancient ruins and subterranean passages. It is not easy to ascertain

“ by whom it was built, or for what purpose. The natives informed us
“ that it had been erected by Mahometans, and was a part of a mosque.
“ From here to Ramleh is only fifteen minutes' ride.

“ When we entered the town, we were forcibly struck with the difference that exists within and without the place. On the outside, Nature was lovely and inviting; but within, all was wretchedness and gloom: more than half of the town is in ruins, the streets filthy in the extreme, and the people looking as if half starved.

“ We had a letter of recommendation to the American Consul, a wealthy native Armenian, who possesses the best house in the town: he received us hospitably, and prepared rooms and supper for us in native style. After we had reposed a little while, our kind host conducted us to the flat roof of his house, from whence we enjoyed an extensive view.

“ In the evening the most influential Christians of the Greek and Armenian church paid us a visit. They had lately waited upon our Bishop, who, together with Dr. Macgowan and Mr. Williams, passed a night under the same roof where I was now residing, and they all expressed their delight that an English Bishop had been sent to Jerusalem: they look upon it as the dawn of brighter days for this country, and inquired whether it was the Bishop's intention to establish schools, and wished he might open one in Ramleh.

“ There was a large garrison here of about 1000 Turkish soldiers, who contributed nothing to the happiness of the inhabitants, but the reverse. Aboud Markoos, our kind host, said to me, ‘ These Turkish soldiers are like children, whatever they see they wish to have, and reasoning with them is quite out of the question; the best way to act is to put everything out of their sight.’

“ There are three convents here—the Latin, Greek, and Armenian. In the former the traveller meets with a kind reception; the two latter receive also strangers, but letters of recommendation are required, which may easily be obtained either at Beyrout, Jaffa, or Jerusalem.

“ The population of Ramleh is said to amount to 3000 souls, of which there are 2000 Mahometans; the rest are Christians, but chiefly Greeks. Only two Jewish families reside here, and these have recently settled.

“ We retired early, knowing that the next day we were to rise before the sun, in order to reach Jerusalem before sunset, the time when the gates of the Holy City are shut. It was in vain, however, to invite sleep; though the American Consul was an opulent man, yet

"his house was not free from those annoyances so frequent and so troublesome throughout the East. We welcomed, therefore, the break of day, as the deliverer from our night's disturbances.

"Ramleh has often been taken for the Ramah of Samuel, and also for Arimathea; but, if we may believe Arabian writers, Ramleh is of a much more modern date. According to them it was built in the eighth century, by Suliman, son of Kalif Abd El Melk, Sultan of Egypt, which corresponds with an Arabic inscription found in the tower above mentioned, and also with the name the town bears. Ramleh signifies in Arabic, sand, which is indeed an expressive name, for the country around the place abounds with sand and sand-hills.

"Soon after daybreak we were on our route; still traversing the same fertile plain of Sharon, but to-day in an easterly direction, towards the mountains of Judah.

"In the distance we saw the town of Lydda glittering in the morning sun." Pp. 80—82.

The Holy City is surrounded by a massive stone wall, 40 feet high and 4 feet broad, which is therefore a pleasant promenade. The wall was built in 1542. After speaking of different parts with especial reference to the Bible narrative, our author continues:—

"How doth the city sit solitary, that was once full of people!
"How is she become as a widow; she that was great among the
"nations, and princess among the provinces, how is she become tri-
"butary! None who are acquainted with Jerusalem's history can
"proceed far in her streets, without being reminded of these words.

"Most of the streets, are desolate, badly paved, narrow, and disgustingly filthy. The houses, with few exceptions, are out of repair, and many are entirely in ruins. - The dust-cart is not known here; the rubbish is carried out of town by donkeys, which is rather expensive, to avoid which, the inhabitants of Jerusalem, who are for the most part poor, have recourse to a curious expedient.

"There is a large number of deserted magazines scattered throughout the town; in these all the rubbish is collected, and, as often as one of them is filled, they close it in with a stone wall. I have counted more than a hundred of this description. Sometimes it happens that these walls give way; then the whole neighbourhood is enveloped in the dust of many generations.

"Others do not even take the trouble of carrying the rubbish out of their houses; they appropriate one room as a common receptacle, and when that is full they take the next.

"Soon after our arrival, we hired a house for the use of the Mission,

"in which there were two large rooms completely choked in the way mentioned. Pickaxes were required to clear them, and it was a work of many days before it was done.

"Besides these nuisances, there are the shambles, in the Jewish quarter, and the disgusting tan-yard on the east side of the Holy Sepulchre, which infect the air with a pestiferous odour, and create many maladies.

"These evils might easily be remedied, if the local government cared less for their purses, and more for the salubrity of the town, and if the Mahometans were less fanatic. The tan-yard occupies the position where formerly the Templars had their palaces, to desecrate their memory; and the shambles are to annoy the Jews.

"The number of the resident inhabitants in the Holy City amounts to about 18,000 souls: of whom there are 8000 who profess the Mahometan religion; 6000 are Jews; and 4000 Christians of various creeds, namely, Greeks, Armenians, Syrians, Latins, Copts, Abyssinians, and Protestants. During the time when the pilgrims are in Jerusalem, which is from December to April, the number increases to 28,000.

"The Holy City is built upon four distinct hills, *Zion*, *Moriah*, *Acra*, and *Bezetha*." Pp. 42, 43.

Our readers will peruse with interest the following particulars with reference to the Greek Church:—

"In the Greek Convent Demetrius, which is a spacious edifice, there reside seven bishops; namely, the Bishops of Lydda, Nazareth, Petra, Gaza, Nablous, Sebasta, and Philadelphia: the latter acts as the vicar of the Greek Patriarch of Jerusalem, whose residence is at Constantinople. These bishops never visit their dioceses. There are from fifty to sixty friars in the same convent, who assist the bishops in their various functions. Besides this large convent there are seven smaller ones for monks within the walls of Jerusalem, belonging to the Greeks, and five for nuns. The whole body of the Greek clergy in the Holy City amounts to about 150 persons, of whom there are thirty who reside constantly in the church of the Holy Sepulchre, to perform the services required there.

"All these friars, nuns, and bishops are Greeks by birth; no native Christian can be a monk or a bishop, but they are the parish priests, are allowed to marry, and perform the service of the Church in the native tongue, which is Arabic. Of late the Greeks have established a good school in their convent Demetrius, where they teach history, geography, and astronomy. Within the walls of this convent there is a good library and a large church.

" These convents and the whole Greek establishment in Jerusalem are supported by the Emperor of Russia, and other members of the Greek Church over the whole world.

" No other established church has spread so far and wide as the Greek Church. Not only in Greece, the Grecian Isles, and the whole Russian empire is that church dominant, but also in Wallachia, Moldavia, Egypt, Abyssinia, Nubia, Lybia, Arabia, Mesopotamia, Syria, Cilicia, Siberia, Astracan, Casan, and Georgia, the Greek Church is flourishing.

" The Greek Church separated entirely from that of Rome in 858, when Photius was elected Patriarch of Constantinople by the Emperor Michael. They have no articles of faith; they have adopted the Nicene and the Athanasian creeds, with the following alteration:—

" ' I believe in the Holy Ghost, the Lord and Giver of Life, who proceedeth from the Father, and with the Father and the Son is worshipped and glorified.'

" Images are not tolerated in their churches, but they have introduced pictures in their stead. They invoke saints as intercessors; they pray for the dead, though they do not believe in Purgatory. They do not believe in the doctrine of supererogation, nor that of infallibility.

" They acknowledge seven sacraments, which are called 'the Seven mysteries;' namely, *Baptism*, the *Chrism* or *Baptismal Unction*, the *Eucharist*, *Confession*, *Ordination*, *Marriage*, and the *Mystery of the Holy Oil* or *Euchlaion*.

" They baptize by immersion, dipping the child thrice in water. When the child is baptized, the priest anoints it with the *holy chrism*, which is prepared and solemnly consecrated by a bishop, only once a year, on Thursday in the Passion Week. It consists of various oils and other precious ingredients, which in different proportions are all boiled together. This holy oil is applied to the infant's forehead, eyes, nostrils, mouth, ears, breast, hands, and feet.

" Some days after the baptism the child is again brought to the church, when the priest prays over it; then taking a new sponge, moistened with clean water, he washes the infant, saying, 'Thou hast been baptized, enlightened, anointed, sanctified, and washed in the name of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost, now and for ever, even unto ages of ages. Amen.'

" The priest also cuts the hair of the child, soon after baptism, in the form of a cross.

" The service in the Greek Church is very long, and they read portions of the Scriptures in their churches. When the Gospel is read,

"a deacon exclaims, 'Wisdom, stand up, let us hear the holy Gospel.' Then the priest stands up, and says, 'The lesson from the Gospel according to St. Matthew,' &c. Then the deacon replies, 'Let us stand.' The choir, at the beginning and end of the Gospel, sing, 'Glory be to thee, O Lord, glory be to thee.' When either the epistle or a portion of the Old Testament is read, the deacon calls out, 'Attend.'

"They take small loaves of bread for the celebration of the Lord's Supper. When the bread is to be consecrated, the priest takes it in his hand, and thrusts a knife into its right side, saying, 'He was led as a lamb to the slaughter.' Then into the left side, adding, 'And as a spotless lamb before her shearer is dumb, so he openeth not his mouth.' Then he thrusts the knife into the upper part of the loaf, and says, 'In his humiliation his judgment was taken away.' And then into the lower part, exclaiming, 'And who shall declare his generation.' He then thrusts the knife into the loaf obliquely, lifting it up, saying, 'For his life was taken away from the earth.' After that he lays down the loaf, and cuts it across, saying, 'The Lamb of God, which taketh away the sins of the world, is slain for the life and salvation of the world.' They believe in transubstantiation. The wine, which is used at the communion, and in which the consecrated bread is dipped, they mix with warm water, because they say that water and blood flowed from the Saviour's riven side.

"The dignitaries and clergy of the Greek Church are ranked in the following order:—Patriarchs, Archbishops, Bishops, Archimandrites (who are the directors of convents), Abbots, Archpriests, Priests, Deacons, Under-deacons, Chanters, Lecturers.

"The Holy Scriptures, and the decrees of the first seven general councils, are acknowledged by the Greeks as the rule of their faith." Pp. 46—49.

The Jewish Quarter is on Mount Zion, and of them we read the following analytical account:—

"The Jews were not permitted to settle permanently in the capital of their own country, till it was conquered by the Mahometans; from that time they have increased almost annually, till their number has amounted to 6000 souls. The quarter in which the Jews reside comprises only the twentieth part of the town; and if the whole city were inhabited in proportion to that quarter, Jerusalem would have a population of 120,000.

"The Jews in Jerusalem form two distinct bodies,—the *Spanish community*, and the *German community*. The former are the most numerous, and being natives of the country, are subjects of the Porte,

"and are under the jurisdiction of their own Chief Rabbi, who is the head of the civil as well as the ecclesiastical court, and bears the title of 'Hakkam Pasha.' They have four commodious synagogues, and several colleges.

"*The German Jews* are those who have emigrated from various parts of Germany, Poland, and other places in Europe to the Holy Land. They enjoy the protection of their respective consuls, and are on that account less oppressed by the local government.

"They, again, are divided into two distinct communities. The *Perooshim* (Pharisees), and *Chasidim* (Pious). Each of these communities possesses two synagogues, and is governed by a Chief Rabbi.

"Generally speaking, the Jews in the Holy City are all learned men, whose chief occupation consists in studying Jewish literature. In fact, they are maintained on that account and for that purpose by all the Jews over the whole world. Contributions are sent to Jerusalem from all quarters of the globe, which are divided among all according to established laws and regulations.

"The various synagogues also send their messengers abroad from time to time to collect money. There are thirty-six Jewish colleges in Jerusalem, in which the professors who teach and the students who learn are paid. These colleges are maintained by certain funds accumulated from legacies which have been left by pious Jews for that purpose.

"On that account few Jews in Jerusalem follow any trade, except those without which the Jewish community could not exist, as bakers, butchers, and grocers; for, according to their law, they must purchase their bread, meat, and various other articles of the Jews.

"Having less care for the things of this world, they spend much time in devotional duties. They rise at midnight to perform the prayer appointed for that time.

"Wrapt in their talith (veil), and with dust upon their foreheads, they prostrate themselves on the ground, commencing their midnight devotion by a confession of sins, followed by a chapter from the lamentation of Jeremiah, and five elegies on account of their dispersion, captivity, and the destruction of the Temple and the Holy City." Pp. 55—57.

There are annually 3000 pilgrims from the Armenian Christians, who come to Jerusalem; and a patriarch, five bishops, with fifty or sixty priests, constantly reside in the convent Demetrius. Mr. Ewald gives an interesting account of a visit to their patriarch.

"The Armenians here have, ever since our arrival, shewn a friendly disposition towards us. On the first day of our arrival, the Patriarch

“ sent to our Bishop, to inquire whether he could be of any service to his Lordship. This good feeling has hitherto continued, and I trust will go on increasing. A few days ago, a message came from the Patriarch to his Lordship, stating that an Armenian priest was about to proceed to India, for whom he was anxious to procure a letter of introduction from our Bishop, which was immediately granted.

“ To-day another message was sent by the same Patriarch, to invite his Lordship and other members of our Mission to dine with him, which invitation was accepted. Accordingly, after evening prayers, his Lordship, Mr. Williams, Mr. Rowlands, Mr. Johns, and myself, proceeded to the Armenian convent.

“ When we arrived at the gate of the convent, his Lordship was received by three Armenian bishops, all of them venerable and aged persons. Thus conducted into the convent, we passed a spacious court-yard and entered the garden, where the Patriarch was waiting for his Lordship, and received him most cordially. Chairs were then placed, and we all seated ourselves. I stood as interpreter to the interpreter of the convent, who spoke Arabic. Neither the Patriarch nor the three bishops are acquainted with this language. Whilst conversing, a shower came on, which compelled us to enter a fine garden-house, where we remained till dinner was announced. We were then led up to an open terrace, which was overshadowed by the branches of a most magnificent fir-tree, under which the dinner-table was laid out in European style. The storm had passed, and the evening was splendid. The Patriarch and the three bishops sat down to dinner. The view from hence was delightful. Before us we had the ever-memorable Mount of Olives ; to the right the boundless mountains of Moab, with the country round the Dead Sea ; and to our left several mountains were towering up which are round about Jerusalem. The conversation, though carried on by interpreters, was animated and interesting.

“ The venerable-looking Patriarch may be about sixty years of age, the bishops about seventy ; the dress of the bishops is the common Oriental flowing one, of black colour : that of the Patriarch was of the same style, but of a brown colour, which was the only distinction that I could perceive.

“ The Armenian convent at Jerusalem is of very ancient date ; the Patriarch said, that it was built on the very spot where the Apostle James had dwelt. It is very spacious. During the last Easter 2000 lodged within its walls. The whole establishment of the convent, including the minor clergy and servants, amounts to 150 persons.

"Formerly the Armenians had seventy-six convents in the Holy Land, which are now reduced to four. They had one on the Mount of Olives; but the Roman Catholics and the Greeks procured a firman from the Sultan, which ordered it to be levelled to the ground, which was done by the Greeks themselves a few years ago. When asked what their belief was respecting those who do not belong to their church, the Patriarch replied, 'All who are baptized in the name of Jesus, and receive the doctrines of the Gospel, and act accordingly, enter heaven.'

"Meanwhile, as night was coming on, and our party was neither ready nor willing to break up, large lanterns with candles burning in them were brought and hung on the branches of the tree under which we were seated, which greatly enhanced the beauty of the scene. The Patriarch and the bishops expressed themselves in the most friendly manner, and said that his Lordship should consider their convent as his own. Many questions were asked and answered on both sides. When asked what their opinion was respecting Israel, they replied, 'That Israel will be converted before Christ's coming.' They shewed throughout our conversation that they were well acquainted with the Scriptures, which are freely read among them. About nine o'clock we left the convent.

"May the Lord bless this beginning of union! May it lead to a closer intimacy with the prelates of our Church, and may Christ be glorified through it! His Lordship and our whole party were delighted with the open, frank, and hospitable manner in which we were treated by the venerable Patriarch." Pp. 99—101.

Mr. Ewald met with some of a Jewish sect called Koraim, who seem remarkably interesting; and the following extracts will present a satisfactory sketch of their belief and position:—

"On going out again, I entered the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, where I saw the Greek bishop gorgeously appressed, with a kind of crown upon his head, distributing the consecrated bread to a large multitude. Having left the Church, I addressed some Jews in the street: one of them was of the sect of the Koraim, a sect for which I had always felt a very great interest, but had never seen any of them. He informed me that there are only two families of them here. They are hated by the Rabbinical Jews, do not intermarry, and have no more intercourse than is necessary with them. They reject the whole of the oral law, and believe and observe nothing which cannot be proved from the written word of God. They have no phylacteries; and the passages from which the Rabbinical Jews prove

“ the necessity of putting on phylacteries during prayer, they consider
 “ as figurative sentences. He invited me to come to his house on the
 “ following Saturday, when I could also see his father, who is chief of
 “ the Koraim here, an invitation which I gladly accepted.” P. 74.

When Mr. Ewald paid his visit, the chief of the Koraim shewed him several books, in one of which he met with a passage, of which the following is a translation :—

“ ‘They have even also killed Jesus the son of Miriam, who was
 “ ‘ righteous, perfect, and upright, fearing God, and a saviour of many
 “ ‘ nations, whom he delivered from idolatry, and taught them the way of
 “ ‘ truth, and brought them to receive his doctrine, by which they were
 “ ‘ led to acknowledge that there is a God, who created the world,’ &c.

“ ‘ Moreover, Jesus did not change the law of Moses ; for he him-
 “ ‘ self says, “ I am not come to destroy the law of Moses, but to fulfil
 “ ‘ “ it. Heaven and earth shall pass away, but neither a word nor a letter
 “ ‘ “ from the law shall pass away.” By which it is clearly seen, that
 “ ‘ Jesus believed in Moses and the prophets. But they killed him for
 “ ‘ two reasons : first, because he himself belonged to the Koraim ; and,
 “ ‘ secondly, because he spake against their traditions, as other Koraim
 “ ‘ did before him ; and therefore they shed his innocent blood.’ P. 78.

“ Rabbi Abraham, the chief of the Koraim here, has read the New
 “ Testament, which he said was an excellent book ; it was only a pity
 “ that Christians did not act according to it ; they had become idolaters
 “ again, which Jesus did not wish them to do. I never was so much
 “ pleased with a Jew as with him. He invited me to see him again,
 “ which I promised to do. May the Lord bless our meeting together !

“ Rabbi Jedidia Abulafia, whose acquaintance I had made at Tunis,
 “ has just arrived here, after an absence of seven years. He had heard
 “ that I was here, and came, in company with his brother and son-in-
 “ law, to pay me a visit.” P. 79.

In an interesting conversation with a Jew, our author was interrupted by Rabbi Abraham, the chief of these Koraim, who wished to speak with him :—

“ I went with him into a lonely lane, when he told me that Rabbi
 “ Jedidia had called on him, and told him that he had seen a book with me
 “ which spoke well of Jesus, and against the Talmud, and which I had
 “ received from them ; and that he was angry with him for putting such a
 “ book into my hands, fearing that I should make use of it against them,
 “ and revive the horrors of Damascus. He begged me, therefore,
 “ not to shew it to the Rabbinical Jews, by whom they were already
 “ hated enough. I replied, that R. Jedidia had seen the book at my
 “ house, and also the passage in question, but that he might rest assured

"that I would not abuse his confidence, and I would soon return his book. We agreed that I should call on him on Saturday next. I then went to the Jewish quarter and entered a synagogue, where several Polish rabbies were reciting the Talmud. I could not, however, obtain a hearing." P. 80.

"Having promised to return the book to R. Abraham to-morrow, I remained at home in order to read as much as possible; and I obtained from it a great deal of information respecting that interesting portion of the Jewish people. I gathered from it that Rabbi Aaron Hanasi, whom, as the author asserts, the Rabbinical Jews killed, came from Babylon to Jerusalem in the year of the world 4400, about the time when the Mahometans conquered the country. He obtained from Ali permission to build a synagogue for his sect, but under ground; for the Mahometans thought then that a synagogue would defile the ground if built on it. The same synagogue is yet standing, and you are obliged to descend about twenty steps before you reach it. The author asserts that the Jews killed him, and that he is buried on Mount Moriah, like as they killed Jeremiah in Egypt, and Ezekiel in Babylon. He then goes on to say, 'And thus they killed Jesus the righteous, who instructed according to the truth, as we have explained above.' The book was printed at Juslawa in the Crimea, in 5594. The author is Abraham Tirschwitz." P. 82.

Passing over some particular Jewish rites, we find that these Koraites have ten articles of faith:—

- "1. All things which exist were created.
- "2. They did not create themselves, but were created.
- "3. God is one, and has no form, no likeness; none is like unto him.
- "4. God has sent Moses, our Master.
- "5. God has given unto us by Moses his perfect law.
- "6. It is necessary that each believer should know the language and the meaning of the law; i. e. that he should know how to read the same, and the interpretation of it.
- "[From the explanation of this article, it would appear that the Koraites believe that God gave the law to Moses, written in the same way as we have it now, with the accents and the vowels; and in order to understand the meaning of the Bible, the study of grammar and of logic is recommended.]
- "7. That God has inspired the rest of the prophets.
- "8. God shall raise the dead at the day of judgment.
- "9. God shall reward each man according to his deeds.

" ' 10. God does not cast away the men of the captivity, though they
 " ' are under his chastisement, yet they must hope for his help through
 " ' the Messiah the son of David.'

" In the explanation of this article it is said that the Messiah will
 " certainly appear at the end of 6000 years after the creation, perhaps
 " before.

" The Koraites are very much detested by the Rabbinical Jews, who
 " consider them worse than the Gentiles, particularly in this country.
 " But it appears that elsewhere this enmity is fast passing away, for I
 " have seen a printed correspondence between the chiefs of the Koraites
 " in Russia, and some of the chief Rabbinical Jews of Berlin, Vienna,
 " and other places." Pp. 122—24.

Amongst the Rabbinical Jews, one great impediment is the reverence
 with which they regard the Talmud.

" I went into another house, where I found two rabbies reading the
 " Talmud, with whom I had a long conversation ; they tried to maintain
 " that without the Talmud the Bible was a sealed book ; that we are to
 " understand all the passages in the Bible, where God commands us to
 " read, study, and meditate on his word, as referring to the Talmud ;
 " for, as the Bible can be learned by heart in a very short time, God
 " could not have meant that little book, but the Talmud, which, if a man
 " studies during the whole of his life, he cannot fully comprehend. I
 " said, then in truth has come upon you what the prophet Isaiah threatens
 " in the sixth chapter, ' Hear ye indeed, but understand not ; and see
 " ' ye indeed, but perceive not. Make the heart of this people fat, and
 " ' make their ears heavy, and shut their eyes ; lest they see with their
 " ' eyes, and hear with their ears, and understand with their heart, and
 " ' convert, and be healed.' I had a long argument with them. When,
 " O Lord ! wilt thou take away the veil with which the Talmud has
 " covered the heart of the remnant of thy people ! When will they
 " turn to Jesus !" P. 119.

Thus do men make void God's law by their traditions ; but we will
 append to this a conversation which shews the practical working of this
 study of the Talmud.

" I took their prayer-book into my hand, and shewed them that they
 " themselves prayed on the Sabbath for their deliverance, through the
 " son of Jesse, the Bethlehemite, and added, This is Jesus who was born
 " at Bethlehem. They replied, ' That it only meant that the deliverer
 " ' was to be an offspring of David.'

" I. But the prophet says that the Messiah is to be born at Bethle-
 " hem ; and at present no Jews are permitted to live at Bethlehem ; how
 " then can the Redeemer be born there ?

"*A Jew.* What prophet says this ?

"*I.* The prophet Micah. ' And thou Bethlehem Ephratah, though thou be little among the thousands of Judah, yet out of thee shall he come forth unto me that is to be ruler in Israel ; whose goings forth have been from of old, from everlasting.'—Micah v. 2.

" One Jew replied, ' The prophet does not say this.'

"*I.* Indeed, it is surprising that you who are the rabbies in Israel should be so little acquainted with the Word of God.

"*He.* Do you think we read the Bible so much ? Why should we do so ? Is there any wisdom in the Bible ? In the Talmud there is wisdom.

" Another said, ' Well, you say this is written in the Bible ; it may be, but as we have no Bible here, we cannot argue any longer. ' Come to our houses, then we will open our books and see who is in the right.' To this I agreed, and promised to call upon them." P. 85.

The following interesting yet mournful account is given of pilgrims in the Holy City :—

" *May 1.*—The streets of Jerusalem are again cleared of the throng of pilgrims which has for two months rendered them nearly impassable. Their number this year was unusually large. There were 2500 Greeks, 2000 Armenians, 300 Copts, about 1000 Latins, and 1000 Mahometans. These last came from the neighbouring villages and mountains, with flags, drums, and coraets ; after which followed a number of half-naked dervishes, who looked and behaved like so many franticks ; and they again were followed by a mixed multitude of men, women, and children, who sang and halloed as they went along. It was not, however, Jerusalem that they were anxious to visit, but the grave of Moses, which, according to their traditions, is in the mountains near the Dead Sea, to which place they resort. The Greeks go in a body to the Jordan, accompanied by a large escort, frequently with the Pasha himself at the head of it. The Armenians are not allowed by their patriarch to follow the Greeks to the river, for fear of disputes and battles. During this procession to the Jordan, the Arabs are on the watch for stragglers, whom they attack and rob : they are always clever enough to find some. This year some English travellers fell into their hands, whom they stripped of everything. It is not unworthy of the physiognomist to observe the countenances of the pilgrims as they approach and enter the Holy City. Some dismount before the gates, as they consider it a sacrilege to ride into the Holy City. Some remain for a while standing and gazing at the walls of the once glorious city. You can read their thoughts upon their foreheads ; you imagine you hear them exclaim, ' We are at the end of our

" 'journey ! we have reached Jerusalem ! and now we shall behold all
 " 'the holy places enclosed within these walls !' You may often see
 " tears of joy sparkling in the pilgrim's eye. Some enter the city in
 " haste, and their first question is, ' Where is the Holy Sepulchre ? ' and
 " having received the answer, they rush forward to obtain a sight of it ;
 " whilst others proceed slowly and solemnly along the streets looking at
 " every stone, at every spot, at every house, and at every man with eager
 " curiosity. If you take your stand at the Holy Sepulchre itself, you
 " again perceive these various emotions of the pilgrim's heart expressed
 " upon his visage. As soon as they have arrived in front of the edi-
 " fice, some rush forward to enter immediately the gates of the supposed
 " sanctuary ; whilst others kneel down in the square before the building
 " to offer up their prayers : they then examine minutely everything out-
 " side before they enter. I am convinced that many of the pilgrims visit
 " the Holy City with a devout spirit, with an earnest longing to behold
 " the sacred spot where the Saviour of man was born, lived, went about
 " doing good, taught the way of heaven, suffered, was buried, rose again,
 " and ascended into heaven. If these men were spoken to ; if to them
 " the word of life were preached ; if it were given to them to take it as
 " their guide through life, what an impression, what a lasting impression
 " would it make on minds like these ! But alas ! this is not the case.
 " While the pilgrim is led about to visit the spots considered holy by
 " that church to which he belongs, those which are in the possession of
 " other churches are pointed out to him as ridiculous and fabulous, and
 " without foundation. The pious Greek pilgrim, for instance, will not
 " fail to kiss fervently the pillar which stands on the left hand as you enter
 " the sepulchre, because the legend is, that once the holy fire burst out
 " from it ; and the opening from whence the fire is said to have proceeded
 " is still to be seen. The Latin and the Armenian, on the contrary, pass
 " by and pity the poor deluded Greek. Having finished the round of
 " visits, the pilgrim is free to do as he likes best. Time hangs heavy
 " upon him ; what is he to do ? The coffee-houses, the music, and the
 " gin-shops are open to him to while away his time. It will hardly be
 " credited that these places are crowded during the season with pilgrims
 " from morning to night. Not only is this the case with the ordinary
 " places, but Greeks even come from Cyprus to open drinking-shops
 " during the time of pilgrimage. And you may often see scenes of such
 " a nature as might be expected anywhere but in the Holy City. As soon
 " as Easter day is over, the pilgrims begin to depart, and in a few days
 " all is quiet, and silent again and still are the desolate streets of Jerusa-
 " lem. I am fully convinced that many of the pilgrims leave the city

"with less elevation than they entered it. Each pilgrim pays a certain sum to the convent of his religion, whether he be poor or rich. The Latin convent, however, is an exception to this rule. They receive every person, without distinction of creed; and if he is poor they provide for him for a whole month, after which time he is requested to leave to make room for others." Pp. 186—88.

With reference to missionary labours, very much is found in this Journal of a highly encouraging nature; but we are not anxious to rest the claims of the bishoprick upon its success, and much less upon that part of its success which man can discern. It is, however, very easy to defend it even on the score of its fruits, and we earnestly recommend this volume, as shewing indisputably that there is a shaking among the dry bones of the house of Israel. Our duty is, however, clear, as the written Word places the Jew in a pre-eminence, at least as a sign of a world renewed and converted. Mr. Ewald has borne the burden of labour, and we will allow him to speak for himself as to one or two blessed results of his labours.

"This morning, at a special Hebrew service, at seven o'clock, Rabbi Eliezer, Rabbi Benjamin, Isaac Hirsch, and Simon Fränkel were baptized by the Bishop in the holy tongue.

"Holy joy filled my heart when I beheld these four men receiving the sacrament, by which they were made members of the body of Christ. May the Lord bless, keep, and preserve them from all evil! Amen. There was, indeed, something which marred my joy, which was the absence of Rabbi Abraham. For years had he been the faithful companion of Rabbi Eliezer and Rabbi Benjamin; he had the same convictions, but he could not leave his wife; the struggles between natural affection and spiritual blessings were too hard for him, and he returned. Poor man! who cannot pity him? What Christian will not pray for him? I saw him a short time since, and spoke to him; he looked cast down, melancholy, and pale like death. I am of opinion that it will be too much for him to be constantly striving against his inward convictions; he must finally succumb. Mr. Nicolayson preached from John xvi, 24. I preached in the afternoon, in German, from Jeremiah iii, 12, 13, 14. This was one of the happiest Sabbaths I have spent in the Holy City." P. 191.

Again,

"I mentioned on a former occasion that a young rabbi, whose acquaintance I had made on the coast of Africa, and who is now here, was secretly inquiring into the truth as it is in Jesus. On Saturday last he called again and said, 'I must now open my heart to you. At

" ' the time you spoke to me in Africa, I began diligently to search the
 " ' Scriptures, and my faith in Rabbinism was shaken when I found
 " ' that the system of the rabbies overthrows the Word of God. From
 " ' Africa I went to Europe ; but I never lost sight of inquiring into
 " ' the truth of Christianity. Still many doubts remained on my mind,
 " ' which you have removed since my arrival here. I am a Christian in
 " ' heart, and now come to ask your advice as to what I shall do under
 " ' these circumstances, with regard to my wife and children.' I spoke
 " ' seriously and affectionately to him, and gave him the best advice I
 " ' could, at the same time inwardly praising God, that he had been
 " ' pleased to make me instrumental in bringing this lost sheep of the
 " ' house of Israel to the saving knowledge of Christ Jesus. I well re-
 " ' member how the proud and high-minded young rabbi behaved, when,
 " ' for the first time, I addressed him on the sea-side in Susa. He then
 " ' said, ' You wish to convert us to Christianity ; you will never succeed
 " ' in Israel ! I am endeavouring to convert Christians to Judaism.' I
 " ' met him a second time at Sfax, and again pointed out to him the way
 " ' of salvation. For eight years the seed thus sown laid, as it were,
 " ' dormant, but the Spirit of God seems now to have watered it. May
 " ' it bring forth fruit to eternal life !' Pp. 197—98.

We will conclude our quotations with the following particulars as to
 the distribution of alms among the Jews at Jerusalem :—

" We now know the exact number of German Jews residing in Jeru-
 " salem ; viz. about 500 belonging to the Perooshim, and 123 to the
 " Chasidim, altogether 623. They were numbered a few weeks since,
 " on the occasion of the return of the messenger who had been sent to
 " Italy to collect money. The Jews in Italy only allow a messenger
 " from Jerusalem to visit them once in ten years for the purpose of col-
 " lecting money. This messenger ought always to be the Chief Rabbi
 " of the Spanish Jews, and he is allowed forty per cent. for his trouble.
 " The Chief Rabbi, however, never goes, but delegates another, who
 " gives him fifteen per cent., and keeps twenty-five per cent. for his
 " trouble. This messenger had been absent more than four years, and
 " brought a very handsome sum back, viz. 46,000 francs, or nearly
 " 1900*l*. From this sum the Spanish Jews take two-thirds, and one-
 " third goes to the German Perooshim. The Chasidim receive no-
 " thing. The German Jews divide their share in the following man-
 " ner :—About half remains in the hands of the rulers of the synagogue,
 " to defray running expenses ; the other half is distributed among the
 " members of the congregation, who are divided into three classes ; viz.
 " rabbies of the first class, rabbies of the second class, and Amharazim,

"i. e. unlearned: of the unlearned, each received this time about thirty
 "five piastres (about 6s.) of the Italian money; the learned of the
 "first class, fifty-five piastres; and the second, forty-four piastres.
 "What a small sum, after all, comes to each! Would it not be much
 "better, if the Italian Jews collected the money for their poorer bre-
 "thren themselves, and transmitted it through a banking-house? All
 "the enormous expenses attendant on the present system would then be
 "saved, and the poor Jews here would have the benefit of it. At pre-
 "sent nearly half remains in the hands of the collector, and a third is
 "wasted in travelling expenses; thus it happens that the really poor
 "only obtain a trifle, which is not worth the name of a contribution."
 Pp. 188—99.

In closing our review of this valuable little work, we can but allude to Dr. McCaul's "Old Paths," which is so frequently alluded to by Mr. Ewald. It is, without any doubt, the great book for the overthrow of Judaism, and is far better known among the Jews than among us Gentiles. Dr. McCaul will never be able to present the world with one more valuable, though he may write many of more general popularity. Mr. Ewald's Journal throws no small light on its usefulness, and the closer the contact is with learned Jews, so much the more will it be valued. We strongly recommend these two works to our readers; and in taking leave of Mr. Ewald, we earnestly pray that he may long be spared, and that he may see much fruit of his labours.

ON THE CORRELATIVE RIGHTS AND DUTIES OF PRIVATE JUDGMENT.

IN denying the right of private judgment in the interpretation of Scripture, Romanists and Tractarians appear to lose sight of the following principle, which we believe that not even they will seriously contest; viz. that the duty imposed upon mankind to serve God in the singleness of their heart, and according to their inward conviction, is an obligation from which no one can excuse himself or be excused, without justly meriting the consequences of its violation. The fulfilment of this duty, no obstacle, no circumstance, no external cause what-

ever can legitimately oppose, restrain, or annul. The basis of unlimited religious liberty establishes the right of all men to examine, select, and embrace that outward form of religious worship which may seem to them most consonant to the Divine revelation. Under no circumstances can this right be evaded or denied, but by overbearing intolerance or tyrannical injustice. Even in France and Belgium, as well as in our own country, the principle, that "God alone is the controller of conscience," and that all should be alike free to choose, and equally protected in their religious profession, forms one of the fundamental declarations of the constitution. To oppose this principle, therefore, is to disavow the spirit of our cherished institutions—to trouble the peace of the state—to become traitors to our country, and open despisers of the law.

It follows from this axiom, as a necessary corollary, that no man is bound to persist in the profession of a particular form of religion, after he has discovered that error exists in it; and that if he does so, such a profession is no longer for him anything more than an outward form, devoid of all substantial efficacy. Further, deducing only the strict consequences that follow the admission of the same principle, we affirm, that he who, finding himself in this situation, still continues outwardly to profess a belief which he inwardly feels and knows to be opposed to Scripture,—a worship which is no longer the worship of the heart,—may, we grant, be considered a prudent man, and a wise man in his generation, but nevertheless he forfeits, by that single fact, all claim to character for candour, for courage, and for sincerity, which are qualities essential to constitute an upright and an honest man.

It was this right to embrace and possess that form of faith which appeared to them most adapted to their spiritual wants, that the 3000 Jews asserted, when, touched with compunction at the preaching of St. Peter, they abandoned the law of Moses, to embrace the liberty of Christ. It was this right which was claimed by the inhabitants of Antioch, of Alexandria, of Corinth, of Ephesus, and of Rome, when from dumb idols they turned to the worship of the living God. Of this right, the Waldenses, the Albigenses, and a crowd of other Christian communities availed themselves, when they refused to be bound by any other rule of faith than that which the Word of God prescribes. It was this right to which one-half of Europe appealed, when, in the sixteenth century, she threw off the yoke of Rome. It is in the exercise of this right, that, at different periods since, some individuals have been led to return to the bosom of the Latin Church, and others to abjure the doctrines and communion of Rome, to embrace those of Calvin, of Luther, or of Knox.

But if all thus can and may freely profess the faith they have adopted, all should be equally ready to defend and propagate it by such lawful weapons of argument and persuasion as may appear to them most effectual. This is the undertaking we have proposed in entering upon this discussion. In dealing, however, with facts, in appealing to the rigorous principles of common sense and the Gospel, we shall be careful to separate from the main question everything that is foreign to it; we shall avoid every kind of personality; and if, in the course of a debate so serious, we are compelled to denounce error as error, and to attack every opinion wherein we may conceive error to lie hidden,—if we manifest severity towards doctrines, and appear intolerant towards principles,—yet we trust and believe that we shall be found abounding in indulgence and urbanity towards *persons*. Above all, we shall endeavour, while approaching the dangerous and seducing regions of controversy, never for one moment to lose sight of the strict rules of Christian charity, from whose wholesome restraints we could not, if we would, be free, without shocking the feelings and offending the delicacy of our readers. We may thus hope that from the clashing of opinions the spark of truth may be struck forth, and shed so bright a light around, that many may be illuminated by its rays; for it is by “speaking the truth in love,” that we are taught to “grow up into Him in all things, which is the head, even Christ”

The Romanists contend, that the power of interpreting the Holy Scriptures is exclusively vested either in an *Eccelesiastical Tribunal*, such as a general council; or in a supreme Judge of Controversy, such as the Pope: whereas we assert that it belongs to every individual Christian, without exception.

Now, the Roman Catholics argue from the following mistaken analogy. They liken the Divine Law to human legislation; and because this latter is referred to certain tribunals for explanation, and is there applied according to the cases which are presented for adjudication, they assert that a tribunal or supreme judge is equally necessary for the explanation of the Sacred Code; and by way of induction, conclude, that *the people*, the *simple laity*, have neither the right to read the Holy Scriptures, nor the capacity to understand them. We hold, on the contrary, that every man is perfectly at liberty to study and to interpret for himself the Word of God, and that he can therefrom gather all that is necessary to enable him to assure his ultimate salvation, and regulate his immediate conduct. Consequently, we regard as useless every supreme judge or interpreter of Scripture, and recognise no man as such. Before, however, we proceed to combat directly their doctrine and to defend our own, we must remark that there

is at least a great indecency in assimilating, as our opponents do, the work of Infinite Wisdom to that of weak and sinful mortals, limited, contracted, and confined in their most extended views. The Holy Scripture, or the Law of God, is *eternal* and *immutable*; it is *perfect*; it is the *true light*. Thus it is defined and characterised by God himself. And yet from that throne *which He fills so worthily*, and where He reigns for ever, as sovereign Lord of all, they dare attempt to drag Him, in order to reduce Him to the level of man, his subject. They compare the law of God with laws which are but *transitory* and *temporal*, always accompanied by folios of sad *errata*, the invariable and bulky appendix of all human legislation. Surely the law of a Being infinitely perfect must and ought to hold a rank superior to the civil law; and although the latter may require a judge to interpret it, and a tribunal to apply it, it does not therefore follow that the former should be subject to the same necessity. Not only does this method of reasoning from analogy strike us as being neither conclusive nor complete, but we wonder at man's boldness in adopting such an argument; and because of the profound respect with which the law of God inspires us, we cannot see, without emotion, that law degraded, and bound up with the ever-changing and imperfect laws of men.

This divine law, however, according to the Church of Rome, does require an *interpreter* to reveal it,—to explain and declare the sense, which they assert to be perfectly incomprehensible to any other than himself. But where will they find the man endued with so important functions? No ordinary person can be sufficiently qualified satisfactorily to fulfil them. Consequently, *infallibility*, or the impossibility of forming an erroneous judgment, is a quality which must indispensably belong to the interpreter. For, if this quality be absent, what confidence can be reposed in him? How can we build our faith and hopes upon explanations or decisions, which, after all, may be deceptive and contrary to the meaning which the Word of God intended to convey? It follows, therefore, that this interpreter of Scripture must be free from all suspicion of error, mistake, or contradiction; otherwise we stake our conscience, our Christianity, our salvation, on the hazard of a doubtful interpretation. But where is the man, where is the assembly of men, who dare confidently assert themselves to be, or whom others would regard as, infallible? Why, there has never been a man, since the days of the Apostles, whom God hath endowed with infallibility, so that he could, without possibility of error, clothe the Word of God in written characters, and so hand them down an uncorrupted guide to future generations.

A second guarantee which he must necessarily afford who sets up for the *Supreme Interpreter* of Scripture, is an *authority* duly recognised and well authenticated. It will be at once allowed, that no man, who announces himself the sovereign arbiter in what intimately concerns our eternal happiness, or our eternal misery, should be believed on his simple assertion merely. It is indispensable that he display his *credentials*. If he have them, they ought not, and they cannot be, founded upon anything but the Holy Scriptures, since they comprise the sole charter of the Church's constitution. In order, therefore, to convince himself of the legality and validity of these assumed powers, every Christian has a right, and, indeed, is under an obligation to verify them by a reference to Holy Writ; otherwise he evidently runs the risk of submitting his conscience to the guidance of an imposter. It is necessary, then, that, previously to submitting to the interpretation which he is to receive from his supreme judge, the Christian should examine the Scriptures by the unassisted light of his own reason, in order to assure himself of the authenticity of the claims of the *interpreter*. Now, the faith which results from this examination must be either *certain* or *dubious*. If it is *certain*, and that, too, independently of any infallible interpretation, why may not the same result ensue in all other cases where the sense of Scripture is plain? And this being conceded, what is the advantage derived from the judge who is set up? Where is the need of him? And if, on the other hand, the faith which results from the examination of the credentials of the judge be *doubtful*, it necessarily follows that these credentials themselves are doubtful too; and, therefore, we cannot pretend to receive his decisions as infallible.

But, further, will the strictest Romanist maintain that the passages of Scripture that refer to an *Infallible Church* are very numerous or wholly unequivocal? Surely not; they consist chiefly of general promises of divine support and consolation, or of injunctions to obey the Church; most of which, as appears by the context, allude solely to the maintenance of the *moral* discipline so necessary in a community of Christians living under a heathen government. Of this nature is the 17th verse of the 18th chapter of Matthew,—“Tell it to the Church, “but if he neglect to hear the Church, let him be to thee as a heathen “man and a publican;” where it is evident, from the two verses which precede it, that the allusion is simply to an act of *ecclesiastical discipline*, concerning the reconciliation of two persons, where the one who had injured the other is called upon to acknowledge and repair his wrong. Even the promise made to St. Peter (upon which so much

stress is laid), that the gates of hell should not prevail against the Church, appear, after all, but a simple prediction of final triumph to the Christian religion, in the fulfilment of which we are perfectly satisfied, when we find that religion, after a lapse of eighteen hundred years, still flourishing, nor offering any symptom of decay. While, however, Romanists are unable to produce one single passage of sacred writ which establishes, or even appears to favour, their doctrine of a supreme interpreter of Holy Scripture, we can bring forward a multitude of clear and positive texts which completely overthrow that doctrine, and firmly establish our own, namely, that every man is at liberty to read and capable of understanding the written Word of God.

Such is the 15th verse of the 12th chapter of St. Matthew, wherein our Lord, speaking to *all* the people assembled round him, warns them to "beware of false prophets." Such is the 1st verse of the 4th chapter of the First Epistle of St. John, wherein the Apostle, addressing himself to all Christians, without exception, says, "Beloved, believe not every spirit, *but try the spirits* whether they are of God; because many false prophets are gone out into the world." Such is the 5th verse of the 39th chapter of St. John's gospel, wherein Jesus Christ says to *all* the Jews who listened to him, "*Search the Scriptures*, for in them ye think ye have eternal life, and they are they which testify of me." In all these passages, the sacred *right* and *duty* of every man, to read and meditate of the Word of God, are established on the most conclusive evidence; the right of all, without distinction,—of the *laity*, as of the *clergy*—of the ignorant, as of the learned—of him who is taught, as of him who teaches. There is here no question about a *judge* or *supreme interpreter*. It is a simple question of *individual examination*—of the anxiety which all mankind should feel to study the Word of God, if they would know the Lord, and the road that leads to life eternal. And when, as a further confirmation of our argument, we remember that St. Paul, speaking to *all* the faithful of the church of Thessalonica, says, "*Prove all things*, hold fast that which is good;" when, speaking equally to *all* the members of the church of Corinth, he says, "I speak as to wise men, *judge ye what I say*,"—is it possible to suppose that he recognised the necessity of any supreme judge of the sense of Scripture? No. "Judge ye what I say," he says to *all* the church of Corinth. Therefore, from these passages, so express and clear, as well as from many others which it is needless now to cite, we cannot but conclude, that upon every man is imposed the *right* and *duty* of reading, as well as the power of comprehending the sense of Holy Scripture; and that every human agent that sets himself up as a supreme

judge or infallible interpreter of the Law of God must be rejected, as assuming powers to which he has no lawful claim.

We might here close our argument ; but, since the Church of Rome makes this a fundamental doctrine, and considers it as one of the most important of all the questions that divide our respective communions, and since the Tractarians have adopted it among the many Popish tenets to which they have stood godfathers, we will advance a step further, and consider it under some other point of view.

The great argument against the expediency of the unlimited exercise of private judgment is, the variety of discussions and errors to which it leads. Papists ask whether it is not incredible that this should be the will of Providence,—whether it is not certain that there must be somewhere a constantly accessible oracle, able to solve each new doubt, and detect each new heresy as it arises. Let us, then, suppose the existence of an infallible interpreter of Scripture. We will suppose that all the world were agreed (although they never have been) as to the individual endowed with this illustrious distinction. We will even suppose him to be the Pope, although a large body of Roman Catholics themselves hold that the infallibility exists only in the general council, and not singly in the Pope. Now, by what method would the Pope, the sovereign arbiter of the sense of Scripture, publish to the world his interpretation ? He could only do it either by *writing*, or by *word of mouth*. But, if he does it by means of a *written commentary*, who will guarantee that it shall not be quite as possible to misunderstand the *interpretation* as the Scriptures themselves, and that, therefore, this *interpretation* may not, in its turn, require an *interpreter* ? And if this be admitted, (as it must), it follows that another *infallible interpreter* is required, and so on for ever ! The history of the bull *Unigenitus* proves that this is by no means a gratuitous supposition. But if, on the other hand, it is by *word of mouth* that the interpreter gives his decision, it is evidently impossible that all Christendom could receive it *immediately* from him : whence it results, that they must receive it *mediately*, through the channel of one or more *fallible* persons. But, then, what is their faith but a human faith, whose certainty is weakened in exact proportion as the number of intermediate agents is increased ?

In fact, we can, according to this doctrine, be *assured* of nothing concerning religion, that we have not actually learnt immediately from the mouth of the Pope himself. Having the sole and exclusive right to open, to comprehend, and to explain “certainly” the Word of God, the Pope alone, in person, can with any certainty instruct the people ; for if

he evangelise the world, if he exhort or teach by means of his cardinals, legates, bishops, or priests, since these latter are not themselves infallible, and may, therefore, deceive themselves in transmitting or explaining the decisions of the sovereign Pontiff, it necessarily follows, that the faith which is received on their authority must ever be hazardous and doubtful, since the suspicion or the fear that they may have deceived themselves can never be fully overcome. Thus, in order that men should possess a faith firm and "nothing wavering," such as the Holy Spirit requires, it is absolutely necessary that they should *all* proceed to Rome to study Christianity, or that the Pope himself should come to each of them to teach it. Therefore, of all the thousands of mankind who bear the name of Christians, but who have not received immediately the lessons of the pretended head of the Church, not one can hold the language of St. Paul, and say, "I *know* whom I have "believed." And, indeed, the very parish priest himself, consulted by his flock, cannot answer them on his own authority, without hazarding the risk of misleading the conscience of his people. Previously to pronouncing a decided opinion, he must consult the *infallible judge*, in order to obtain a right decision; and, even when that decision reaches him, the mere possibility that it has undergone some alteration through the intermediate *fallible* channels by which it has been transmitted to him, or the mere possibility of a misconception on his own part of its full meaning, must be quite sufficient to raise doubts within his own breast, and within the breasts of those who may consult him. Such are the rigorous and logical consequences we deduce from the Romish doctrine of infallibility, and the denial of the right of private judgment. It must be at once perceived that they are absurd, and they are so because the principles on which they are founded are themselves absurd.

We will next shew, that the vaunted result of a *unity of belief*, which the Papists attribute to the doctrine of a supreme judge of the sense of Scripture, is one which it has never produced.

If a tribunal, a judge, or an infallible tribunal such as they propose, could, by a certain Evangelical foresight, prevent the troubles, the schisms, the disputes, the heresies that spring up, and could really procure for the Church a unity of faith, of discipline, and of worship, we should be compelled to allow, that, in this respect, the judge would be certainly serviceable. But is not this perfect conformity itself absolutely unattainable? This pretended *unity*, which they oppose unceasingly, and, as they think, triumphantly, to the acknowledged diversity of opinion which exists among Protestant communions,

does it really exist at all? Do they not, in fact, take credit to themselves for an uniformity of doctrine and discipline which is perfectly unknown among them? Are there no Dissenters and Non-Conformists within their pale? What are the Jansenists, the Molinists, the Illuminati, the Gallican, and many others? Do not all these form so many different sects in the bosom of the Romish church? And how would it be with them were all their clergy free; like the Protestant priesthood, boldly to declare their opinions? For, despite the constraint which spiritual *authority* imposes, holding captive so many struggling thoughts, and forcing its odious gag into the mouth of free discussion, were we to confront and compare the *mandates* and *pastoral addresses* which they have published during the last ten years alone, what differences of opinion, and what discordant sentiments, should we not discover! Thus, that *unity*, which the Romanists oppose to us as a triumphant argument, is, after all, chimerical; and in this respect, as in all others, their *supreme interpreter* is useless.

Nor is this all; for this doctrine, which we have already shown to be useless, dangerous, and destitute of all reasonable foundation, is also contrary to the opinion and practice of the Primitive Church. To prove this assertion, we have but to appeal to the method of interpreting Scripture adopted by the early and most celebrated Fathers. This method, since adopted and pursued by all Protestants, consists in comparing Scripture with Scripture, explaining that which is obscure or equivocal by that which is positive and clear. This is the rule of Origen, handed down by Fleury, the church historian. This is the rule also of Irenæus, of Ambrose, of Chrysostom, of Basil, of Augustin, and many others. "There is much obscurity in the Scriptures," says one; "but if, with the hand of his spirit, God knocks at the door of those mysteries, He speedily reconciles to our reason what is written; and the door of our understanding could be opened by no other key than the written Word of God itself supplies." "In order to explain obscure passages," says another, "let us be guided by those that are clear." "Things that seem obscurely written in one place, are perfectly clear in another," says a third. "The demonstrations of Scripture," adds Irenæus, "can only be proved by Scripture. A scriptural explanation is always legitimate and safe." "The words of the Gospel," says Augustin, "carry their own interpretation with them; let us study the dark passages by those that are light; that which is obscurely hinted at in one place, is clearly expressed in another." Such was the method practised by the Fathers of the Church in interpreting Holy Scripture, and such should be ours. This is the only method that we can and ought to follow; and it cer-

tainly proves that the Church, at the times of these illustrious writers whom we have cited, did not admit the doctrine of an *infallible interpreter*, which it has since asserted, and which is founded on an exaggerated opinion of the obscurity of the Holy Bible. We do not mean to say that every truth is equally clear and manifest, but we do maintain and hold, that, on points of real importance, it is impossible for any commentary of the Church to give the meaning of the Bible in less ambiguous language. An angel from heaven could not persuade men who will not comprehend what is plainly told them; and we know that inspiration has declared, that, when conscience and common sense are silenced, an angel from heaven would plead in vain.

This being so, to what purpose a *judge* or *supreme interpreter* of Scripture? Why deny to the people that "Scripture, given by inspiration of God, and so profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness?" Why, in defiance of the express command of Jesus Christ, interdict the reading of his Word, and, forbidding men to draw from the pure source of true light and perfect wisdom, compel them to believe blindly, and without examination, on the reported faith of others? Is it not absurd that reasoning and intelligent beings, created in the image of God, should be reduced to the necessity of making no use of the most noble faculties with which heaven has endowed them? Is it not absurd that an arbitrary authority should seek to impose a yoke which would constrain us to see only with another's eyes; to hear only with another's ears; to hide in the ground the talent God has confided to us; to renounce all exercise of reason or opinion, and to remain absolutely and stupidly passive, although the question concerns the most grave and important interests of this life, and the still weightier and immortal interests of the next? What! we give the most scrupulous attention to every petty detail of the present world—we take all sorts of precautions to avoid being overreached in our buying and in our selling—we count the money we lay out—we examine, we weigh, we scrutinise the merchandise we propose to purchase, and assure ourselves of its quality;—and yet we are told to practise an exactly contrary rule with reference to religion! We are directed to remain in stolid moral inactivity concerning that which is far more interesting than earthly barter,—concerning that which intimately blends itself with our actual state of temporal well-being and eternal destiny! No; the doctrine we have been examining is absolutely untenable. Surely we have sufficiently demonstrated, that the authority of a *supreme interpreter* is destitute of all foundation; that it ought to be rejected as tending to rob man of his human rights, by reducing him from the rank of reasonable beings

to that of a mere machine; and that he who submits himself to its sway, is no better than a puppet in a skilful mechanician's hand. We would entreat all wise and liberal minds to consider the arguments we have advised. Protestants are not malignant enemies to the Romish church, but are unwilling to stake their souls upon her infallibility: they do not insolently despise, with the pride of ignorance, what they are unable to comprehend, but are fearful of being guilty of presumption, by making her peculiar doctrines matter of religious obligation.

We are almost ashamed to have laboured so long in proving what, to every candid mind, must have all the certainty of axiomatic truth, viz. that what God has *sent* unto all, should be *possessed* and *perused* by all. But the cause of truth requires that we not merely form a demonstration of the truth, but that we silence, if possible, the gainsayer. And this latter is by far the more difficult task of the two. It is impossible for us to say that the silencing of the gainsayer has been in the present discussion in one instance accomplished, because, for this purpose, there must concur both sound argumentation, and a docile and unprejudiced understanding. It has, however, been our endeavour to provide the former; it is for our readers to exercise the latter. Meanwhile, let us never forget that Christianity was planted, and has grown up in storms; and, although at times it has bent its head beneath the hurricane of controversy, no sooner has the gale swept by, than it has again proudly looked towards heaven, with only its withered branches snapped away, leaving the giant tree still to flourish in its own integrity.

SPRING, A PILGRIM.

COME ye to claim a lodging for your lady,
Blythe swallow, harbinger of young-eyed Spring,
Whose smiles and tears are ever alike ready?
Yes, she shall have it! Let the glad woods fling
Out their green hangings, and each laughing spring
Leap noisy up, for our young queen is coming—
Sweet Spring, who is for ever on the wing,
Sweet Spring, who round the world is ever roaming.

Time was, she was not ever, ever roaming,
But Eden was her fix'd and happy court;
And her waved sceptre, its green shades illuming,
Spell-bound all nature in unending sport;
Warblings and love rang round her wild resort,
And lightsome lawn, deep glen, and vista shady
Ne'er sorrow'd that her stay, though sweet, was short,
For ever with them staid that lovely lady.

THE IMPRISONED NUN'S LAMENT.

By her an empty pitcher and basket, on her breast a dead child.

Nor, not a drop!

To cool this bloody, burnt, and blister'd tongue;
And long, long since the milk did stop
To which my baby clung!

This stifling air,

How thick it beats upon my throbbing brain!
My damp cell on my forehead bare
Drips like a maddening rain.

I was a fool

To creep to catch it on my cracking lips;
The slow drops cannot, could not cool—
'Tis fire that on me drips.

Oh! madden me!

Kill me, ye tantalising torturing drops!
Oh! lay me with mine infant, free
From fears or fiercer hopes!

Sweet face! how cold—

How icy cold! it chills e'en my poor heart;
Go, go! I cannot longer hold
Thee there, as now thou art.

And yet—one kiss!

It is as though I kiss'd thy sire, my child;
Of all dark thoughts there needed this
To drive me wholly wild!

Where is he? where?

And what? oh, what? perjured or broken-hearted?
It is too merciless despair
To know not how we're parted.

He would have come—

He would have come, but ye did keep him far.
Was it not so? oh! will not some
Tell me how these things are?

He would have come

That fatal night, to snatch me from my shame;
My dread and death—outdoing doom;
And yet—he never came.

Friends—Friends of earth!

Myself, my babe, my baby's sire ye've slain:
But at the portals of God's wrath
Our blood cries not in vain.

Ye echoes round,

Ye hear my groans, my ravings, and my prayers;
Tell the indignant round
Of earth—the crime is theirs!

Hide it not, God!

Ope to the lands this man-invented Hell:
Make man thy bloody rod,
To scourge his fellows fell.

But—they told me

My time for penitence and prayer was past,
That God—their God and mine—did hold me
A reprobate outcast.

They lied unto

My woman's fears—to my weak faith they lied.
 Son of a woman ! thou shalt shew
 Me faith—theirs was but pride !

This bosom rive

My broken vow—thy name at nothing set :
 My frenzy, Son of God, forgive ;
 My curse, O Christ ! forget.

NIGHTINGALES.

Northward and southward, hid in flowery stalls,
 The Nightingales their vesper anthems sing,
 Eyeing the west, where dazling daylight falls
 Subdued, yet not inglorious, like a king—
 And Eve herself, in gold and purple palls,
 Blushes that power should yield to beauty's sway.
 Soon will their anthems shake the dark'ning walls
 Of the high woods more rapturously, and they
 The pearly altars of the east will eye
 Where a serener beauty shall arise—
 Moonlight—to usher Midnight up the sky,
 To take his throne amid their ecstasies.
 Sweet smell the flowers, though daylight's colours fly ;
 In ecstasies of song let's long to live and die.
 Swift fly the shotstars—bright the planets burn—
 Immeasurably distant flash the stars—
 Soft smiles the moon—and many an angel urn
 Prepares ambrosial dews—and viewless cars
 Of happy spirits on the scented breeze
 Come softly whizzing by : the anointing oil
 Of heaven descends on nature, and the trees
 Whisper their acclamations, lest they spoil
 The rite, by waking up the sons of sin,
 Or breaking up the short sweet sleep of sorrow.
 Who bade such rest thus close and thus begin
 Each wearied day, each strength-requiring morrow ?
 Millions of birds day's Maker bless unheard,—
 Praise to *night's* Maker chants the sweetest bird.

ON THE SELF-REFUTING TENDENCY OF MR. NEWMAN'S TREATISE ON DEVELOPMENT.

THE reproduction by Mr. Newman of the theory of Moehler, in a form adapted to the minds of that unhappily large class of inquirers which he had, by his previous teaching, prepared for its reception, has been discussed in so many methods, and viewed in so many aspects, that some apology seems needed for directing attention to a new argument on the subject. The clear-sightedness with which its dangers have been detected, and the sincerity with which they have been exposed,—the numerous positions of successful attack which have been assumed, both by theological reviewers and writers of a more strictly professional kind,—might be supposed to have left no point of refutation unoccupied, no means of resistance unemployed. It has appeared, however, to the writer of the following observations, that the manner in which the tendency of Mr. Newman's argument defeats the theory which he has so elaborately propounded to the world has been hitherto overlooked; and, while the public is waiting with anxiety for the result of the promised labours of at least one divine of singular learning and accuracy on this subject, the attempt to open out some of the inconsistencies of the treatise itself will not be unacceptable.

The reader should bear in mind, that the theory of the advocates of the Roman church hitherto has been, that all the doctrines of the Council of Trent were existing in full development from the very beginning, though only partially and gradually defined as the necessity for reserve, for concealment, and for conventional forms of referring to the higher subjects of faith was removed, and as the necessity of guarding against heresies increased from age to age the subjects of definition. In support of this theory, they put forth a positive argument, derived from the testimonies of the Fathers in every age: in other words, the argument of Vincentius, "*Quod semper, quod ubique,*" &c.; and also a negative argument, which accounted, by means of the reserve of the *disciplina arcani*, for the silence of the Fathers, whenever a full testimony or satisfactory *consensus* could not be obtained. On the other hand, the theory of development introduced by Moehler, and assumed by Mr. Newman, supposes the doctrines of the Church to have undergone a continual process of development, as well as of definition, from the very first. The older controversialist holds, that truths were defined and recognised when doubted and endangered, *because they existed*

from the first, and not till then required definition. The modern theorist asserts, that they were defined and recognised as they sprang into existence, and became qualified for definition. Now, it is obvious that the two arguments are utterly incompatible with each other, as they proceed from different and irreconcilable suppositions: for the theory of development (as Mr. Newman fully admits in his introduction, and throughout his treatise) supposes a transition from one state to another, and this involves change; whereas the *quod semper* of Vincentius, and the *disciplina arcani*, presuppose a system of doctrine inflexible, perfect, and unchangeable from the very beginning; not merely existing in germ, or in part, but in full growth and development. The former advocates of Roman doctrine indignantly challenged their opponents to point to any period of time in the history of the Church in which the $\eta\upsilon\ \delta\epsilon\ \alpha\upsilon\kappa\ \eta\upsilon$ of the Arians could be asserted of any part of their system. The theory of development professes, on the other hand, not only to discover the time when particular doctrines sprang up, but to mark every stage of their progress, until the time of their full recognition and complete definition. Mr. Newman is not unconscious of the continual conflict which the former and the latter theories must sustain with one another; and hence, as a preliminary to his work, he rejects the rule of Vincentius and the *disciplina arcani*, to introduce his own theory, but, as we propose to shew hereafter, only to blind the reader, and disarm his suspicions; for he re-introduces both arguments as the proofs of his own theory, at a subsequent period of his work, under the cover of verbal ambiguities. By frequent interchanges between the terms and ideas of *development* and *definition*, *existence* and *recognition*, he contrives plausibly to sustain his own theory by the very arguments which, properly considered, would altogether dissipate and destroy it.

But let us refer to Mr. Newman himself for the definition and description of the subtle principle which he would introduce into Christianity. His very involved and parenthetical definition (at p. 27) gives us the first remarkable instance of the confusion of his own theory with that which he rejects. He first shelters his doctrine under the ambiguous words, "The increase and expansion of the Christian creed and ritual, &c., are the necessary attendants on any philosophy or polity which takes possession of the intellect and heart." Now this "increase and expansion" may be (for the passage does not decide this point) either doctrinal or formal—either a development, or a definition of an already developed doctrine, an addition in words, or one in substance. And this method of statement, it may be presumed, is adopted from the fear of startling the reader, at the very threshold of the work,

at the open assertion of changes and fluctuations in the body of Christian truth. Further on, a still more refined delicacy is exhibited, and the development is gently transferred from the truth itself to the minds of the recipients. The "highest and most wonderful truths" are, we find, communicated to the world once for all, "but could not be comprehended all at once by the recipients."

By this it would seem, that it is not the creed which expands and changes, but the mind to which that creed is addressed; and we might imagine that the theory had become pure rationalism, which supposes a development of the mind only, and forces the primitive and unchangeable forms of truth into consistency with itself as it develops from age to age, until we learn, from the following words, that there is such a continual filtration of inspired truth through uninspired minds, as to make the new system of development a mixed process which the human and the divine mind carry on together; the uninspired intellect of man receiving a colour and saturation from divine truth, and colouring and saturating it in order to transmit it to others. This most perplexing account is, however, cleared up in subsequent passages, in which Mr. Newman is thrown more off his guard, and is less fearful of exciting the suspicions or the alarm of the reader. At page 344, we find the admission, that the truths which were defined by the ancient Church were "unknown to them before," since the heresies which were contrary to it were novel and strange to them; so that a development, not less than a heresy, is a doctrinal novelty. At page 87, every true development is confessed to be "something besides" every former development; "an addition which illustrates not obscures, corroborates not corrects the body of thought from which it proceeds." At page 428, this characteristic of *addition* is proved from analogy; at page 37, "the process of the development of an idea" is described as "the germination, growth, and perfection of some living truth;" the theology of the Church is described, accordingly, as "a patient working out of one doctrine out of many materials;" the slow, painful, anxious taking up of *new elements* into an "existing body of belief," (p. 353). And, finally, we find the principle of developments opposed to that of dogmatism as antagonistic (p. 349)—a declaration more clearly than any other separating Mr. Newman's theory from the *quod semper* of former controversialists; for the dogmatic principle is inflexible, invariable, definite, and independent, while the developing one is flexible, variable, indefinite, and dependent upon certain developing influences. The one would assert the unchangeableness of the creed, the other would contend for its expansion. Not to multiply examples, the whole course and bearing of the treatise shows

development to be a continual change, an involution and evolution of principles, expanding not only of themselves and by their own internal power, but increasing by assimilation to, and amalgamation with, doctrines and principles external to the germinating truth. In the application of the theory to particular doctrines, its nature is still more clearly seen; thus, "as time went on, the doctrine of Purgatory was opened upon the apprehension of the Church," (p. 417). It is implied here, that the doctrine had fully existed from the first; and, indeed, passages of Scripture and a consensus of the Fathers of the first centuries are appealed to in proof of this existence, (p. 17). Yet, in this part of the work, the growth and increase of the doctrine from the smallest beginnings, and even from the faintest indications, is minutely detailed, (pp. 414—423). The definition of the papal supremacy is described (p. 168) as the definition of a "new power;" and yet we read at page 167, that "no doctrine is defined till it is violated." Now, the violation of a doctrine supposes its prior existence and the acknowledged rights dependent thereupon, and is incompatible with the supposition that a *new power* was defined when the doctrine of the supremacy was laid down. Here, again, the conflict is renewed between the rule of Vincentius and the theory of Mr. Newman; a conflict which he hides by ingeniously substituting the idea of "formal acknowledgment" for that of development. The doctrine respecting the dignity of a creature is admitted to be "a new sphere in the realms of light to which the Church had not yet (in the fourth century) assigned its inhabitant," but which it filled in the fifth by the exaltation of the Virgin Mary; the school of Antioch, "the fountain of primitive rationalism," leading the Church to lay down, first, the conceivable greatness of a creature, and then "the incommunicable dignity of St. Mary," (p. 407). In another passage, this worship and prerogative are said to be "no new thing in the Church, or strange to her earlier teachers." And even St. Justin and St. Irenæus are produced to prove in this case the *quod semper* argument, and to overthrow, as a necessary consequence, the argument at pp. 404—407. To reconcile the evident discrepancy in the application of the theory to this and to other doctrines, an *anticipation* of the doctrine is admitted to have preceded its formal decision. But when we bear in mind the fact, that this anticipation is uniformly sought in the writings of the Fathers, and that these, as they constitute the "tradition" of the Church, and are the depositaries of its positive and definite doctrine, cannot be cited as merely leading the way to its developments, as the mere pioneers to its definition. We must at once perceive the fallacy of the argument.

Other instances of developed doctrines are given us in the sanctity of relics, the real presence, the merit of virginity, the doctrine of penance; the first three being developments of the Incarnation, and the last of Baptism. Having laid before the reader a few specimens of the application of Mr. Newman's theory, and pointed out some of those passages which best illustrate and interpret his perplexed definition of development, we will direct attention to the more prominent instances in which he has returned to the old theory of Vincentius, whose incongruity with his own is so apparent.

At page 369, he admits, that what remains of the records of the ancient church is enough to prove that "the atmosphere of the Church" "was, as it were, charged with these developments from the first," and "testified the presence of a vast body of thought within it which one day would take shape and position." Now, it is manifest that this describes not a process of development, but of definition. The materials remain unchanged, though the form they assume becomes clear and determinate. The writer supposes the first discovery of Christian doctrine to be a chaos which is gradually moulded into form. Had he carried the analogy of the natural and spiritual creation a little farther, he would have remembered, that, as the change from the chaotic state was the direct and immediate work of Omnipotence, and not one of a development entrusted to inferior creatures, so the spiritual creation was completed in Christ so absolutely, and assumed immediately so definite and invariable a form, that it is described as "that which was from the beginning, which we have heard, which we have seen with our eyes, which we have looked upon, and our hands have handled, of the word of life." The existence of divine truth, in the state which Mr. Newman describes, is inconsistent with even the earliest of those revelations which God has disclosed to mankind. In all these there was a certain measure of positive and definite truth; and, though much was hid and kept back in the mysterious reign of type and prophecy, the truth which was underneath and withdrawn from sight was perfect and definite, and in no degree or meaning whatever was in a state of chaos or non-development. In the Old Testament, there was the *occultatio novi*; in the New, the *manifestis veteris*: the one was seen as through a glass—darkly, the other face to face. But perhaps the most remarkable admission of the contrary theory to that which the treatise is put forth to recommend, is that at page 396, which adduces proof of "the existence from the very first, whether in individual minds or in popular belief, of those doctrinal developments which afterwards became recognised portions of the Church's creed." The existence of a development

from the first must seem to the plainest reader a strange confusion of terms ; for a development is a stage of progress and advancement from some primitive state—some original type, the preservation of which, in and after the transition, is laid down in this treatise as the first test of truth in development. At page 370, the *disciplina arcani*, the negative proofs of the *quod semper* argument, is re-introduced in the admission, that silence is a proof, not that the doctrine was not held, but that it was not questioned. According to the new theory, silence would rather be a proof that the doctrine was undeveloped, unformed, or indeterminate. At page 146, we find a chain of supposition, put forth for future proof and explanation, which are identical with those advanced by the controversialists of the former school, and in which "certain doctrines" (*i. e.* the peculiar doctrines of Rome) are carried back from age to age, in one clear and unbroken system, to the time of the Apostles. It cannot require one word to prove the singular inconsistency of this hypothesis with the theory of a developing church. We find it elsewhere admitted, that "there is no question which the Apollinarian or the Nestorian heresy raised, which may not be decided in the words of Irenæus and Tertullian," (p. 11). We learn, that "the doctrine of Purgatory has almost a *consensus* in its favour of the four first ages of the Church," Tertullian, St. Perpetua, St. Cyril, St. Hilary, St. Jerome, and St. Gregory Nyssen, *definitely declaring it*," (p. 18). At p. 394, Mr. Newman subscribes to the words of another writer, who asserts, that "it is hardly too much to say that almost the whole system of Catholic doctrine may be discovered in the writings of Ignatius, at least in outline, not to say filled up in parts ;" and who, after all the deductions from the completeness of his theological system, enumerates almost all the important points of modern controversy, as settled by this Apostolic Father. Then, as if Mr. Newman were blind to the obvious truth, that if, in the next generation to the Apostles, the doctrines of the Church were so fully grown, they could have no further development, he talks of the "capabilities of the text of Ignatius for the process of subsequent development." Nor less does the theory at p. 146 tend to the overthrow of the doctrine which he seeks to establish. Here it is argued, that, as the Epistle of Ignatius and the earlier liturgies prove the doctrine of the mass, and the sacramental virtue of ecclesiastical unity, other equally clear and primitive documents may be discovered to prove other similar doctrines ; and that the clear light in which the former are thrown compensates for the imperfect light in which the latter are still placed. In this argument the supposition is involved, that all those doctrines, in whose behalf the theory of development is suggested, not only had a

positive and real existence from the first, but were even then distinctly and fully defined and recognised. A positive and negative proof, similar to that of Vincentius and the *disciplina arcani*, are put forth, to establish, from the primitive existence and recognition of certain controverted doctrines, the primitive existence and recognition of the entire system of which they form a part. No argument could be conceived more obviously opposed to that of the development of Christian doctrine. The difficulties which attend the inquiry whether any particular doctrine is a true development or a corruption, and which Mr. Newman's tests are very ill adapted to remove, are confessed by him in the words, "Real 'perversions and corruptions are often not so unlike externally to the doctrine to which they belong, as are changes which are consistent with it and true developments," (p. 61). Hence the carefully drawn resemblances between the present Roman church and the church of the first, second, third, fourth, and fifth centuries, which are given in Chap. IV, are rather marks of suspicion, than guarantees of security. The imperceptible manner in which a development is described as running into a corruption, makes it necessary that the anxious inquirer after truth should be provided with some infallible test, unless he resigns himself to the infallible guidance of the present church, in which case arguments and theories are equally vain and superfluous; for, as St. Augustine writes, "*Auctoritati credere magnum compendium est et nullus labor.*" The tests which Mr. Newman gives are not, however, calculated to enable us successfully to discriminate between a development and a corruption, for some of them are contradictory, and others impracticable.

The first test, that of the preservation of the essential idea, he has himself shewn to be "too obvious, and too close upon demonstration, to be of easy application in particular cases," (p. 65). The second test, "continuity of principles," as it depends upon the knowledge of the essential idea, which is unattainable, must inherit its inapplicability. The third, that of power of assimilation, is obviously as characteristic of corruption as it is of development. The fourth, that of early anticipation, is opposed to the entire theory. A frequent and *definite anticipation*, (p. 80), like that of Ignatius, "not in an inchoate state—not in doubtful dawns—not in tendencies, or in implicit teaching, or in temper, or in surmises,—but in a definite, complete, and dogmatic form," (p. 369),—sets aside the entire doctrine, especially when we recal the author's argument, that what has happened to the doctrines defined and transmitted by Ignatius, may happen to others; and that it is only from an imperfection of history that we have lost the evidence of their primitive truth. The fifth test, that of "logical sequence," as

once reduces Christianity to the level of human systems of philosophy; while the two last, viz. "preservative additions" and "chronic continuance," keep up the long conflict between the new and the old theories to the very last, and effectually destroy one another. For, while development implies a series of additions, and a process of change, chronic continuance is but another term for the *quod semper*, which prohibits addition and excludes change.

But there is one illustration of development, which, as it bears so forcibly upon Mr. Newman's unhappy change, demands a passing observation in conclusion. The process of a conversion from a false religion to a true one is given (at p. 88) as an instance of the principle of development in the mind itself. Now, either Mr. Newman's progress towards Rome, and ultimate change, is a true development; or it is a corruption of his first idea: if the former, he at once places the English Church in the position of the Primitive Church, of which he holds Romanism to be the only true and consistent development; if the latter, the arguments of his adversaries against him are at once admitted, and his change is a defection from the principles he held up to the time of his conversion; unless, indeed, his first idea was Roman, and he was fighting from the first under false colours—an alternative which it may be supposed he would not readily accept.

NEW ZEALAND.

"Letters from the Bishop to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel; with Extracts from his Visitation Journal, from July, 1842, to January, 1843." London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. 1845.

PERHAPS it would be difficult to point out an instance which exhibits in a stronger light the civilising power of Christianity than that of New Zealand. Although blessed with a genial climate and luxuriant soil, scarcely equalled by any other in the world, the aborigines presented, until very lately, a melancholy instance of the most degraded and fero-

cious barbarism. Indeed, such was the terror with which they were viewed by all classes of those who had occasionally touched on the shores of the island, that when, about thirty years ago, the late Mr. Marsden was desirous of proceeding from Sydney to New Zealand, for the purpose of commencing the missionary work amongst them, he was compelled to wait two years before he succeeded in obtaining a passage; and most persons regarded the attempt to propagate Christianity as savouring more of rashness than of Christian prudence, and even those who most wished for success were filled with alarm as to consequences. The Preface to this "Journal," as we learn from the initials C. B. D., is written by Mr. Dalton, chaplain to the Bishop of London, and rector of Lambeth, and its testimony is as valuable as its spirit is delightful:—

"No permanent settlement in the islands appears to have been made by any Europeans until about the year 1815, when the Rev. S. Marsden, and some other missionaries of the Church Missionary Society, passed over thither from Sydney, for the purpose of preaching the Gospel to the barbarous inhabitants of those islands.

"They established their first station in the Bay of Islands, which lies towards the north of the northern island: and it is impossible to speak with too much admiration and praise of the self-denial and zeal and patience with which they prosecuted their holy labours. This has been thankfully acknowledged by all persons interested in the welfare of New Zealand; and by no one more fully than by the present Bishop, who, having occasion, while at Sydney, to make a public address on the subject, thus alluded to the labours of the first Christian missionaries in his new diocese:—

"'The name of Samuel Marsden is indeed a memorable one in connexion with New Zealand. I cannot help thinking of the state of New Zealand now, and comparing it with that eventful night, when, after trying for two years to get a vessel to take him there, but prevented by the savage character of the natives, Samuel Marsden at length succeeded, and, landing, slept there in safety, with the spears of the savages stuck around the stone on which, like Jacob, he had laid his head for a pillow; and it is to the exertions of Mr. Marsden and his companions, that, under God, the difference is owing.'

"Through the mission thus set on foot by the Church Missionary Society, a regular intercourse was established between this country and New Zealand. No British authority, however, was constituted there until the year 1835, when an officer was sent, acting in subordination to the Governor of New South Wales. In 1839 the New Zealand Company was formed, for the purpose of colonising the

" islands, which in 1841 were declared to be an independent colony, with a governor and other local authorities. Emigrants have been sent thither in large numbers, both by the Government and the Company; and at the making up of the last returns, it was calculated that there were 10,000 Europeans in the northern island.

" Civilisation has thus been rapidly advancing; and, at the same time, that far more important work, (without which civilisation would be of little value), the spread of the Gospel, has also, under God's good providence, been carried on with a success, unexampled, it is believed, in the history of later Christian missions. The clergy of the Church Missionary Society had, from the first establishment of the Mission, been prosecuting their holy work with unwearied zeal. They had found, indeed, many difficulties to contend with, especially from the migratory habits of the people; but even this was made, by God's goodness, to turn to the furtherance of the Gospel. The missionary often mentioned it as a discouraging circumstance, that when he had had a few natives for some time under instruction, and was beginning to see the fruit of his labours, they suddenly left him for some other part of the country; but he afterwards learnt, we are told, ' to see the hand of God herein, for these people taught others far and wide, where no missionary had ever been.'

" Of the clergymen engaged in the mission on the Bishop's arrival, he writes thus :—

" ' I am much pleased with the missionary clergymen whom I have seen here. They seem to be very zealous and able ministers; and I think myself happy in having under me a body of men in whom I shall see so much to commend and so little to reprove. The state of the Mission is really wonderfully good, considering the difficulties against which they have had to contend.' " P. 6.

The result of Mr. Marsden's labours, and those who have followed him, has been seen in a most remarkable manner: instead of the savage cannibal, returning from the encounter only to glut his unnatural appetite with the blood of his victim, may now be heard the murmur of a hundred voices, reading aloud some passage of Holy Writ, and offering up their evening sacrifice of prayer and praise to the God who made them. And so well have they been grounded in scriptural knowledge, that the emissaries of Rome, ever ready to choke, with their pernicious superstitions, the good seed which is beginning to shoot forth in the soil of an infant church, have found themselves foiled on all hands by the simple and pointed appeals to the Word of God, with which they have been met by these young converts, who

seem indeed to have been endowed with a mouth and wisdom which all their adversaries (and the Romish bishop at their head) have "not been able to gainsay or resist." We can hardly imagine a more striking evidence of the effects produced on this bold race of savages, than that which is given by an incident mentioned in the last Report of the Church Missionary Society :—"The Rev. C. P. Davis gives a most striking instance of the power of the Gospel, which he himself had the privilege of witnessing. He visited a Pa at Pateriteri, belonging to two christian chiefs, Perika and Noa, who were brothers. They were expecting an attack from Ripa, a chief of Hokianga. Ripa had made an unjust demand from the two christian chiefs, and, on their refusal to comply with it, he had marched to attack them. It was at this crisis that Mr. Davis entered the Pa, and there he found them surrounded by their armed followers, engaged in solemn prayer, praying especially for the pardon of their enemies, with a white flag hoisted above their heads as a token of their desire for peace.

"Mr. Davis then went out to meet Ripa and his party; and how striking was the contrast! With their bodies naked, and their faces painted red, they were listening to addresses urging them on to vengeance and slaughter. The addresses being ended, they rushed forward toward the Pa, yelling frightfully, and dancing their war-dance, bidding bold defiance to the Christians. The Christians were assembled on the other side of the fence, opposite the enemy, while one of the christian chiefs quietly walked up and down between the two parties, telling the enemy that they were acting contrary to the Word of God; and that his party, though not afraid of them, were restrained by the fear of God from attacking them. Ripa and his party only amounted to twenty, while the Christians were one hundred strong. After many speeches had been made on both sides, one of Ripa's party, in striking at the fence with his hatchet, cut Noa on the head. This christian chief tried to conceal the wound from his tribe; but some of them saw, by the blood trickling down, that he was wounded, and instantly there was a simultaneous rush from the Pa, and every man's musket was levelled. In another moment Ripa and his whole party would have fallen; but Noa, the wounded chief, sprang forward and exclaimed, 'If you kill Ripa, I will die with him;' and then, throwing his own body as a shield over Ripa, saved him from destruction. Peace was then made between the two parties, and there was great rejoicing. 'Some years ago,' adds Mr. Davis, 'the very sight of blood would have been a signal for a dreadful slaughter.'"

They have learnt from the Europeans the arts of peace: emigrants

have gone over—lands have been cleared—towns and villages have sprung up on all sides—and it has given promise of eventually becoming one of our most flourishing colonies. It is, indeed, true, that the accounts recently received have been far from satisfactory; but still, while we must ever deplore the ravages of war, and the attendant evils thereby entailed both on the natives and the colonists, yet at the same time we cannot but look on the conduct of Hēki and his adherents as that of at least a generous though mistaken foe, and as affording convincing proof, if such were wanting, of the truth of what we have stated above.

It is quite certain, that, a few years since, every Englishman would have been expelled from the island, or massacred on the spot; but now we find them putting off their attack on our flag at the request of the missionaries, and letting the Sabbath pass, and even in the engagement, and after it, exercising great forbearance, and permitting the zealous and apostolic Bishop to perform offices of kindness to his own. At present we are manifestly in the dark, but time will throw some more light on these painful events, and we fear that our countrymen will not in every point be found to have maintained the principles laid down for their guidance by our Government. It does not become us to use harsh words to either party.

The church in this colony had increased so considerably as to call for more immediate episcopal superintendence; it having been previously under the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the Bishop of Australia, “who visited the islands at the end of the year 1838, held an ordination and two confirmations, and consecrated burial-grounds at Pahiā and Kororarika. This connexion, however, ceased on the separation of the colony from that of New South Wales; and an application was immediately made to Government to constitute the islands of New Zealand into an independent diocese.

“This step had indeed been contemplated and desired from the first foundation of the colony. A society, called the New Zealand Church Society, had been established almost for this express purpose; and the directors of the New Zealand Company had not only expressed themselves favourable to the design, but had voted considerable grants of money and land towards the accomplishment of the object.” Preface, p. vii.

These circumstances, and the statements issued by the archbishops and bishops on the part of the Association for the Endowment of additional Colonial Bishopricks, directed the attention of Government to the subject; and the result was, that, in 1841, the present Bishop was appointed to the diocese.

The Bishop, after conferring with the Bishop of Australia at Sydney on the affairs of his diocese, arrived at Auckland on the 30th May, 1842, and from thence proceeded to the Bay of Islands, where he had no sooner landed than he began to converse with the natives; and on the following Sabbath, to the great astonishment of all, preached to a crowded congregation in the Maori language, which he had acquired during his voyage out. The Bishop almost immediately appointed the Rev. W. Williams, of the Church Missionary Society, to be arch-deacon of the eastern district.

The Bishop writes, "In taking this step, I have acted upon the strongest recommendation of the Bishop of Australia, confirmed by personal intercourse with him at the Bay of Islands. Archdeacon Williams is a man universally beloved, and one who, during twenty years of residence in a savage country, has lost nothing of that high tone of feeling which distinguishes the best class of English clergymen. He will act also as one of my examining chaplains, especially for the native language; for I find the natives so interspersed among the English that I must require every clergyman to make himself acquainted with their language. My excellent friend, Mr. Whytehead, will act as my other examining chaplain; and never, I am sure, was any colonial bishop better supplied with confidential advisers.

"The power which has been accorded to me of creating archdeacons is most necessary; for the communication between the different parts of this country is very uncertain. I have now been waiting three weeks at Auckland for a passage to Wellington. The Bishop of Australia, at Sydney, is in a better position for communicating with Wellington and Nelson than I when I am at Auckland. New Plymouth is a perfect 'terra incognita.' However, my plans are now so laid, that, God willing, I hope to have seen every settlement, and every clergyman and catechist in the country, before the end of the year. But to secure the efficient administration of the Church in all parts of the diocese, each great division of the country must have its responsible head, capable of acting with authority without constant reference to me." P. 16.

On the 5th July, he set out on his visitation tour, the description of which forms the substance of the little pamphlet whose title stands at the head of this article.

There is a simplicity as well as clearness in the Bishop's method of description, that render it doubly interesting, enabling the reader to realise in a measure the scenes and incidents through which he passed.

The first place he visited was Auckland, where he found occupation

sufficient to detain him several weeks, during which time he gave audiences to the natives, among whom he distributed copies of the Gospel of St. Matthew; preached once or twice each Sabbath, and consecrated some ground set apart for the burial of the dead; and, on the 28th, accompanied by Mr. Reay, a Church Missionary, sailed for Nelson, where he arrived on Sunday, August 21st, and immediately went on shore and preached at the afternoon service of the Emigration Barracks.

"I found that the police magistrate had most kindly provided a little wooden house for me with two rooms; in one of which Mr. Reay and I are now sitting, writing letters for the ship which is to sail this afternoon.

"In a small inclosure belonging to the house stands Mr. Cotton's large church tent, a most complete cathedral, with pulpit, reading-desk, communion table, rails, kneeling-boards, &c. I have fitted it up with boards, resting on trunks of small trees let into the ground, which the natives cut for me on the day of my landing (Monday). I have thus provided seats for 200, which were well filled last Sunday.

"On Monday, August 22nd, I moved my goods on shore, and immediately pitched the church, and opened it with a native service at sunset.

"At sunrise on Tuesday, August 23rd, the natives came to morning prayers, which were conducted by Mr. Reay and myself." P. 40.

"On Wednesday, August 24th, I started at sunrise and crossed the bay, twenty miles, in the custom-house boat, to Motuaka, a native village, where the principal chief was ill. We took a surgeon with us, who ministered to him with great appearance of benefit. I conducted the native service that evening, and gave notice of an English service, for the surveyors' families and other English settlers, on the following morning. At night we spread our blankets on abundance of dry fern in an old house, built by the natives, but plastered by the English, and slept most comfortably." P. 41.

From August 30th to September 4th, "our course of life was without much variation: native services at sunrise and sunset, and English school from half-past nine to eleven, ending with the morning service—to teach the children (for other congregation unhappily there was none) to read the responses properly, and to find their places in the Bible and Prayer-book. Most of them were very little acquainted with either, but improved considerably before my departure.

"The afternoon was generally spent in visiting different persons, and seeing the native reserves, of which the Governor has appointed me a trustee. With the produce of these lands, it is proposed to found in-

"stitutions for the improvement of the natives in religion, in habits, in useful arts, in health, and in every other way that may be likely to advance them in the scale of society, and to promote their spiritual good. A very strong feeling exists among all the respectable settlers in favour of the natives, only requiring to be guided into a right direction. Finding a certainty of an income from the native property, I gave directions for the establishment of a small school for native children, and of a room for the reception of sick natives, to be placed under the care of Mr. Wilson, a very respectable surgeon, at Nelson. Observing that the natives of the surrounding villages had no place to lodge in when they came to the town to bring their potatoes and pigs for sale, I ordered some little dwellings to be built for them on an acre of their own land, where we hope ultimately to have a little hostelry.

"The hospital began its operations before my departure. As I found a poor native, lying with his party on the beach under a small piece of canvass, with a very strong internal inflammation, and evidently in a state of great danger, I made him come up to my house, and pitched one of my small tents for him, which, when filled with dry fern, made a very comfortable dwelling. There he lay with his wife to take care of him, and under the medical superintendence of Mr. Wilson, till I came away. When I left, he was rapidly recovering, and the poor people were very grateful, crying, in the native manner, at taking leave of me. Every day when I went to see him, they asked me to pray with them; and if I brought them any food, they would not touch it till I had said a grace.

"Each building in the hostelry will be appropriated to a particular village in the neighbourhood, so that the inhabitants of every village will have their own house where they can look up their goods. In the centre of the crescent there is to be a small tank, fed by a stream that comes down from the hills; here the natives will be encouraged to perform their ablutions—a salutary practice which is gaining ground among them. The use of soap is rapidly superseding red ochre and grease; in fact, I have been agreeably surprised at the comparative cleanliness of the people. On the slope of the hill, above the dwellings, there will be a little chapel, intended for their morning and evening devotions, which they never neglect; the native teacher leading a hymn, and reading the Church prayers.

"In front of the buildings there will be a low wall with a flat top, for the exposure of goods for sale, viz. potatoes, Indian corn, leeks, kumera (sweet potatoes), firewood, and pork; for all which articles the English are almost entirely dependent upon the native supplies."

The site reserved for a church and cemetery here is "a grand situation: a small mount, rising to the height of one hundred feet, in the centre of the little plain on which the chief part of the town stands, and with a flat summit, sufficient for the base of a fine building. The hills rise all around, except on the side of the sea, to the height probably of fifteen hundred feet. The site is already occupied by wooden buildings, convertible into a temporary church and school, at a small expense: and the Company's agent, Capt. Wakefield, has consented to let me have them at a valuation; by which means I can at once provide for the reverential performance of divine service." P. 47.

From Nelson he sailed to Wellington, which he reached on the 10th September.

At the commencement of Letter IV, we have the following interesting account:—

"We are spending our Sunday, (that is, Mr. Mason, Church missionary, Mr. St. Hill, land agent, and I), in a small Pa, perched on the top of a high cliff, accessible from the beach only by a winding path, terminating in a ladder.

"My situation this Sunday is exactly the reverse of that of the last. Then I was encamped on the beach, between Manawatu and Wanganui, on some low sand-hills, near Wai-Patiki, with a small stream of fresh water running into the sea a little below me. In this unpicturesque situation I was detained three days, by an inflammation in my heel, occasioned by walking over flat sands for many miles,—an exercise to which my feet were altogether unaccustomed. My little tent was pitched in the hollow of the sand-hills, and my native attendants made themselves comfortable round a large fire, under a little hut, which they soon constructed of drift-wood and coarse grass. You would be surprised with the comparative comfort which I enjoyed in my encampments. My tent is strewn with dry fern or grass; my air-bed is laid upon it; my books, clothes, and other goods lie beside it; and, though the whole dimensions of my dwelling do not exceed eight feet by five, I have more room than I require; and am as comfortable as it is possible for a man to be when he is absent from those whom he loves most. I spent October 17th, the anniversary of my consecration, in my tent on the sand-hills, with no companion but three natives, my party having gone on to Wanganui to fetch Mr. Mason's horse for me; and while in that situation I was led naturally to contrast my present position with the very different scenes in England last year. I can assure you that the comparison brought with it no feelings of discontent; on the contrary, I spent the greater part of the day, after the usual services and readings with the natives, in thinking

"with gratitude over the many mercies and blessings which have been granted to me in the past year. Indeed, in looking back upon the events of the year; upon my happy parting from all my friends; my visit to the Bishop of Australia; my prosperous voyages, eight in number; my favourable reception in every town in my diocese; my growing friendship with the natives, who have now heard of me in every part of the country, and welcome me with their characteristic cordiality; all form an inexhaustible subject for thoughts of joy and thanksgiving, which sometimes fill the heart almost to overflowing." P. 52.

He left Wellington on the 10th October, and commenced his land journey back to Auckland. "On Tuesday, October 11th, we walked five miles to the estuary of the Porirua river, and, as it was low water, skirted its shores for three miles, and then crossed to a small inn, kept by a widow Boulton, whose two children I baptized. Our course then lay through a wood to Pukerua—a native village, built on the top of a steep bank, commanding a beautiful sea view, with the island of Kapiti in the distance. From Porirua we had before seen Mana, the island off the mouth of the river. At Pukerua I conversed with and taught the natives for an hour, while my party rested, and then proceeded to Waikanai by the beach. This day's walk amounted to twenty-eight miles.

"Waikanai is the station of the Rev. O. Hadfield, who is a most valuable and zealous missionary. I enjoyed his society much during the time that he was able to accompany us on our way. We slept at his house, and the next day assembled the natives to service; more than five hundred had come from various parts, so that the chapel and the space outside the walls were quite full. I preached to them as well as I could, and gathered from their faces that they understood what I was saying. In fact, my progress through the country involves me in almost daily preaching and teaching, so that I hope soon to be fluent, if not correct. At Waikanai I saw the preparations for a new chapel on a large scale. The ridge piece was formed out of a single tree, and is seventy-six feet in length: a present from the neighbouring settlement of Otaki, which, till Mr. Hadfield's arrival, was at war with the people of Waikanai, but has made peace, and presented them with this appropriate token of friendship.

"On Wednesday, October 12th, we walked ten miles to Otaki, another of Mr. Hadfield's stations, and slept in his house, where I left the greater part of my stores, to be ready for my journey up the Manawatu river to Ahuriri, on the east coast." P. 54.

Indeed, this seems to have been the laborious way in which the Bishop

prosecuted his undertaking ; during the week, travelling sometimes on foot and at others riding, but more frequently the former, and resting at some station on the Sabbath day, where he usually preached and read prayers to attentive and devout congregations. After visiting various places on his route, amidst beautiful coast scenery, he with some difficulty reached New Plymouth, where the chief justice, Mr. Martin, had agreed to meet him. Here he obtained a clear view of Mount Egmont the "monarch of Taranaki," of which we have the following description :—

"Mount Egmont came out gloriously from his veil of clouds, and gave me a sight of his snowy summit. I was lodged in the house of Mr. Cooke, a gentleman who most kindly undertook to place his whole establishment at the service of the Chief Justice and myself ; and on going out into his garden in the morning, the view burst upon me of the whole mountain, running up in a white cone above the clouds, which were still clinging to it midway. At the foot of the grounds ran one of those beautifully clear and rapid streams, which abound throughout Taranaki ; and all around the fresh foliage of a New Zealand spring, tipping all the evergreens with a bright and sparkling verdure, formed a base upon which the white peak of the mountain reposed. My favourite verse came into my mind, 'The lot is fallen unto me in a fair ground, yea, I have a goodly heritage,' (p. 62). It is about 8000 feet high, and rises at once out of the plain, without other hills to break its apparent height. Its base is surrounded by almost impassable forests ; the skirts of which are in places in flames, for the purpose of clearing the land for cultivation." P. 64.

The Chief Justice arrived next day, when the party sailed for the island of Kapiti, and from thence, after the native service, they started in a boat for the Manawatu river, the ascent of which, in canoes, occupied them from the 8th to 11th Nov. :—"Ascending a lovely river ; lower part of course between flat banks covered with wood. Higher up, the river flows down through a beautiful mountain-pass between high cliffs, clothed with wood from the summit to the water, with bold masses of rock peeping out at intervals. In this pass is the only rapid which cannot be ascended without unlading the canoes. This occupied half an hour, and we again proceeded up the river, through a succession of perfect landscapes of soft woodland scenery. Several small native settlements on the banks, at which we stopped : at Kaiwitikitiki, the chief brought us out a present of twenty-five baskets of potatoes, which I acknowledged by a present of books. At all the places we found a hearty welcome, and a great eagerness for instruction." P. 67.

After reaching the highest navigable point of the river, they began their land journey, and encamped on a small plain at the extremity of a

wood, where, on the following day (Sunday), the Bishop conducted service to the party of natives :—"A most happy Sunday. Our camp on "a lovely little plain, bounded on all sides with wood, except on one, "where a view opened on a range of distant hills. Below us, in a very "deep valley, flowed the infant Manawatu, in a very winding channel, "with precipitous wooded banks feathering down to the stream. The "day was the perfection of New Zealand weather, which is the perfec- "tion of all climates—hot, but rarely sultry; bright, but not glaring, "from the vivid green with which the earth is generally clothed. If you "could have seen the peacefulness of our Lord's-day camp, and the re- "pose of the whole face of heaven and earth, you would have been re- "lieved from many of those fears which seem sometimes to creep "into your mind, when you think of my journeys in this country. I "took a Sabbath-day's journey round our little plain, and then returned "to the evening service with the natives.

"*Monday, November 14.*—Dived down a steep bank into a thick "wood. Crossed several heads of the Manawatu; and, to our great "joy, came out, in a few minutes, upon a noble plain, stretching as far "as the eye could reach, and covered, in almost every part, with grass, "without a bush or tree of any kind, with the exception of two small "Kahikatea clumps—the small remains of an ancient forest which had "formerly occupied the ground. To the left was the snowy range of "Ruahine, the parent of many streams, giving birth to the Manawatu, "on its western face, and on the east to five rivers—the Makareto, the "Tukipo, Tukituki, Waipawanata, and Waipawa, which, after the plain "of Rua O-Taniwha, unite into one channel, and, under the name of "Tukituki, fall into the sea a few miles south of Ahuriri. Our line of "path led across all these rivers in succession; during the first eighteen "miles, over a surface of soft grass, in general a perfect level, but to- "wards the end rising into gentle grassy downs, on which wild pigs "were ranging without fear of molestation. Their security, however, "was interrupted; for our natives, with appetites sharpened by a journey "across a country without inhabitants, gave chase and captured four." P. 69.

Again, we read—

"*Sunday, November 20.*—Services with our natives, there being no "other inhabitants. Another peaceful Sunday. The morning opened, "as usual, with the morning hymn of the birds, which Captain Cook "compares to a concert of silver bells, beginning an hour before sun- "rise, and ceasing as soon as it appears above the horizon. When the "song of the birds was ended, the sound of native voices, chanting "around our tents, carried on the same tribute of praise and thank-

"giving ; while audible murmurs on every side brought to our ears the passages of the Bible which others were reading to themselves. I never felt the full blessings of the Lord's day, as a day of rest, more than in New Zealand, when, after encamping late on Saturday night with a weary party, you will find them early on the Sunday morning, seated quietly round their fires, with their New Testaments in their hands."

P. 72.

To these we must add the following :—

"*Thursday, November 24.*—Unwell, and unable to walk from temporary indisposition. Rode one of the horses. On the way, met an Englishman in the employment of Archdeacon Williams, who came to tell us the chapel at Taranga had been blown down. *It was a noble building for native work, capable of containing one thousand persons, and frequently filled.*

"*Friday, November 25.*—Turanga, Poverty Bay. After a long day's march, the Judge riding my horse, I having recovered, we came to Turanga.

"*Sunday, November 27.*—A noble congregation, amounting to at least one thousand, assembled amidst the ruins of the chapel of Turanga. They came up in the most orderly way, in parties headed by the native chiefs and teachers, and took their places on the ground with all the regularity of so many companies of soldiers. We were placed under an awning made of tents, but the congregation sat in the sun. The gathering of this body of people was a noble sight, and their attentive manner, and the deep sonorous uniformity of their responses, was most striking. I preached to them from Acts, xiv. 16, 17, on Christ's repairing the breaches of David's fallen tabernacle, that the Gentiles might seek the Lord. I am afraid that the subject was more appropriate to the occasion than my language to the subject. During the service, Mr. Williams was duly installed as Archdeacon of Waiapu, or East Cape, and will have jurisdiction over all the country to the eastward of the 176th degree of east longitude. After the morning service, the natives formed into their classes for reading and saying the Catechism. The native character appears in this in a most favourable light—old tattooed warriors standing side by side with young men and boys, and submitting to lose their place for every mistake with the most perfect good humour." P. 74.

The following extract will supply food for reflection on many points, whether read for information or amusement :—

"*Sunday, December 4.*—A very full congregation assembled at Rangitukia, many being obliged to stay outside. After morning service, I had an English service with some settlers at the place.

" There is now scarcely one of the Mission settlements at which parties of white men have not settled, and the Missionaries very properly invite them to an English service every Sunday. In the afternoon a very large congregation assembled again at Rangitukia; and the heat of the day having gone off, we had divine service in the open air, in the shade of the chapel, the natives forming orderly rows, 'by fifty' 'in a company,' on the grass.

" *Monday, December 5.*—Made many inquiries about a short cut across from Rangitukia to Opotiki. *The natives told us that there was a war-path which the old men knew, but which had been little used for some years, and was much overgrown.* However, we resolved to try it, and started at four P.M. to Wakawitira, ten miles up the course of the Waiapu, where we assembled such of the natives as were not at their cultivations, to evening service.

" *Tuesday, December 6.*—Started with a party of about twenty natives, laden with food and armed with hatchets. Our course led up the bed of the river Waiapu, which we forded an indefinite number of times. Lovely views of the near hills, Taitai, and the other satellites; Ikurangi himself hidden in a mist. In the evening, encamped by the river.

" *Wednesday, December 7.*—Worked our way through an old Maori path, much overgrown with wood, to an old Pa, on a hill commanding a noble view of Ikurangi, which burst its veil of clouds as we reached the brow, opening one of the finest mountain landscapes that I ever saw. The Waiapu, now a narrow stream, glittered below us. Descending to the river, we resumed our course, continually crossing the winding river. Travellers more minutely curious than myself would have counted the exact number of fordings; but I contented myself with the general impression that it was a day of as much wading as walking. Lighter persons than myself are usually carried over by the natives; but I did not like to impose my weight upon men already wearied with their heavy loads. The great kindness of the natives was most striking, as I could scarcely persuade them to desist from carrying me. At four P.M. we came to the commencement of a long woody ascent, on which the natives told us we should find no water, and for that reason wished to encamp for the night. But as we had still some hours of daylight to spare, we resolved to go on, and satisfied the fears of the men by filling two Mackintosh life-preservers with water. At sunset, we found ourselves half-way up a lofty woody ridge, through which we pushed our way at the rate of half a mile an hour. Encamped in a small open space, and found our supply of water very useful, as there was no other water in the place.

Thursday, December 8.—Rose at four, in the midst of the most melodious concert of birds from all parts of the wood. Started at five, with six natives to clear the way, in advance of the main body. At noon, arrived at the summit, which was still thickly covered with wood. We had been walking all the morning in a cloud which hung upon the top of the mountain. The native path, such as it was, went over the highest ridge as usual, probably from the desire of the war parties to keep the highest ground for fear of surprise. This is the only respect in which we suffer for the warlike character of the natives in former times, as their present disposition, as far as I have seen it, is remarkably peaceable. Towards evening, we descended to the river Raukokore, a beautiful stream, with high-wooded banks, forming a succession of noble amphitheatres, along which we walked for two miles, and then encamped for the night on the margin of a deep still pool of the purest water, formed in the side of the main channel of the river. The men being very tired, I made them my usual restorative, which I call ‘rongoa’ (medicine), as it is inconsistent with native etiquette for a chief to prepare food. My rongoa is made thus:—Boil a large kettle of water: in a separate pan, mix half a pound of chocolate beaten fine, two pounds of flour, and half a pound of sugar; mix to a thin paste, and pour it into the water when boiling; stir till the mess thickens. This is a most popular prescription with the natives, as you may judge from the ingredients, and very nourishing and warm for men who have to sleep out at night in a damp climate. Evening service, as usual, closed the day.

Friday, December 9.—Morning service, as usual. Walked down the bed of the Raukokore river, often fording. The banks rose almost perpendicular, but still covered with trees clinging to the crevices of the rocks, and pendulous plants clothing the face of the precipices. Every bend of the river opened a new scene of beauty and luxuriance. At ten we came to the junction of a small brook, up the course of which we clambered, till it parted into three branches, where we came to a stand, our guides being in doubt. At last, one of the party discovered a fragment of an old firebrand, which decided the point. After ascending about a quarter of a mile over the rocky bed of the stream, we came to a very curious and most surprising pass, in which a little brook flowed through a deep cleft between two abrupt precipices, in a channel about six or seven feet in width. At the bottom of the chasm, the solemn effect of ‘the shadow of the great rock’ was most striking. A damp coolness in the air proved it to be a place where the sun’s rays never entered. Over head, the arching trees partially intercepted the

"sight of the bright sky above. After threading the brook through this defile, we came to the ascent of a fine wooded hill—Kaki o te Moana, up which we walked by a very steep path, and descended by a similar path on the opposite side. The last descent to the brook Kereu, below, was rather abrupt; and we were obliged to go down cautiously, with the aid of ropes, borrowed from our various packages. I went down first, and was followed by the Chief Justice, and Mr. Stack, the Church missionary. The latter was very unwell at the time; and on reaching the bottom, was seized with a spasm, caused by anxiety which he felt for my safety. He was so unwell, that we were obliged to make a litter of our tent-poles, and have him conveyed by the natives to our encampment. We pitched at about a mile distance, on a small piece of alluvial soil, deposited in a bend of the river—the rest of the banks being rocky and precipitous. A more glorious woodland amphitheatre cannot be conceived than that in which we rested for the night." P. 81.

The same graphic style of description pervades the remainder of the journal, to which we must refer our readers; promising them that they will be well repaid by its perusal. On the 30th December he arrived at the missionary station of the Rev. R. Maunsell, at the mouth of the river Waikato, where he officiated on Sunday (January 1st), and next day crossed the harbour, proceeding along the sands to Pehiakura, on which the Bishop writes:—

"The chapel at Pehiakura had a very respectable appearance, having large glass windows, the gift of the late governor. The native teacher is a Wesleyan; but he was very attentive to us, and supplied us with potatoes and goats' milk.

"*Tuesday, January 3.*—My last pair of thick shoes being worn out, and my feet much blistered with walking the day before on the stumps, which I was obliged to tie to my insteps with pieces of native flax (*Phormium tenax*), I borrowed a horse from the native teacher, and started at four A. M. to go twelve miles to Mr. Hamlin's mission-station at Manukau Harbour, where I arrived at seven A. M., in time for his family breakfast. After breakfast, wind and tide being favourable, I sailed in Mr. Hamlin's boat ten miles across Manukau Harbour—a noble sheet of water, but very dangerous from shoals and frequency of squalls. A beautiful run of two hours brought us to Onehunga by noon. I landed there with my faithful Maori Rota (Lot), who had steadily accompanied me from Kapiti, carrying my bag of gown and cassock, the only remaining article in my possession of the least value. The suit which I wore was kept sufficiently decent, by much care, to enable me to enter Auckland by daylight; and my

"last remaining pair of shoes (thin ones) were strong enough for the light and sandy walk of six miles, which remained from Manukau to Auckland. At two P. M. I reached the Judge's house, by a path, avoiding the town, and passing over land which I have bought for the site of the cathedral; a spot which I hope may hereafter be traversed by the feet of many bishops, better shod and far less ragged than myself. It is a noble site for a large building, overlooking the whole town, and with a sea view stretching out over the numerous islands of the Gulf of Houraki." P. 97.

Here he received letters containing the mournful tidings of the rapid decline of Mr. Whytehead's health, a gentleman who was to have undertaken the management of the college instituted by the Bishop at the Waimate. This determined him to proceed immediately to the Bay of Islands, which he reached at two P. M., on Monday, January 9.

"How pleasant was the sight of the little white spire rising up among the trees and corn-fields! On the way I learned that Mr. Whytehead was still alive. To avoid surprising him, I went round to the back door; but little William, who has found his tongue during my absence, came running out, and called out so loudly, that Mr. Whytehead heard him, and was one of the first to meet me in the passage. His pale and spectral face told its own story; still it was a great blessing to see him again. Mrs. Selwyn was quite well, though she had borne much during my absence: William, full of health and loquacity: all the young men, and Mr. Cotton, perfectly well. Our desolate-looking old house was not much altered for the better during my absence; but it was my home, and that thought gilded its unpainted exterior. I had left the Waimate on the 5th July, and sailed the same evening in the Tomatin from the Bay. I returned on January 9th, after an absence of more than six months, which, after all, was barely time for the objects of my journey." P. 100.

The perusal of this work has afforded us much pleasure, and we cannot but augur very much good from its extensive circulation; for we are strongly convinced, that, were the facts connected with missionary labours more fully known and appreciated, we should have far less reason to complain of the great apathy which exists in the minds of Christians as to the efforts made in obedience to the last great command of our Lord, "Go ye into all the world, and preach the Gospel to **EVERY** creature." Where it pleases God to give us such earnest, zealous, and indefatigable missionaries as are labouring in New Zealand, headed by the Missionary Bishop, we may rest convinced that their labour will be blessed by an abundant increase.

ESTHER.—A FRAGMENT.

By the late H. J. HERAUD.

I.

FROM the great city's tumult far removed,
 A low cot stood, in which a man, full grey,
 His blameless years had passed ; of God approved ;
 For he had worshipp'd but one God alway
 In holiness and truth. His frame decay
 Had scarcely known, although his span had spread
 Beyond the allotted term to sons of clay.
 His eye undimm'd by age, his firm-set tread,
 Told manhood's vigour yet had from his years not fled.

II.

Full peacefully that sire had pass'd each year,
 Nor knew a care, save Judah's exiled thrall ;
 How for himself could he have aught to fear,
 Whose wants and wishes were alike so small,
 That, aidless, he could well supply them all ?
 His toil was humble, but 't was healthy too,
 And one in which no quarrels need befall.
 A lowly husbandman, known but to few,
 Was the despised Jair—an aged, outcast Jew.

III.

Just as the morning beams began to peep,
 And tinge with streaks of light the sable skies,
 Old Jair awoke from out his peaceful sleep,
 And to attend his early tasks did rise,
 As one who would the sluggard's ease despise !

When forth he went to taste the bracing air ;
 Towards him posting, in disorder'd wise,
 A man he saw, whose haste and streaming hair
 Proclaim'd him one who bore the tidings of despair.

IV.

Soon knowing him, Jair felt affection's flow,
 And hasten'd his son Mordecai to meet,
 With kindly greetings, and all seeming show
 Of love, remembrance, and of welcome sweet.
 The son began his father to entreat,
 Crying, " Thy blessing, Jair, for it I need ;"
 And, falling down before the old man's feet,
 Awaited patiently his father's meed ;
 For none in filial love could Mordecai exceed.

V.

Quoth Jair, " Son, it is thine ; yet tell me why
 " So eagerly this morn thou dost it crave ?"
 At that his son arose, and, with a sigh,
 Exclaim'd, " O Israel, once free and brave,
 " How art thou threaten'd, and none near to save !"
 Old Jair was troubled when he thus descried
 The aspect solemn and demeanour grave
 Of Mordecai. " What woe doth now betide
 " Israel's sons ?" said he ; " O Lord, be Thou our guide !"

VI.

To whom thus Mordecai : " O father dear,
 " Sad is the tale which I, alas ! must tell ;
 " Sad is the tale which thou, alas ! must hear,
 " Of murder, bloodshed, and of ruin fell !
 " That bold, bad man, whose haughty breast doth swell
 " With every cursed passion of our kind,
 " Hath just stirred up, with subtle wiles of hell,
 " Thoughts of fierce wrath in his dread master's mind,
 " By whom our exiled tribes to ruin are consign'd !

VII.

- " Ah, hapless I ! this mischief doom'd to bring
" On Judah's sons ; but yet did I no ill !
" Why to the minion of a gentile king
" Should I pay lowly homage,—stooping, fill
" The servile air with honied lies ; and still,
" Day after day, the odious toil renew
" With ceaseless clamour, unremitting skill ?
" Respect I pay unto the righteous few,
" But ne'er will honour give, where honour is not due.

VIII.

- " It was ordain'd by him we all obey,
" The mighty master of this far-spread land,
" That those whom Haman pass'd upon his way
" Themselves should prostrate, nor then dare to stand !
" But I, scorning alike the king's command,
" And he, the worm, on whose behoof 't was made,
" Dared, in despite of the court's servile band
" Of fools, and knaves, and flatterers by trade,
" To stand erect and bold, as one whom nought dismay'd.

IX.

- " Which Haman straight perceiving, anger rose
" Within his breast—that anger, whose fierce pain,
" Whose anguish-sting, the bad man only knows,
" Who in his heart lets Pride unquestion'd reign.
" And, in his pride, proud Haman thought disdain
" At laying hands upon poor me alone ;
" But, in the burnings of his wrath, was fain
" Those to destroy whom God hath made his own,
" Aye, e'en to slaughter all who are as Hebrews known !"

NOTICES OF NEW PUBLICATIONS.

Essays on Subjects connected with the Literature, Popular Superstitions, and History of the Middle Ages. By Thomas Wright, M.A. F.A.S. 2 vols. post 8vo. London: J. R. Smith.

It is so much the fashion, in the present day, to look back with reverence and admiration to the Middle Ages, that we are glad to meet with works calculated to give a correct view of the real state of society in those times. Accurate information on the subject will dispel a multitude of illusions, and will rather, in the language of Mr. Wright, lead us to "look back upon this period with thankfulness, as an age that has long passed away." The *Essays* of this gentleman are a valuable contribution in this point of view, and shew, in a lively and popular style, the growth of our early literature, and the phases of thought and feeling that moulded the character of our mediæval ancestors. These *Essays* are miscellaneous, and include a variety of subjects, all bearing more or less on the popular literature and popular superstitions of that age. The proverbial sayings, the political songs, the fairy tales, the ballad romances, and even the scholastic philosophy of those times, pass in review before us; and the happy familiarity with these subjects which the author possesses, gives a fulness and felicity to his pages, that no mere dull study could impart. He writes *con amore*, and the result is, that the reader is carried away by the ease of the style and the quaint simplicity of the subject, in spite of the recurrence of strange and unfamiliar names, and antique spelling, that necessarily characterises all antiquarian researches. Fortunately for the general reader, Mr. Wright does not plunge into the thorny paths of antiquarian discussion, but satisfies himself with giving the results of his own extensive and multifarious reading. Such a work cannot but contribute to foster a taste for these studies; and thus these two elegant volumes will form a pleasing introduction to the profounder study of our national literary antiquities.

A Plea for the Abolition of Capital Punishment. By the Rev. Thomas Pyne, A.M., Incumbent of Hook, Surrey. London: Gilpin.

We are not convinced by the popular cry of the present day, nor by the argument and statistics of this pamphlet, that capital punishment ought to be abolished. Nevertheless, we must give Mr. Pyne credit for great ingenuity in compiling facts with regard to crime, and in bringing them to bear on the question at issue. The least satisfactory point of the argument is in the oft-repeated fallacy of the abuse. Doubtless some are convicted without guilt, or some with less guilt than seems apparent to a jury; but are criminals to escape because error may happen in a con-

viction? for if so, no criminal ought to be punished, as one punishment involves the principle as much as another.

We regret that our space does not allow us to quote from the statistics adduced, and we must be content with quoting from the author's account of his own personal experience as to the effect of perpetual imprisonment.

"When in Philadelphia, I asked permission, which was most kindly granted, to see the solitary cells of the jail, and to be allowed to converse with some of the more remarkable of the prisoners. I was taken to a man, whose crime of violence would have been punished with hanging in England. He had been nine years confined to solitude, with labour. No sound ever visited his cell, except that of the minister of religion, who, standing in a central hall, spoke from Sabbath to Sabbath, so that his words passed along the radiating corridors, and penetrated through a small aperture into the dungeons of the captives. The man, during his captivity, had never seen the 'human face divine,' except it might be the jailer, or some other occasional stranger, led as I was by, I hope, no inhumane curiosity, to visit his living tomb. I asked him his feelings. He said, 'Sir, I was wretched, miserable, beyond my words to tell, for the first four years; but a Bible was in my cell, and at length I began to read it. I listened, too, to the words of the minister, the only words coming to my hopeless abode. I waited for them, and have become more happy now; I am learning the Scriptures by heart—I have got through the New Testament, and am proceeding with the Old; and hope has lighted my soul.' After speaking to him on religion, I told him of some public events, the President's election, &c., to observe what he felt; he made no answer, and seemed to be cut off in mind from outward things. He spoke of his room, of his crime, but above all of his Bible; and I thought, as I retired from the conversation, though abhorrently sensible of his crime, how good a thing it is, that this being, once so criminal and so ignorant, was not suddenly removed from the earth, and placed, unprepared, before the All-judging God. He lives, if he still live, an example of the law's censure on unbridled rage. Times may change, but his state never, till the angel of death shall unloose his prison doors, and usher him, perhaps a soul renewed, into the presence of his forgiving Father. In this there is a strong position against the infliction of the extreme penalty. We do not cast the criminal at once before the tribunal of heaven. It is true the miscreant has done this in another case. He may, in one sense, merit the equal doom, but we leave it to the Master of life to inflict it, finding that by other means society may be secured from his outrages. By punishing homicide by homicide, we seem in a degree to excuse the evil; but by leaving the murderer the sole remover of life, we tacitly tell him, that his act is more horrible in its nature, than even under the highest sanction of law we would imitate. We leave him thus to the ultimate judgment of the Almighty; and this, we are disposed to think, would be the best means of deterring him from crime."

It is hardly necessary to observe, that the fact is quoted by us without yielding to the inferences attached by the writer to it.

The Protestants' Confession, Absolution, and Penance. A Sermon on John, xx. 21, 22, 23. By the Rev. Frederic Dusautoy, A. M., late Fellow of Queen's College, Cambridge. London: Nisbet.

We have occasion so often to commend some fresh offering from Mr. Dusautoy's pen to his Church, that the Sermon before us shall be allowed to speak for itself, and explain its own history and views. It seems to us to form a valuable portion of those Lectures which have issued from the same quarter. There is the same simplicity of expression and soundness of sentiment as in those publications on which we have in past times commented.

"Unsound statements of doctrine having been lately prominently brought forward, and extensively circulated, by two extreme parties within our Church, I do not consider that I should be faithful to my sacred commission, though ministering in an obscure village, were I not most strongly to protest against the views of many of those who oppose a Popish Confession and Absolution, equally as against the dogmas of others, who advocate doctrines directly at variance with the teaching of that Church to which we belong.

"To prevent any kind of misunderstanding, suffer me to premise that I view as fundamentally heretical the published opinions of a schismatical leader of a sect, in a discourse on the verses taken for my text. But allow me, at the same time, to assert a conscientious conviction, that many of those who have publicly opposed these published heresies were equally far from the simple truths of the Gospel, and from the plainly declared mind of that Church, of which, at their confirmation, (if not subsequently, at the Lord's table), they *freely* and *solemnly* enrolled themselves as members."

The views of the writer will be seen from the following analysis:—

"In the first place, Protestant Confession, Absolution, and Penance are *not meritorious*, but *for sanctification*. Secondly, they are not allowed to be *forced*, but cautiously described as *voluntary*. Thirdly, they are not spoken of as *essentially necessary*, but as a great and high privilege, and as a means for obtaining spiritual peace, and a remission of temporal judgments. In the fourth place, they are not supposed to affect essentially the *future eternal* state of the penitent believer, but are exclusively applied to the judgments of God in the *present life*, whether those judgments respect the mind, the body, or the estate of the Lord's people. And, lastly, Absolution and Remission are *not immediate and miraculous*, though *certain (through the ordinary course of Divine Providence)* to 'all who truly repent and unfeignedly believe God's holy Gospel.' 'Whosoever sins we remit, they are remitted unto them; and whosoever sins we retain, they are retained.' Such is the clearly marked and broad line of demarcation between Protestant truth and Popish error; which separates them by a contrast as wide as that existing between things temporal and things eternal—between this life and the world to come.

"Before closing the present address, I feel it necessary to extend my remarks, so as to guard against any misunderstanding or perversion of the very important doctrine thus slightly sketched in this morning's discourse. We claim no miraculous power over the bodies, minds, or estates of men. We cannot give peace or remit punishment, except according to the will of God. We are commanded and have received power to declare that 'God pardoneth and absolveth all them that truly

repent, and unfeignedly believe his holy Gospel.' If these conditions, necessary for peace of conscience, and for freedom from temporal evil, are not present, our authoritative declarations fall impotent to the ground, unaccompanied by the gracious extension of God's covenant-mercy in Christ, as pertaining to the present life. Neither must it be supposed that the effects are to be immediate, and out of the ordinary course of means. The Lord, as Judge, uses means in providence, as well as means in grace. We must patiently await God's time and manner of deliverance, through those means by which Almighty God is generally pleased to act. It may be long ere that requisite degree of humiliation and of godly sorrow is produced in the soul of the penitent believer, which will at length issue in Absolution and Remission of sins."

"Let every Man take heed how he buildeth." A Sermon preached before the University of Oxford, on Sunday, October 26, 1846. By Francis Jeune, D.C.L., Master of Pembroke College. Oxford: Vincent. London: Hatchard.

So much has of late been said against the heads of houses, and so much idle calumny has been heaped on them, that it is highly gratifying to find any one of the body coming forward, and, from St. Mary's, manfully preaching the truth. In the last Michaelmas Term, two of the Oxford heads published what they had preached fearlessly against Romish errors; and we trust, that, for the future, there will be no shadow of a ground for the charge of silence in St. Mary's pulpit, which the Tractarian Quarterly made against the University authorities. There are, however, some men of most powerful intellect, and deeply read in theology, whose absence from that pulpit is a subject of deep regret to their friends. It would be wrong to mention names; but, in Oxford, our allusions will be well understood. Dr. Jeune is a very valuable acquisition to Oxford, from the extensive experience which he has had of men beyond the precincts of the University, as well as from his talents and attainments. In making extracts from this Sermon, we will merely quote a short passage from the earlier and critical part, reserving a longer quotation, from the earnest and severe application of the subject to existing and urgent dangers. Enough will be quoted to shew the tone of the preacher, and to convince that God has raised up one more defender of his truth in that much-assailed University.

"Romish divines grasp, of course, at the authority of St. Paul, as Clement, and Origen, and Jerome did of old; but in defence of a very dissimilar theory. 'Nota,' says Bellarmine, 'locum istum esse unum ex difficilissimis et utilissimis totius Scripture, nam ex eo statuunt Catholici duo ecclesiastica dogmata, Purgatorium et venia peccata.' As if Articles of Faith, to be held under pain of damnation, could be grounded on difficult texts! But St. Paul supports the modern deceit still less than the old; and it will not be hard to prove, that, in this passage, he has a totally different object in view. If so, two 'Catholic dogmas,' and with them the whole Romish system, are in danger of falling to the ground.

"It is not my intention to shew at length that 'Purgatory is a fond thing, vainly invented;' because I trust that it is needless to do so before an audience such as this. I allude to it, merely as it is one of the instances in which our text has been wrested

by men to their own destruction;—an instance quite as flagrant as that of Origen's doctrine, condemned, on the ground of its demoralising tendency, at the Fifth General Council; for the doctrine of Indulgences takes away the fear of Purgatory; and the doctrine of Purgatory takes away the fear of Hell. How, then, is human wickedness to be bridled, and where are the terrors of the Lord?"

It is alike impossible and unprofitable to curtail the passage for which we beg more immediate attention.

"Take heed then to yourselves, young men. Your moral character is every day hardening into maturity. If now you pollute your soul and your body by vice;—if you enervate your intellect by indolence and pleasure;—if you bring a blight on your good name by ignoble dissipation, will you dare to profane, by such an offering, the altar of Him who hath said, 'Cursed be the deceiver which vowed and sacrificed unto the Lord a corrupt thing!' If you cannot now bring your bodies into subjection; if you cannot labour conscientiously; if self-denial be intolerable; if prayer be strange to your lips, and the service of God a weariness, abandon all thoughts of the ministry. Better to begin life anew, better to disappoint the expectation of your friends, than to bring on yourselves the curse of God. If you have lived in sin, pause before you cross the threshold of the temple; 'it appertaineth not to you to burn incense unto the Lord, but to the sons of Aaron, who are consecrated. Go out of the sanctuary, for ye have trespassed; neither shall it be for your honour from the Lord God.'

"But if, in possession of liberty, you are a law unto yourselves; if, under the influence of Divine grace, you can flee youthful lusts, when corrupt example or the arts of the tempter embolden your timidity and inflame your passions; if increasing docility and laboriousness attest your fitness for the yoke of Christ; if you find delight in communion with God,—go forth, in all humility, yet in faith and hope: you shall be blessed in your deed; you shall be found in the house of God vessels unto honour, sanctified and meet for the Master's use, and prepared unto every good work.

"But it is not by your life alone that you must prepare yourselves to save souls. The law of truth must be in your mouths, and your lips must keep knowledge, if you would turn many from iniquity, and be messengers of the Lord of Hosts. Truth is the weapon with which you must go forth to conquer; on the contrary, it is by turning men from truth into fables, that the father of lies, who was a murderer from the beginning, defeats the purposes of God. Your teaching will be a saviour of life unto life, or of death unto death. What its character shall be depends, in a great measure, on your employment of the precious time which you are permitted to spend in this school of the Prophets. If now you give attendance to reading, you may hope to be enabled hereafter to give attendance to exhortation and to doctrine.

"Not that we would have you perplex your minds with the questions which gender strife. No; those who are modest enough to feel, that as yet they are but babes, and unskilful in the word of righteousness, will close their ears against the enticements and disputings of men of corrupt minds. It is young and inexperienced, but ardent and generous men who fall a prey to deceivers. Be content, for a while, to hold the faithful word as you have been taught, and the full age will come when, by reason of use, you will be exercised to discern both good and evil. All that is needful now is, that you should, on the one hand, diligently follow that course of study which experience has proved to be the best calculated to invigorate your faculties, and to mature your judgment; and, on the other hand, that you should

acquire, by obedience to the will of God, those moral dispositions without which no man can receive wisdom from above, or be really able to know of the doctrine, whether it be of God. You are not called upon to abandon the right and the duty of judging for yourselves; but you are called upon to become qualified for its exercise; and in the meanwhile to keep yourselves from hasty conclusions. No; judge you all must, as you shall answer before God; you must call no man master,—you have one master, even Christ. Teachers indeed we have many; but they teach only as the scribes, not as men having authority; and their teaching must be applied by each learner to the infallible rule which God has placed in our hands.

“We conjure you not to enter upon the ministry of the Church till you have well and deeply weighed the creed to which you will give your assent before God and man. It is a great reproach for him who has set up as a teacher, to acknowledge that he had need, when he did so, to be taught the first principles of the Oracles of God; and every one makes this acknowledgment who avows a fundamental change in his opinions. It is a most awful situation for a man to be placed in. There is really but one course for him to follow in such a case. It is to abandon his office, to sacrifice his worldly interests, and to pass his life in repentance.

“What else can you do, if such a misfortune should befall you? Remain in the ministry, and evade your engagements, and explain away the formularies which you have subscribed? But your conscience will reproach you incessantly, and public contempt will overwhelm you. Experience shews that this expedient cannot long satisfy those who have recourse to it. Hold one creed and teach another? But this is damnable hypocrisy. Eat the bread of the Church, and lift up the heel against her? This is treason.

“I speak as unto wise men, judge ye. Is it not better to meditate well on these things; to give yourselves wholly to them before you make a solemn profession; and to take care that whatever creed you shall ultimately embrace, you may have the hope that you can continue in it grounded and settled? It is a fearful thing, as regards a man’s self also, to vary in religious opinion. Even the abandonment of error is often attended with serious consequences to the heart. The rejection of truth for error, may end, we know, in reprobation and judicial blindness. The converts of the Pharisees were made seven-fold more the children of hell than their seducers.

“However great your learning, however acute your intellect, however fertile your imagination, however powerful your speech may be, do not take upon you this office and ministry, if you feel that you are not sober-minded, and that you labour under moral or physical weaknesses, which affect your judgment. There are many other employments in which you can serve God.”

This is no uncertain sound, but the sure word, from which none but hardened hearts and seared consciences can escape.

MISCELLANEA.

PERVERTS TO ROMANISM.

THE "Dublin Evening Post" says:—We have obtained the following list from a quarter in which we have the most thorough confidence, and we believe that the reader will find it punctually correct:—

PERSONS WHO HAVE LATELY EMBRACED THE CATHOLIC FAITH.

MINISTERS OF THE ESTABLISHED CHURCH.

A.D. 1841 AND 1842.

A. D. Wackerbath, B.A. Dec. 2, 1841.

B. Smith, M.A., Rector of Leadenham, Lincolnshire.

A.D. 1843.

G. Talbot, M.A., Vicar of Evercreech and Chesterblade, Somersetshire.

Daniel Parsons, M.A. July 31.

Charles Seager, M.A. Oct. 12.

A.D. 1844.

T. Burton, M.A., Curate to Trinity Church, Brompton.

William G. Penny, M.A., Student of Christ Church, Oxford.

A.D. 1845.

John Campbell Smith, M.A. March 27.

J. M. Capes, M.A., Incumbent of St. John Baptist's Church, Bridgewater.

George Montgomery, B.A., Curate of Castlenock, county Dublin.

Wm. George Ward, M.A., Fellow of Baliol College, Oxford, Sept. 3.

Brook Charles Bridges, B.A., Deacon. Sept. 25.

Ambrose St. John, M.A., Christ Church, Oxford. Oct. 2.

John H. Newman, B.D., Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford. Oct. 9.

Fred. S. Bowles, B.A., Deacon. Oct. 9.

Richard Stanton, B.A., Deacon. Oct. 9.

John Walker, M.A. Oct. 21.

- Fred. Robert Nave, M.A., Rector of Poole Keynes, Wilts. Oct. 27.
 Fred. Oakeley, M.A., Senior Fellow of Baliol College, Oxford, Prebendary of Lichfield Cathedral, and of Margaret's Chapel, London.
 Charles H. Collyns, M.A., Student of Christ Church, Oxford.
 William F. Wingfield, M.A. Nov. 1.
 Fred. W. Faber, M.A., Rector of Elton, Huntingdonshire. Nov. 17.
 J. W. Marshall, B.A., Incumbent of Swallow Cliffe and Anstey, Wilts.
 John M. Glenie, B.A., Perpetual Curate of Mark, Somersetshire.
 Henry George Coop, M.A., Deacon. Nov. 26.
 B. Henry Birks, B.A., Curate of Arley, Northwich, Cheshire. Nov. 28.
 Michael W. Russell, M.A., Rector of Benefield, Northamptonshire.
 Robert Aston Coffin, M.A., Student of Christ Church, Oxford, and Vicar of St. Mary Magdalene's Parish, Oxford. Dec. 3.
 Henry J. Marshall, B.A., Curate to Archdeacon Robert Walberforce.
 Edgar Edward Estcourt, M.A. Dec. 19.
 Edward Browne. Christmas Day.

A.D. 1846.

- James Spencer Northcote, M.A., First Class *Litteris Humanioribus*, Curate of Ilfracombe, Devonshire. Jan. 17.
 John B. Morris, M.A., Fellow of Exeter College, Oxford. Jan. 16.
 Henry Formby, M.A., Vicar of Raarddean, Gloucestershire. Jan. 24.
 George Burder, M.A. Jan. 24.
 Edward Hanley Thompson, M.A., Curate of Ramsgate.
 Howell W. Lloyd, M.A., late Scholar of Jesus College, Oxford.
 J. M. Jephson, Cambridge, late Curate of Wilby.
 Wm. Wells, M.A., Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, and Curate to the Rev. Cecil Wray, Liverpool.

MEMBERS OF THE TWO UNIVERSITIES.

I. LAY MEMBERS OF THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD.

- Johnson Grant, St. John's College, Undergraduate. Dec., 1841.
 Edward Douglas, B.A., Christ Church College. Easter, 1842.
 Peter Le Page Renouf, Scholar of Pembroke College. Easter, 1842.
 William Lockhart, B.A., Exeter College. August, 1843.
 Thomas H. King, Undergraduate, Exeter College. Jan., 1844.
 Charles R. Scott Murray, B.A., Christ Church College, M.P.
 William Leigh, Brasenose College, Oxford. March, 1844.
 George Tickell, M.A., Fellow of University College. Autumn, 1844.
 Thomas Meyrick, B.A., of Corpus Christi College. Lent, 1845.

- John Dobree Dalgairns, M.A., Exeter College. Sept., 1845.
 Albany Christie, M.A., Fellow of Oriel College. Oct., 1845.
 John T. Calman, B.A., Worcester College. Nov., 1845.
 Robert Simpson, Undergraduate of St. John's College. Jan., 1846.
 Robert Walker, Esq., Lincoln College, Oxford.

II. LAY MEMBERS OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE.

- Wm. Simpson, Trinity College. 1843.
 J. A. Stothert, Trinity College, Cambridge, and Edinburgh University.
 Benjamin Jos. Butland, Trinity College, Undergraduate. Sept. 1844.
 James Boone Rowe, St. John's College, Undergraduate. Nov., 1845.
 E. Fortescue Wells, Trinity College, Undergraduate. Nov., 1845.
 J. A. Knox, B.A., Trinity College, Scholar. Nov., 1845.
 Scott N. Stokes, B.A., Trinity College, Scholar. Secretary to the
 Camden Society. Dec., 1845.
 William Hutchison, Trinity College, Undergraduate. Dec., 1845.
 Henry Mills, Trinity College, Undergraduate. Jan., 1846.
 J. B. Walford, Undergraduate, St. John's College. Jan., 1846.
 Henry Bacchus, B.A., Corpus Christi College. Jan., 1846.
 E. A. Strothert, Esq., Trinity College, Cambridge.
 Charles Stokes, Esq., of Trinity College, Cambridge, (brother of Mr.
 N. Stokes, of the Camden Society, and also of Trinity College, who
 lately joined the Romish Church).

OTHER PERSONS.

- The Countess of Clare. 1842.
 Miss Eliot. 1842.
 Miss Gladstone, sister of the Minister of State. 1842.
 Miss Young, and her sister, Miss Isabella Young. 1842.
 Capt. Lawrence. 1842.
 Mr. Sankey, Trinity College, Dublin. Leader of a religious sect in
 Edinburgh, with his wife, four children, and many of his followers. 1842.
 Mr. W. Turnbull. Secretary to the Antiquarian Society of Scotland.
 Mr. Chas. De Barry, and his wife. 1843.
 Mr. Chas. Hemans, son of the celebrated poetess. 1843.
 Miss Emily Bowles. 1843.
 Miss Warner, daughter of an Anglican Minister. 1843.
 Mr. Bosanquet, Barrister. 1843.
 Miss Townshend, daughter of an Anglican Minister. 1843.

- Mrs. Seagar, wife of the Anglican Minister above.
 Mrs. Parsons, wife of the Anglican Minister above.
 Miss Marriott, daughter of an Anglican Minister. 1844.
 Miss Hext. 1844.
 Miss Harriette Pigot. 1844.
 Mr. Isaac Twycross, M.D., of Oxford. 1845.
 Hon. Mrs. Heneage and daughter. 1845.
 Mr. Clements. 1845.
 Mrs. J. Campbell Smith, wife of the Anglican Minister above.
 Mrs. Ward, wife of the Anglican Minister above.
 Mr. J. R. Poole, Lawyer, his wife, and two unmarried daughters.
 Mrs. Anstice, daughter of Mr. J. Ruscombe Poole. 1845.
 Mrs. Spencer Northcote, daughter of Mr. J. R. Poole, and wife of the Anglican Minister above. 1845.
 Mr. Matthias Woodsman, wife, two daughters, and a son. 1845.
 Mr. F. W. Tarleton, Lawyer. His wife and her sister. 1845.
 Mr. Geo. Talbot Bridges, Barrister. 1845.
 Lady Annabella Acheson and Lady Olivia Acheson, daughters of the Earl of Gosford. 1845.
 Mr. Edward T. Hood, Barrister. 1845.
 Mrs. and Miss Wood, wife and daughter of the Rev. Mr. Wood.
 Mr. L. Buckingham, Secretary to the British and Foreign Institute.
 Mrs. Watts Russell, and Miss Watts Russell, wife and sister of the Anglican Minister before named. 1845.
 Miss Munro, daughter of Lady Doherty. 1845.
 Mrs. Marshall of Swallow Cliffe, wife of the Anglican Minister above.
 Mr. J. Capes, Proctor of the Prerogative Court, Canterbury. 1845.
 Mr. James Robert Judge, Lawyer. 1845.
 Mrs. Capes, wife of the Anglican Minister before named. 1845.
 Mr. Grenville Wood. 1846.
 Mr. Henry Foley, Lawyer. 1846.
 Mr. Gilbert Plomer, Lawyer. 1846.
 "At Kensington Chapel, last week, four converts (ladies and gentlemen) were received into the Roman Catholic Church, by the Rev. "W. Rugden."
 "One of the Clergy of the London District has lately assured a correspondent, that scarcely a day passes without a conversion in his "district."—*Church and State Gazette*, April 24.

EDITORIAL RETROSPECT.

It is some time since we have addressed our readers as to our own plans and prospects, and on the present occasion we do it with no inconsiderable difficulty. Our existence has now been for more than two years, and during that period our chief aim has been to strike at the very root of Tractarian devices. It has pleased God to call away from this world of strife and confusion one of our contributors, who, with a ready and devoted heart, gave all his energies to the service of his Maker. To have known such an one, and to have known him in controversy, when men's passions are not in the calmest state,—to have seen his Christian zeal and fervour for the truth,—in itself more than repays all our labours and anxieties. The friends of the sainted dead will recognise our tribute; but as we do not use a panegyric for the ears of the world, no name shall be appended to our imperfect acknowledgment of such unwearied aid. And in thus speaking, we will add, that all the contributions which have appeared in these pages have been the *gratuitous* offering of men who have written in defence of the truth for its own sake. The history of this Magazine has not been entangled in private speculations; and, from first to last, its projectors and supporters have set aside all other motives but the one great principle, of defending our Church against the numerous classes of assailants. We have followed no party—we have thrown ourselves upon no prevailing and popular hypothesis, nor have we taken to our aid any of the usual devices of the trade, by which it seems almost necessary to support a periodical. The course which originally was marked out for our labours, we have followed; and our thanks are especially due to those who have strengthened our hands amidst the burdensome duties it has imposed. It is our boast that Dr. Lee and Mr. Faber have made our pages the vehicle of conveying to the public their thoughts on the present crisis. Of course, adequately to express our obligation would be beyond our power, whether to these sound theologians, or the no less earnest writers who have contributed to our pages. Of support we can speak favourably; and for encouragement in our anxious and arduous task, we can never be enough grateful. In the midst of fear and trembling we have begun, and in gratitude and thanksgiving we shall close, our labours. They have been rewarded by the warm approbation of those whose praise was most desired by us, and our toils have been always accompanied with the kindest sympathy of those whose sympathy was most wished. If in any way the cause of truth should have suffered by our advocacy, it would be the subject of our deepest regret. If any remarks have caused pain to any one, we can conscientiously say, that on no occasion have we intended to wound, but to *heal*; and of no single article would the editor hesitate to bear the responsibility. Would that all of

us more and more may learn the wisdom, as well as truth and happiness, of the words, *in necessariis unitas in omnibus caritas!* As far as we are concerned, it has been our wish thus to write; and though we have followed the rule of writing anonymously, it has not been for the sake of shielding sentiments or escaping from blame, but in deference to a custom which is wisely pursued in defence of the laws of criticism. How far we have attained our object, our supporters must judge. How needful it is that this, or a similar publication, should exist, and that the same middle course should be pursued, let those who most wish for the well-being of our Church decide. On others must devolve that labour, and on others must devolve the duty of following the tortuous course of what is by itself called "Anglicanism;" as if any party could represent our Church, who have neither had the consistency to follow their own leaders, nor the talent to enunciate their principles, nor the power of carrying out the simplest plan of their own devising. Dangers are, perhaps, no less, nay, even greater, than when Dr. Pusey issued his far-famed sermon. There is still much Tractarianism in secret corners, and there is more secret Romanism than comes under the eyes of our readers. The true Church will never lack defenders. The true Church shall never fall from its unshaken steadfastness.

We have thought it advisable thus to glance at our own position, and to suggest to our friends, that, as far as the conductors of this Periodical are concerned, its course will have been completed with the end of our present volume. If others have health and energy to raise a voice in defence of the same views, into their hands we can commend our common cause. If ground similar to our own is to be occupied, without party spirit or party influence, we will bid the work an earnest "God speed," and trust that a wider influence may be attained by a fresh list of combatants. We know that men's minds are weary of controversy, and that they regard the colossal power of Romanism and Tractarianism as fallen for ever. Would that it were so fallen; but evil is not dead, nor will it ever be, until death shall be swallowed up in victory. Such, however, is the prevailing feeling, and this operates in every view which men form on religious dangers. We hope that our remarks are explicit enough to draw the attention of our friends; and as to our opponents, it can be a matter of no account with them what in our editorial plurality is laid before our readers as to ourselves and our hopes. The editor would ask the prayers of all Christians for all who labour in the arduous trying task in which he has been employed, and under which, in fact, his bodily health has yielded; and if there is prayer, there will be no complaints of a deficient Christian literature or an unsound press.

THE

CHRISTIAN'S MONTHLY MAGAZINE.

MR. FABER ON THE WORSHIP OF THE VIRGIN.

LETTER IX.

To the Editor of the "*Christian's Monthly Magazine*."

SIR,

I HAVE hitherto said nothing in regard to the HISTORICAL TESTIMONY, which may justly be demanded from the Latin Priesthood, in support of the *Worship paid and the Attributes ascribed to the Blessed Virgin* by the members of the Church of Rome.

My reason has been this.

Dr. Moehler does not enter upon the topic at all: and Mr. Newman contents himself with pronouncing the evidently *symbolical* woman of the twelfth chapter of the Apocalypse, in whom even Bishop Walmesley could recognise "a noble *figurative* representation of the Christian "Church," to be the *literal* Virgin Mary herself.

This odd idea the gentleman seems to have borrowed from a notoriously spurious Discourse, gravely quoted, as the veritable property of Augustine of Hippo, by Mr. Phillips, a zealous lay-pervert to Popery, in his *Manual of Devotion*.

However, though I do not find that either Dr. Moehler or Mr. Newman directly take up the subject of the *Hyperdulia Adoration* addressed to the Virgin in her asserted character of an ADVOCATE, this series of Letters might be deemed incomplete, if an IDOLATRY, that made Mr. Sibthorp (much to his honour) recoil with shuddering from the Apostate Church which he had incautiously joined, were altogether pretermitted.

I. The Council of Trent, professedly adopting the Constitution of Pope Sixtus IV, determines the Virgin to be the Queen of heaven, to
VOL. V.

have been preferred to the highest ethereal throne, to outshine all the other stars like the bright morning-star, to be the way of mercy, the mother of grace, the diligent and watchful interceder with her Son for the salvation of the faithful who are burdened with sin.

The conclusion from this is : that sinners should be invited, by indulgences and pardons, to be present at the celebration of Masses and other divine offices ; that they might thus, through the merits and intercession of the Virgin, become more fit for divine grace. . Concil. Trident. sess. v. p. 14, 15.

1. Now, when we recollect that Scripture gives not a shadow of warrant for such fancies and practices, we might well think, that even *this* was going quite far enough.

But it really sinks into the tameness of moderation, when placed in juxtaposition with the *authorised* devotions and language of the Pope and Church of Rome.

I might, once for all, refer to Mr. Tyler's very important Work, *The Worship of the Blessed Virgin Mary in the Church of Rome*: for he may be said to have exhausted the subject. But, as we are both labouring in the same christian cause, he will not, I feel sure, be disposed to quarrel with me, if, with this preparatory acknowledgment, I freely, where I have occasion, avail myself of his Treatise.

2. The more decorous Romanists attempt sometimes to escape by stating : that they merely petition the Virgin to *intercede* for them, just as they similarly petition other inferior Saints, and just as St. Paul expressly directs that prayers and *intercessions* should be made for all men.

(1). I shall not, just at present, enter into the nature and quality of *intercessory prayers*.

It will be sufficient *in transitu* to remark : that Scripture nowhere authorises us to *petition* either the Virgin or the departed Saints to offer up for us individually prayers of this description.

Thus, to say the least on the subject, the Bible pretty plainly intimates the utter *inutility* of orally petitioning persons : who, by the very reason of their absence, can no more *hear* our petitions, than a Christian in China could *hear* a Christian in England orally begging from him the benefit of his prayers and intercessions.

(2). But, unhappily, the plea is not borne out by *matter of fact*.

Not only are Romanists taught to supplicate the Virgin for gifts and graces which God ALONE can give : but even the whole Book of Psalms has been transferred from the worship of JEHOVAH to the worship of *Mary*; a palpable ascription to her of that highest adoration, which they

distinctively call *Latria*, and which in their better mood they assign to the Deity *alone*.

As a single instance, one out of the whole Psalter, let us note Bonaventura's fearful parody of the 90th Psalm: which *itself* is, of course, addressed to JEHOVAH, the supreme Lord of heaven and earth.

"In thee, O Lady, have I trusted: let me not be confounded for ever: "in thy grace take me. Thou art my fortitude and my refuge: my "consolation and my protection. To thee, O Lady, have I cried, while "my heart was in heaviness: and thou didst hear me from the top of "the eternal hills. Bring thou me out of the snare, that they have hid "for me: for thou art my succour. Into thy hands, O Lady, I com- "mend my spirit, my whole life, and my last day."

That the Work is an *intentional* parody of the Book of Psalms, transferring to *Mary* the worship due only to JEHOVAH, cannot be doubted, because the author actually calls it *The Psalter of the Virgin*.

8. It may be said, that Rome is no more answerable for the extravagance of Bonaventura, than England is answerable for the Popery of Bishop Montagu.

But this plea of *individuality* will not avail.

Rome has made Bonaventura and all his property **STRICTLY HER OWN** by the most solemn *act of approval* in her power.

His biographer expresses his astonishment, that the memory of such a man should have so long remained buried with his body: adding, that the tardiness of his honours was compensated by their splendour. More than two centuries after his death, his claims to canonisation were urged upon Sixtus IV: and that Pope, in the eleventh year of his reign, invested him with the dignity of a Saint.

Certainly, a most abundant time was taken for inquiry: and the result was so satisfactory, that Sixtus, in his diploma of Saintship, declares the author of *The Psalter of the Virgin* to have been inspired by the Holy Ghost.

"He so wrote on divine subjects," says the approving Pontiff, "that "the Holy Spirit seems to have spoken in him."

If, then, the Holy Spirit was judged to have spoken in him when he parodied the whole Psalter, in order that the worship of JEHOVAH might be transferred to the *Virgin Mary*: it is hard to say, how a more complete or more authoritative approbation of a Performance, which systematically pays to the Virgin the supreme worship of *Latria* instead of that somewhat subordinate worship which Romanists usually defend under the name of *Hyperdulia*, could by human ingenuity have been devised.

4. As God the Father is thus thrust out of his throne of supremacy to make way for a creature : so, in like manner, for the exaltation of the same creature, is God the Son deposed from his proper economical office ; and that, by the authority of two Popes even in our own day.

Such, in two successive instances, has recently been the *Denial of the Lord that bought them* (that special badge of Antichristism, however modified or disguised) by two several Pontiffs, each of whom, as if in very mockery, claimed to be the Vicar of Jesus Christ.

(1). In the Encyclical Letter of Pope Gregory XVI, bearing date the year 1832, that Pontiff thus conveys his blasphemous exhortations.

"That all may have a successful and happy issue, let us raise our eyes to the most blessed Virgin Mary, who ALONE destroys heresies, who is our GREATEST hope, yea, the ENTIRE GROUND of our hope."

(2). Exactly the same antichristian blasphemy is repeated, verbatim, by Pope Urban in the year 1833.

He, too, like his predecessor, *denies both the Father and the Son* : and thus, at length, with an hypocritical pretence of religious feeling as contradistinguished from the grosser form of avowed infidel feeling, officially constitutes the Papacy a member of the great predicted Antichrist. See Tyler's *Worship of the Virgin*, p. 59, 319, 352.

5. I have used strong language, I admit : but not a whit stronger than is required by the explicit declarations themselves, which are unreservedly put forth in these studied Papal Compositions.

We may remark the use of a sort of climax, evidently employed to give the greater force to the statement.

First, we may observe the Virgin described as the ALONE destroyer of heresies : if, therefore, ALONE ; then God and his Christ are formally EXCLUDED from that office.

Next, we may observe the Virgin described as our GREATEST hope : if, therefore, GREATEST ; then God and his Christ, though not as yet absolutely shut out from being *conjointly* our hope, are exhibited as nothing more than a SMALLER hope.

Lastly, in the highest step of the climax, we may observe the two Popes correcting their previous expression, as inadequate to the supreme dignity and power of the Virgin. It was not enough to pronounce her, *relatively* to the Father and the Son, our GREATEST hope. Therefore, correcting themselves, they finally pronounce her, *exclusively* of the Father and the Son, the ENTIRE ground of our hope.

6. This horrible ebullition of Antichristism, this desperate *Denial of the Father and the Son*, cannot be got rid of, on the plea : that it is unrecognised by the Council of Trent ; and that it was merely the in-

sane wickedness of two individuals, for whose exaggerating madness the whole Catholic Church is not to be made responsible.

(1). The two blaspheming individuals were no two *ordinary* individuals, but actually two successive *Popes* !

(2). Nor has the outrageous wickedness been *confined* to these two Popes.

The papal *Denial of the Father and the Son*, in favour of the Virgin's right to be the ENTIRE GROUND of our hope, has been officially made the property of the *whole* Romish Church : nor has that Church, I believe, made any protest against it. The document was printed, for the acceptance of the *whole body* of Catholics (so called by themselves), in the Laity's Directory for the year 1833. And in its title-page, that Directory purports to be "the only one that is published with the "AUTHORITY of the Vicars Apostolic in England : " and the AUTHORITY is RATIFIED by the official signature of James, Bishop of Usula, Vicar Apostolic, London.

(3). Here we have conjointly APOSTOLIC ENFORCEMENT and LAIC ACCEPTANCE.

Nor does the matter stop with the *original* devoted slaves of Rome : it extends likewise to all the *recent perverts* ; for their perversion has taken place *subsequently* to the redoubled and accepted papal decision ; that *The Virgin is the ENTIRE or EXCLUSIVE ground of our hope*.

(4). Nay it goes even *beyond* Mr. Newman and his troop of apostates to the well-defined (1 John ii, 22, 23) grand lye of Antichrist : it *includes* Dr. Pusey and that whole School of his followers, who still remain *nominal* members of the Protestant Church of England.

The approved language of their *now* head has been, that Mr. Newman, who, to serve his own purposes, was, through twelve continuous years, a *concealed* Papist, has, by his recent *open avowal* of Popery, merely gone to "labour in another part of the Lord's vineyard : " for *that*, I believe, was the phrase in which the gentleman expressed his sentiments.

In the judgment, therefore, of Dr. Pusey and his followers, a Communion, in which the Father and the Son are correctively denied to be *any*, even the *least*, ground of our hope, forasmuch as a creature is declared to be, not only the GREATEST, but even the ENTIRE, ground of our hope : a Communion, thus formally in its old age appropriating the very predicted badge of the Antichrist, is, nevertheless, most paradoxically, a *portion of the Lord's vineyard* !

II. The worship paid by Romanists to the Virgin Mary, and the functions and attributes ascribed by them to her, have, most assuredly,

not a shadow of warrant from *Scripture*: but Popery denies, that *Scripture* is the SOLE authoritative Rule of Faith and Practice; and asserts, through the decision of the Council of Trent, that *Tradition* is an EQUALLY authoritative Rule of Faith and Practice, and must therefore be received with the SAME pious love and reverence (*PARI pietatis affectu ac reverentia*) as *Scripture* itself.

I make no doubt, that the worship of the Virgin, and the ascription to her of divine offices and attributes, are fully borne out by *Tradition* as it *now* exists in the Church of Rome: for, indisputably, these matters are as old as the days of Bonaventura; or rather indeed older, for, otherwise, his *Psalter of the Virgin* could never have been written, and could never have purchased for him the spiritual nobility of a popish Sainthood.

But the question is: *How far will this Tradition go back?*

In other words: *What HISTORICAL EVIDENCE have we, that the Faith and Practice of the modern Roman Church, touching the Virgin Mary, subsisted, though not mentioned in Scripture, from the beginning, and thence downward through all succeeding ages?*

The necessity of answering this obvious question has been felt by the Romish Ecclesiastics: and *that*, not only from the very reasonableness of the demand itself, but likewise in consequence of the closing acclamatory assertion of the unanimous Tridentine Fathers, that *All and several of their decisions expressed the Faith of Peter and the Apostles, the Faith of the ancient Fathers, the Faith of the Orthodox*. The attempt, accordingly, has been made. With what success remains to be seen.

1. We may begin with noticing the TESTIMONIES in favour of the early worshipping of the Virgin produced by the learned Dr. Wiseman.

(1). One of the most important of these is the TESTIMONY of the illustrious defender of the sound doctrine of our Lord's Godhead and the Holy Trinity.

"St. Athanasius," says Dr. Wiseman, "the most zealous and strenuous supporter, that the Church ever possessed, of the Divinity of Jesus Christ and consequently of his infinite superiority over all the Saints, thus enthusiastically addresses his ever blessed Mother.

"*Hear, now, O daughter of David: incline thine ear to our prayers. We raise our cry to thee. Remember us, O most holy Virgin: and, for the feeble eulogiums we give thee, grant us great gifts from the treasures of thy graces, thou who art full of grace! Hail, Mary, full of grace! The Lord is with thee. Queen and Mother of God, intercede for us!*

"Mark well these words: *Grant us great gifts, from the treasures*

“ *of thy graces* ; as if he hoped directly to receive them from her. Do “ Catholics use stronger words than these ? Or did St. Athanasius “ think and speak with us, or with Protestants ? ”

(2). Another WITNESS adduced for the same purpose is Ephrem the Syrian.

“ St. Ephrem,” says Dr. Wiseman, “ is remarkable as the oldest “ Father and Writer of the Oriental Church. His expressions are “ really so exceedingly strong, that I am sure many Catholics of the “ present day would feel a certain delicacy or difficulty in using some “ of them in their prayers, for fear of offending persons of another reli- “ gion ; they go so much beyond those which we use.”

After citing a passage, which Mr. Tyler could not find according to the reference given by the adducer, Dr. Wiseman proceeds with his quotations.

“ I will read you,” says he, “ one or two as specimens of the many “ prayers found in his Works addressed to the blessed Virgin.

“ *In thee, patroness and mediatrix with God who was born from thee, “ the human race, O Mother of God, placeth its joy, and ever is “ dependent upon thy patronage, and in thee ALONE hath refuge and “ strength who hast full confidence in him. Behold, I also draw nigh “ to thee with a fervent soul, not having courage to approach thy Son, “ but imploring that through thy intercession I may obtain salvation. “ Despise not, then, thy servant, who placeth all his hopes in thee “ after God. Reject him not, placed in greatest danger and oppressed “ with many griefs : but thou, who art compassionate and the mother “ of a merciful God, have mercy upon thy servant.*

“ In another prayer, we meet the following words, addressed to the “ same ever glorious Virgin.

“ *After the Trinity, thou art mistress of all ; after the Paraclete, “ another Paraclete ; after the Mediator, Mediatrix of the whole “ world.*”

These prayers were adduced by Dr. Wiseman in the year 1886. Five years afterwards, he favoured us with some additional prayers, purporting to be the composition of the same Ephrem.

“ *Entirely renew me, making me a temple of the most holy and life- “ giving and most excellent Spirit, who dwelt and overshadowed thy “ immaculate womb, Power from on high.*

“ *O Virgin, Lady, Mother of God, most blessed Mother of God, in- “ chine thine ear and hear my words, sent forth from unclean and “ impure lips. For, behold, with a contrite soul and a humble mind, “ I have recourse to thy mercy. For I have NO OTHER hope or refuge,*

" my ONLY comfort and quick defence: of my withered heart, divine refreshment; of my dark soul, brightest lamp. In thee, I hope: in thee, I exult."

" Virgin, Lady, Mother of God, in thee I place ALL my hopes: and in thee I trust, more exalted than ALL HEAVENLY POWER."

(3). The next APPEAL is to Gregory of Nazianzum.

" I must not," says Dr. Wiseman, "omit another passage of the same Father. It is the conclusion of his Dramatic Composition, entitled *Christ suffering*. If it was lawful for St. Gregory to address the Blessed Virgin as follows; under any circumstances, it cannot be idolatrous in us.

" Moreover, kindly admit thy Mother, O Word, as an intercessor. August, venerable, all blessed, Virgin, thou inhabitest the heavenly mansions of the blessed, freed from the incumbrance of mortality, clad in the garment of incorruption, known ever immortal as a DEITY. Be kind, from above, to my addresser. Yea, yea, most glorious maiden, receive my words: for this distinction belongs to thee alone of mortals, as the mother of the Word, although beyond comprehension. On which relying, I address thee; and, to adorn thee, bear a garland woven from the purest meads, O Lady: for that, many favours vouchsafing, thou hast ever freed me from various calamities of enemies visible, but more invisible. When I shall reach the end of my life, as I have entreated, may I ever have thee as protector of the riches of my entire life, and as a most acceptable intercessor with thy Son, together with his well pleasing servants. Allow me not, to be delivered up to torments, and to be the sport of the cruel despoiler of men. Stand by me: and save me from the fire and darkness, by the faith which justifieth me, and by thy favour; for, in thee, was seen the grace of God to us. Therefore I weave for thee a grateful hymn, Virgin Mother, fair and supreme above all other virgins, sublime above all heavenly orders of beings. Mistress! Queen of all things! Delight of our race! Be thou ever kind to it; and, to me, in every place, salvation.

" Here is the blessed Virgin directly prayed to, considered a protector, a defender against enemies."

(4). Dr. Wiseman has adduced sundry other prayers, from Ephrem the Syrian, addressed to the Virgin: which, both for the sake of brevity and for yet another reason which will shortly appear, I have ventured to omit.

On these testimonies even as they stand, it might justly be remarked, that they are of no value in the way of EVIDENCE. Chronologically,

they are all far *too late*: nor could they be of any avail, unless parallel passages were adduced from *earlier* writers. But, in truth, I need not trouble myself with discussions to this effect. When a respectable provincial mayor apologetically told Henry of Navarre, that he had not fired a royal salute for twenty several good and sufficient reasons, the first of which was that *he had no cannon*: the king declared, that *that* was quite enough, and that it would be superfluous to proceed *sigillatim* through the other nineteen. In like manner, it will be sufficient for me to state, that NOT ONE of the prayers, adduced by Dr. Wiseman from Athanasius and Ephrem and Gregory, has any more existence in *their Works*, than cannon had *upon the walls of the worthy mayor's city*. THEY ARE ALL SPURIOUS: the FORGERIES of a later age. Nor is this the mere dogmatical cutting of a Gordian knot by an interested protestant hand. Whether Dr. Wiseman knew it or knew it not, they are ALL rejected as PALPABLY SPURIOUS by honourable and well-qualified Romish Critics themselves.

(5). The same remark applies to yet another prayer addressed to the Virgin, which Dr. Wiseman has given from Methodius.

This would have been better EVIDENCE than the others, because Methodius lived so early as the third century. But, as Mr. Tyler remarks, though "the Work, formerly attributed to him, continues, "even at the present day, to be quoted in PROOF of the early invocation of the Virgin: it has long ago been pronounced by the best "critics, some of them Roman Catholic editors, to be the production of "a later age."

Poor Dr. Trevern of Strasburg, a former antagonist of mine, made some very awkward quotations of a similar quality, which, in my *Difficulties of Romanism*, I felt myself bound to point out: but I verily believe, that, in *his* case, it was pure ignorance. Were I to ascribe *ignorance* to such a man as Dr. Wiseman, I fear I should be set down as a somewhat conceited coxcomb.

2. An individual, named *Alphonse Liguori*, died only about sixty years ago; and, very recently, for reasons best known to the Pope and his Council, his merits have been rewarded by canonisation.

Dr. Wiseman speaks of this new Saint, as "a venerable man, a pattern and a light, whose life and writings inspire us with an admiration scarcely surpassed by that which we feel toward the early lights "of the Church:" and, in Ireland, his Work, called *The Glories of Mary*, is recommended as a manual for all the faithful.

In that Work, this "pattern" Saint, as Dr. Wiseman speaks, tries *his* hand also at EVIDENTIALLY demonstrating the worship of the Virgin to have been the practice of the Church from the beginning.

The WITNESSES, whom the "venerable man" adduces for the confirmation of all sound believers, commence, somewhat astoundingly, with the primitive Ignatius, the martyred disciple of St. John himself.

(1). "Before Bonaventura," says this Divine, "St. Ignatius had pronounced that a sinner can be saved ONLY by having recourse to "the blessed Virgin, whose *infinite mercy* obtains salvation for those "who would be condemned by *infinite justice*."

"Some pretend, that the text is not taken from Ignatius: but we know, that St. Chrysostom attributes it to him."

(2). "With what efficacy, with what tender charity, does not Mary plead our cause!

"From the consideration thereof, St. Augustine says to her: *Men have but ONE SOLE ADVOCATE in heaven; and it is you, Holy Virgin*."

"Poor sinners, how lamentable would be your lot, if you had not this powerful advocate: this advocate, so wise, so prudent, and so tender, that her Son CANNOT condemn those whom she defends!"

(3). "The glorious St. Gatian affirms: that, though we may ask as many graces as we please, we cannot obtain them BUT through the "intercession of Mary."

(4). "St. Antoninus says: *To ask favours, without interposing Mary, is to attempt to fly without wings*."

(5). "Mary," says St. Chrysostom, "*has been elected from all eternity as Mother of God, that SHE may save, by HER mercy, those to whom her Son in justice cannot grant pardon*."

III. The canonisation of such a person as this Alphonsus Liguori gives a dreadful idea of the utterly unprincipled character of Popery.

Here we have a man erected into a Saint, who was chiefly remarkable for his IDOLATROUS WORSHIP of the Virgin, and who in that respect served the purposes of the Papacy by actually FORGING TESTIMONIES in order to shew that such worship had received the sanction of the primitive Ignatius and had been the regular practice of Christians downward from the age of that holy disciple of St. John!

I. I dare not trust myself with such a subject as THE DELIBERATE MANUFACTORY OF EVIDENCE by this new Saint: for my feelings are perhaps only too apt to produce results similar to those occasioned by the parallel feelings of the Roman Poet. *Facit indignatio verum*. Hence I shall rather avail myself of the tempered language of a much better man, to whom belongs the praise of laboriously detecting both Dr. Wiseman and Saint Alphonsus Liguori.

"These," says Mr. Tyler, "are not the sentiments of persons who

“ lived centuries ago. They are the sentiments of one who has been
 “ dead (namely, in the year 1844) only fifty-six years, and to whose
 “ teaching the highest authority in the Church of Rome, only five
 “ years since, set its seal by its most solemn act of all, even his canon-
 “ isation.

“ And what is the doctrine here proclaimed and spread through the
 “ world? That the mercy of Mary is infinite, and obtains salvation
 “ for those whom God, in his infinite justice, would condemn: that
 “ Jesus, whose own gracious lips assure us that the merciful God and
 “ Father of us all sent him into the world, not to condemn the world,
 “ but that the world through him might be saved, whatever be his will,
 “ CANNOT condemn those whom she defends. Though the blessed
 “ Book of Truth assures us that we have an advocate with the Father,
 “ Jesus Christ the righteous, who is also the propitiation for our sins:
 “ yet we are here told, that the Virgin is our SOLE ADVOCATE in
 “ heaven. Whilst the Lord Jesus declares, *Whatever ye shall ask*
 “ *in my name, that will I do; verily, verily, I say unto you, whatso-*
 “ *ever ye shall ask the Father in my name, he will give it you:* this
 “ Saint of the Roman Church tells us, we may ask what we will; but
 “ that, without Mary’s intercession, we can obtain no grace. Whereas
 “ the warrant of the covenant of grace is, that the blood of Christ
 “ cleanseth from all sin, and that in him we have redemption through
 “ his blood, even the forgiveness of our sins: here we are taught, that
 “ MARY is to save, by HER mercy, those to whom her Son cannot in
 “ justice grant pardon.

“ These are, indeed, very startling positions, lamentable departures
 “ from the truth as it is in Jesus: and, when we find an appeal made to
 “ St. Ignatius, St. Chrysostom, and St. Augustine, in defence of these
 “ doctrines, we may not conceal our feelings of astonishment and sorrow.
 “ For the AUTHORITIES here cited by Liguori, most diligent and re-
 “ peated search has been made: and not a trace of either of them can
 “ be found. In no one of the Works attributed to Ignatius, can any
 “ allusion to such a position be discovered. And, though Liguori says,
 “ *We know that St. Chrysostom attributes the text to Ignatius:* every
 “ other part of St. Chrysostom, as well as his Work on the Life
 “ and Character of Ignatius, has been ransacked for any allusion to
 “ such a statement; but in vain. For the testimony also here directly
 “ drawn from St. Chrysostom and St. Augustine, their Works have
 “ been searched with unremitting scrutiny: but with the same result.
 “ NOT A SHADOW OF ANY SUCH DOCTRINE CAN BE DETECTED. In
 “ neither of these, nor in St. Ignatius, is there found any the most

"distant allusion to the mercy, the intercession, or the advocacy and saving power, of Mary. Their uniform teaching is: that *the Eternal Father is infinite in mercy, and will freely pardon believing penitents who come to him by his ever-merciful Son.*"

2. Mr. Tyler does not notice either St. Antoninus or the glorious St. Gatian.

Who these worthies were and when they lived, I know not: for I never heard of them before.

From his silence, Mr. Tyler is probably in the same predicament.

Liguori *may*, peradventure, have quoted *honestly*, what was of *no authority*: for, of course, their value as WITNESSES must depend upon their *antiquity*.

I have carefully examined the copious list of ecclesiastical writers through eighteen centuries, suffixed to Mosheim's *Ecclesiastical History*; but no such author can I discover as St. Gatian. In the fifteenth century, there appears an Antonin, who was Archbishop of Florence: but, whether he be the St. Antoninus quoted by St. Liguori, I have no means of determining. Should *he* be the person, our modern Saint is heartily welcome to his testimony.

Meanwhile, Liguori stands convicted of having fabricated for the nonce PRETENDED TESTIMONIES of Ignatius, Chrysostom, and Augustine: and the Work which contains these FABRICATIONS, hight *The Glories of Mary*, is recommended, in Ireland, as a manual for all the faithful; that so a systematic delusion may be the better kept up throughout the length and breadth of that miserably begulled and priest-ridden country!

IV. Another Letter will, I hope, bring me to the close of this discussion, which hitherto claims no higher merit than that of being a faithful abridgment of Mr. Tyler's very important and praiseworthy labour.

In my next, when I come to treat of the EVIDENCE produced from Irenæus by Cardinal Bellarmine, I shall be obliged to depend upon my own resources: for, though Mr. Tyler very truly remarks that the passage, cited by that learned Dignitary, bears not at all upon the question, *Whether it is a Christian's duty to INVOKE the Virgin Mary*; still, his not entering upon a consideration of the *purport* of the passage, as that passage is adduced by the Cardinal in *his own construction* of it, might, by an enemy, be plausibly misinterpreted. What I mean is, that such an *apparent* backwardness might, probably enough, call forth the triumphant exultation of the Romish Party: for, unlike those tamperers

and fabricators of the first magnitude, Dr. Wiseman and St. Alphonsus Liguori, Bellarmine adduces neither FORGERIES nor yet NON-ENTITIES. It really gratifies me to say, that, so far as *naked* quotation is concerned, this eminent individual acts with perfect fairness and honesty. In the vital matter of EVIDENCE, his extract from Irenæus, who flourished through the greater part of the second century, had it been to the purpose, would, with the single exception of the testimony of Ignatius, *if that very early Father had truly written the passage fabricated for him by Liguori*, have been more valuable than all the citations of both the Doctor and the Saint put together, even had those citations been unimpeachable in point of genuineness and actually existent *in rerum natura*. I may add, that a long Latin note on the passage, in the early edition of Irenæus by Nicolas Callasius, in a profusion of words, rather blinks the question, than meets it: and, of course, any Romish Editor, later than the year 1570 (the date of the edition of Callasius), would take the same view of the place as Cardinal Bellarmine.

Were I constitutionally disposed to be nervous, I should certainly, save from a full conviction of the goodness of my cause, feel some ugly qualms in venturing to measure weapons with such a man as the Cardinal.

April 2, 1846.

G. S. FABER.

LETTER X.

SIR,

WITH your permission, I will now resume the subject of my last Letter.

I. I have sometimes thought, that our Divines have not sufficiently attended to what I conceive the *ideal* difference between the several theological terms INTERCESSOR and MEDIATOR and ADVOCATE.

In fact, they seem, pretty generally, to have deemed them words, either so perfectly or so nearly of the same import, that they might be used indifferently and therefore interchangeably.

This error, for such I esteem it, has often given very considerable advantage to Romish Controversialists: an advantage, which they are far too acute to neglect and pretermit. Hence a preliminary discussion and (if I may so speak) *sorting* of the several terms will be necessary,

before I can hope, with any prospect of success, to grapple with Cardinal Bellarmine.

1. The Romanists, as we all know, are wont to beseech the Virgin and the departed Saints, that they would INTERCEDE for them with God.

(1). This practice is often warmly censured by Protestant Divines.

Now their censure, *in itself*, is just: but, *in part*, at least, it is perpetually built upon untenable ground.

It is *just* to censure the practice, both because it is unwarranted by Scripture, and because (without an express revelation to that effect) we can have no assurance that our requests are heard by absent and invisible beings: because, in short, it is a piece of mere unauthorised and therefore presumptuous will-worship.

But it is *not just* to censure the practice on the very common ground, that it encroaches upon the economical office of Christ asserted to be our *sole* INTERCESSOR.

The truth of this remark is easily demonstrated from Holy Scripture.

Of Christ it is said, indeed, that *he ever liveth to make INTERCESSION* for his people. Heb. vii. 25. But such is not his *exclusive* office, even economically: for we are assured, that *the Spirit itself maketh INTERCESSION for us with groanings which cannot be uttered*. Rom. viii. 26, 27. Nor yet, again, is it his *exclusive* office, even uneconomically and with reference to mere men: for the great Apostle not only authorises, but even enjoins, the practice, when he writes; *I exhort, that INTERCESSIONS be made for all men*. 1 Tim. ii. 1.

To argue, therefore, against Romanism, as some do, is to expose our flank and to invite a fall. INTERCESSION for sinners with God the Father is *alike*, though in *different degrees* it may well be, the function both of God the Son and of God the Spirit and of living mortals themselves while on this side of the grave. Hence, in the true *ideality* of INTERCESSION, there must be something which makes it legitimately common both to God and to man.

(2). What, then, is the true scriptural ideality of INTERCESSION?

It is, I take it, that of *Deprecatory Prayer offered up to God the Father for men under the precise aspect of their being sinners*.

The idea of INTERCESSION for a person, whether it be *with God or with a fellow-creature*, always involves the idea, that the person, *for* whom we intercede, has offended the person *with* whom we intercede.

Such being the case, it is easy to perceive, why there may be many intercessors, and why the enjoined *even duty* of intercession on our parts is in no wise any intrusion into a *peculiar* function of Christ.

Whether, in point of *fact*, the blessed spirits of the holy departed *do* intercede for us whom they have left behind upon earth, we know not; simply because Scripture is silent on the subject. In general terms, they *probably* do: but we cannot *affirm* it. Nevertheless, we may be quite certain, that it is an idle presumption to *supplicate* them for their intercessions, because Scripture gives us no warrant for any such practice.

2. We may now proceed to consider the *second* of the three terms before us: that of *MEDIATOR*.

(1). Here, I think, it will be immediately seen, that a new idea is introduced: an idea, which does not appertain to the term *INTERCESSOR*. The idea is that of *An Equality or Homogeneity, on the part of the MEDIATOR, with each of those between whom he mediates*.

In matters political, this notion is well understood to be a necessary ingredient of *MEDIATION*.

If two independent States disagree, they call in a third independent State to mediate between them; or it may be, that the third independent State freely offers its good offices to settle the point in dispute, and thus prevent the necessity of an appeal to arms: but neither of the States at variance ever dreams of calling upon an *individual*, who is a subject or member of either of them, to play the part of a *MEDIATOR*.

The same notion is equally inherent in matters spiritual or theological.

Here, the parties at variance are God and Man: God, really independent; fallen Man, proudly and stubbornly claiming independence. What third party, possessing the necessary requisites both of equal affinity to each party and of perfect free volition and self-independence, can be found to act as a *MEDIATOR* between them? Clearly, neither an individual angel nor an individual human being, however exalted either of them may be in their respective classes or orders of existence: for they alike want the points, which enter into the very idea of a *MEDIATOR*. Augustine, in a passage cited by Mr. Tyler from his *Confessions*, has well and clearly expressed the true principle. "Whom could I find, that could reconcile me to thee? Was I to betake myself to the angels? With what prayer? By what sacraments? The *MEDIATOR* between God and Man must have somewhat of the likeness of God and somewhat of the likeness of Man: lest, being in both cases like Man, he might be far from God; or, being in both like God, he might be far from Man; and so would not be a *MEDIATOR*."

This, no doubt, is the true rational principle: and the necessary result from it, as Augustine plainly saw and distinctly stated, was; that,

in the ministry of reconciliation, it was an impossibility for any being to be the MEDIATOR between God and Man, save the perfect GOD-MAN Jesus Christ.

(2). Accordingly, the dogmatical decision of Holy Writ fully establishes the point, to which we had been brought by a regular train of reasoning.

There is one God : and there is ONE MEDIATOR between God and Man, the Man Jesus Christ. 1 Tim. ii. 5.

This, in a measure at least, seems to be felt by the Romanists themselves : for, erecting the Virgin into a MEDIATOR, they find themselves compelled by consistency to erect her also into a GODDESS. On this principle, the whole Psalter has been travestied by the sainted and therefore papally approved Bonaventura. For, when inspired prayers, addressed to Jehovah, are made, by this extraordinary Saint, to be addressed to the Virgin : I see not what conclusion can be drawn, save that the Virgin is authoritatively erected into a DEITY. Hence, in perfect accordance with the blasphemy of his Psalter, he invokes, in one of his own prayers, the Virgin, to COMMAND her beloved Son by the right of a mother, that he would vouchsafe to raise our minds from the love of earthly things to heavenly desire. And hence another approved worthy, Bernardine de Bustis, declares, that God has *divided* his kingdom with the Virgin, retaining the function of justice to himself, and granting the function of mercy to his mother : so that, if any one feels himself to be aggrieved in the court of God's justice, he may appeal to the Virgin's court of mercy. In another place, this same *uncensured* Bernardine advances even a step further. Not content with asserting Mary's *equality* with God, on the very ground of the Roman Poet's compliment to Augustus, *DIVISUM imperium cum Jove Cæsar habet*, which, in truth, he seems to have plagiarised : not content with this minor monstrosity, he pronounces her to be even *superior* to God, and therefore, *ex abundanti*, a VERY DIVINITY. "The blessed Virgin," says this fruitful expositor, "is herself *superior* to God, and God himself is her *subject*, by reason of the humanity derived from her." Whatever may be thought of such theology, it is nothing more, on the sound principle laid down by Augustine and here contended for, than the strict logical result of the erecting of the Virgin into a MEDIATOR. She *could not* be a MEDIATOR, unless she were at once both God and man.

(3). It may be said : that, notwithstanding this estimate of the necessary character of a MEDIATOR *as such*, the Law is declared to have been ordained in the hand of a MEDIATOR, even Moses. Galat. iii. 19,

20. Hence, in the case of the Levitical Covenant, a mere man was the **MEDIATOR** between God and Man.

Undoubtedly, this is the case : but the circumstance, instead of weakening the principle contended for, *really* establishes it.

In Holy Scripture, the title and office of a **MEDIATOR** between God and Man is ascribed only to two persons, Christ and Moses : and yet, at the same time, as we have seen above, it is explicitly declared ; that, as there is only *one* God, so there is only *one* **MEDIATOR** between God and Man, the man Christ Jesus.

The most simple solution of the difficulty, and, I believe, the true one, is this.

Moses, as the **TYPE** of Christ, mediated an inferior covenant between God and the Israelites only : but Christ, the prefigured **ANTITYPE**, mediated a new and better covenant between God and the whole race of Mankind. Hence, as no other individual stood in the same typical relation to Christ, no other individual is ever called a **MEDIATOR**.

This, I think, is evidently the reasoning of the Apostle upon the title, which he himself, in another Epistle, that to the Galatians, had bestowed upon Moses : and his reasoning will be found in more than one passage, where he most appropriately directs it to the Hebrews. See Heb. viii. ix. x. xii. 18—29.

As the Levitical sacrifices were all **TYPICAL** of the one great sacrifice on the cross, and were thence said to possess, though they really possessed not, an expiatory potency : so Moses, being **TYPICAL** of Christ, is, under that aspect, said to have been the **MEDIATOR** of a covenant between God and the Israelites, though, in itself, his **MEDIATION** had no more reality, than the sacrifices possessed the virtue of actual atonement.

Still, therefore, as the Apostle rules the matter, there is, in the true idea of the word, no more than **ONE MEDIATOR** between God and Man, the man Christ Jesus.

3. The third and last term to be discussed was that of **ADVOCATE**.

(1). Here, again, a new and perfectly distinct idea presents itself.

The principle of **INTERCESSION** is an acknowledgment of the blameworthiness of the person, on behalf of whom a friend interposes, and a petition of forgiveness from the individual who is confessed to have been justly offended. In a word, **INTERCESSION** is a plea, founded on *mercy*, not on *justice*.

But the principle of **ADVOCACY** is altogether different. An **ADVOCATE** rests his plea, for his accused client, on *justice*, not on *mercy*. He denies, that he is guilty : and claims his full acquittal, on the score, that

his innocence has been established, and, consequently, that, purely as an act of *justice*, he has a right to be acquitted.

(2). Now, except under some such idea as this, it is impossible to conceive, why forensic language should have been adopted: it is impossible to understand, why Christ should have been described as one **ADVOCATE** with the Father.

Accordingly, we shall find, that the title is assigned to our Lord with the most curiously strict propriety. As an act of *pure justice*, he claims our full acquittal and acceptance with the Father. He claims it for us: not under the aspect of our being offenders, which would be entirely alien from the office of an **ADVOCATE**; but under the aspect of our being righteous, he himself having asserted and fully established our righteousness. In short, at the hands of his Father, he demands, on our behalf, an act of *justice*, not an act of *mercy*.

(3). The **PRINCIPLE** of this demand is: that he our **ADVOCATE**, being as completely *one* with us, as the head is one with the members or the vine one with its branches; and being, at the same time, perfectly and impeccably righteous, so that no guilt can be ascribed to *him*; communicates, imputatively or ascriptively, *his own perfect righteousness* to the whole body of his elect which is federally *his own body*.

"God," says the great Apostle, "made Christ to be sin for us, that we might be made the righteousness of God in him." 2 Corinth. v. 21.

Hence Bernard very excellently theologises.

"The **PRINCIPLE** is: that the satisfaction made by one should be imputed to all, even as that one bare himself the sins of all. So that there should not be found one distinct person who incurred the forfeit, and another distinct person who made satisfaction: because, truly, **THE HEAD AND THE BODY JOINTLY ARE ONE CHRIST**. The Head, therefore, satisfied for its Members: Christ, for his own Bowels." Bernard. Epist. cxc. Oper. col. 1556.

"Christ himself is the person, who, of God the Father, was made unto us Righteousness." Bernard. Homil. in Octav. Epiphan. serm. iv. Oper. col. 82.

"Shall I plead my own righteousness? Lord, I will make mention of thy righteousness alone. Yet, **THY RIGHTEOUSNESS IS MY RIGHTEOUSNESS**: for, of God, thou hast been made unto me righteousness. Need I fear, that thy single righteousness should not suffice for us **BOTH**? It is no scanty cloak like that of the prophet, which is too small to cover two. Thy righteousness is an everlasting righteousness: and what is longer than eternity? Thy large and ever-

"lasting righteousness will largely cover BOTH THEE AND ME." Bernard. super Cantic. serm. lxi. Oper. col. 749.

g. To the same purpose speaks our own judicious Hooker.

l. "Christ hath merited righteousness for as many as are found in him. In him God findeth us, if we be faithful: for, by faith, we are incorporated into Christ. Then, although in ourselves we be altogether sinful and unrighteous: yet, even the man, which is impious in himself, full of iniquity, full of sin; him, being found in Christ through faith, and having his sin remitted through repentance; him God beholdeth with a gracious eye, putteth away his sin by not imputing it, taketh quite away the punishment due thereunto by pardoning it, and accepteth him in Christ Jesus AS PERFECTLY RIGHTEOUS AS IF HE HAD FULFILLED ALL THAT WAS COMMANDED HIM IN THE LAW. Shall I say *more* perfectly righteous, than if himself had fulfilled the whole Law? I must take heed what I say: but the Apostle saith; *God made him to be sin for us who knew no sin, that we might be made the righteousness of God in him.* SUCH WE ARE IN THE SIGHT OF GOD THE FATHER, AS IS THE VERY SON OF GOD HIMSELF. Let it be counted folly or frenzy or fury whatsoever, it is our comfort and our wisdom. We care for no knowledge in the world but this: that Man hath sinned, and God hath suffered; that God hath made himself the Son of Man, and that MEN ARE MADE THE RIGHTEOUSNESS OF GOD." Disc. of Justific. § 6. Works, vol. iii, p. 436, 437.

As St. Paul specifies the doctrine expressly, so St. John plainly insinuates it when he tells us that Christ is our ADVOCATE. "If any man sin, we have an ADVOCATE with the Father, Jesus Christ the RIGHTEOUS." 1 John ii. 1. Christ is our prevailing ADVOCATE, because he himself possesses a perfect personal RIGHTEOUSNESS: and his irresistible plea is that perfect RIGHTEOUSNESS of the Head made imputatively the perfect RIGHTEOUSNESS of the members also; inasmuch as, in him, we are made ascriptively the very RIGHTEOUSNESS of God himself.

Such being the scriptural view of the process, our great ADVOCATE, pleading *his own* RIGHTEOUSNESS as *our* RIGHTEOUSNESS, demands, from the Father our full acquittal and acceptance on the ground, not of *mercy*, but of *justice*: and thus solves the evangelical paradox, that "God might be just, and yet the justifier of him which believeth in Jesus." Rom. iii. 26.

(4). Now it is quite clear, from the very nature and terms of the case, that no one can be our authoritative ADVOCATE save he,

who can at once allege *his own* righteousness and plead it as *our* righteousness.

Hence, in Scripture, the term **ADVOCATE** (or **PARACLETE**, in the *FORENSIC sense of that word*) is applied to no being, whether celestial or terrestrial, whether divine or human, save Jesus Christ **ALONE**. As he is our **SOLE** Mediator, so likewise is he our **SOLE** Advocate. We may have *many* friendly **INTERCESSORS**, from Christ and the Holy Spirit, down to the humblest Christian : but, in the very nature and necessity of things, we can have no more than *one* **MEDIATOR** and *one* **ADVOCATE**. Accordingly, our scriptural Church closes her prayer in the Litany with pronouncing Jesus Christ our Lord to be our *only* **MEDIATOR** and **ADVOCATE**.

" II. We shall now, I trust, be prepared to meet the apparently formidable quotation which Cardinal Bellarmine has adduced from so very early a writer as Irenæus.

1. The passage is cited with perfect correctness : and it is taken out of the midst of a sort of antithetical comparison of the Virgin Mary with the Virgin Eve ; the drift of which is to shew, that, in the course of God's mysterious arrangement, the fall of Man, through the sin of Eve's disobedience, was repaired by the birth of Christ, through the holiness of Mary's obedience.

" As Eve was, by the discourse of an angel, seduced to flee from God : so Mary, by an angelic discourse, was evangelised that she should carry God, being obedient to his word. And, as the former was seduced that she should flee God, so the latter was persuaded to obey God ; that thus the Virgin Mary might become the **ADVOCATE** of the Virgin Eve *."

* Quemadmodum enim illa (scil. Eva), per angeli sermonem, seducta est, ut effugeret Deum ; prævaricata verbum ejus : ita et hæc (scil. Maria), per angelicum sermonem, evangelizata est, ut portaret Deum ; obediens ejus verbo. Et, sicut illa seducta est, ut effugeret Deum : sic hæc suasa est obedire Deo ; uti Virginis Evæ Virgo Maria fieret **ADVOCATA**. Iren. adv. hæc. lib. v. c. 16. § 3. p. 340, 341. Edit. Nicol. Callas. A.D. 1570.

The anticipation in my last Letter has proved correct. Since it was written, I learn, that the " Dublin Review " speaks thus.

" Mr. Tyler contents himself with treating the passage of St. Irenæus in a very " cavalier manner."

The reviewer then quotes the clause, which immediately follows the passage given above : and he prints in capitals the three words, **SALVATUR PER VIRGINEM** ; as if these words inflicted a death-blow on Mr. Tyler.

Nothing can be more lamentably weak than this *brutum fulmen*.

To this quotation from a Father of the second century, who was the pupil of Polycarp the disciple of St. John, and who was consequently joined to the apostolic age through the medium of no more than a sin-

Even if *SALVATUR* were the genuine reading, still there is a perfectly true and perfectly innocent sense, in which the human race may be said to have been *SAVED THROUGH THE VIRGIN MARY*. For, in truth, the equivalent to this very language is used by St. Paul himself. *Σωθήσεται δὲ διὰ ΤΗΣ τεκνογονίας*. 1 Tim. ii. 15. *She shall be saved through THE child-bearing*: that is, as the definite article *τῆς* fixes the reference, *She shall be saved through the child-bearing of the VIRGIN*.

But, though I have made this remark to cut off all possibility of evasion, I think it plain, even from the mere necessity of grammar, that *SOLVATUR*, not *SALVATUR*, is the genuine reading. Accordingly, in the old edition of Irenæus by Nicolas Callasius A. D. 1570, the word occurs in the form, not of *SALVATUR*, but of *SOLVATUR*.

That the necessity of grammar may the more distinctly appear, I give the clause with its junction to the passage cited above.

Et sicut illa seducta est ut effugeret Deum; sic hæc suasa est obedire Deo, UTI Virginis EVÆ Virgo Maria flet advocata: et, quemadmodum astrictum est morti genus humanum per Virginem; solvatur per Virginem.

Here we have good grammar: for the two subjunctives, *flet* and *solvatur*, constructively joined together by the copulative *et*, alike depend upon the ruling conjunction *UTI*. But, if, with the Dublin reviewer, we read *salvatur*, we forthwith have false grammar: inasmuch as we have, depending upon *UTI*, an indicative instead of a subjunctive.

Nor is this all. The antithetic turn of the sentence itself requires *SOLVATUR*, and rejects *SALVATUR*; as a point absolutely necessary to its concinnity. *SOLVATUR* is the plain correlative to *ASTRICTUM*: for *LOOSING* answers to *BINDING*. But, with the ungrammatical reading *SALVATUR* (though preferred by the Dublin reviewer) the correlativeness entirely vanishes: for *SAVING* does *not* answer to *BINDING*.

The blow, aimed at Mr. Tyler, was doubtless well meant: but his admirable volume, I venture to prophesy, will receive no damage from its infliction.

Since the above was written, I have been favoured by Mr. Tyler with the following account of the spurious reading *SALVATUR*, which has been triumphantly urged by modern Romanists, though the learned Bellarmine was far too well informed to make any controversial use of it.

"Every one, accustomed to such investigations, must pronounce the reading *SALVATUR* to be incorrect.

"Whether tried by the external evidence of printed editions, or manuscripts, or the notice of it by ancient writers; or the internal evidence of what the structure and the sense require and of its agreement in sentiment and language with other parts of the same Father's Works, the reading is proved to be, not *SALVATUR*, but *SOLVATUR*.

"1. As to printed copies, the first edition was by Erasmus, at Basle A.D. 1526: in the Preface of which it is stated, that the editor had the assistance of three manu-

gle link of communication, the learned Cardinal appends the triumphant exclamatory question: "What can be clearer?"

The drift of the question is perfectly intelligible.

scripts; two, from monasteries; one, from Rome, written out and sent thence by an illustrious patron of Learning, John Faber. In this edition, the reading of the passage is: *Et, sicut illa seducta est ut effugeret Deum, sic hæc suasa est obedire Deo, uti virginis Evæ virgo Maria fieret advocata. Et, quemadmodum astrictum est morti genus humanum per virginem, SOLVATUR per virginem:*

"This continued to be the reading, in all the editions of A.D. 1545, 1560, 1563, 1567, 1570, 1596, 1675, down to the edition printed in Oxford A.D. 1702. In this edition, the editor Grabe admitted *SALVATUR* into the text, with this note. *Thus, from an ancient copy of Feuard and a manuscript of Vosse: instead of SOLVATUR, as the editions together with Augustine read it, I have thought right to restore the reading SALVATUR, because the construction requires the indicative. But, on account of the preceding word ASTRICTUM, I should have preferred the reading (l Merceri Cod.) SOLVITUR, if it were confirmed by more manuscripts.*

"I cannot help feeling, that, if Grabe had read the passage in the *manuscripts* and not fettered himself by the unauthoritative punctuation adopted in the *printed* books, he would have seen, that the *construction*, as well as the *sense*, required *SOLVATUR*. However, once admitted into the text in Oxford, there was little chance of *SALVATUR* ever being removed, in the Roman-Catholic press, to make way again for the old reading.

"2. In the Benedictine edition, consequently, Paris A.D. 1710, we not only have *SALVATUR* retained, but this extraordinary note in defence of it. *Ita vet Feuard. Cod. Clarom. Voss. et Grabe, una cum August. cit. In Merc. l, SOLVITUR: in aliis, SOLVATUR.* This note evidences either great ignorance or great carelessness on the part of these Benedictine editors: for, whereas Grabe refers to Augustine as having in his quotation used the word *SOLVATUR*, they represent him (or whatever they meant by *August. cit.*) as confirming the new reading *SALVATUR*. The fact is, that St. Augustine quotes the passage of Irenæus, word for word, calling him an *ancient man of God*: and, in his quotation reads *SOLVATUR*. August. vol. x. cont. Julian. p. 500.

"The Feuard, cited by Grabe, was a Friar Minor, quoted as Feuardentius: his burning zeal, as they used to say, being designated by his name. In his edition, he retains *SOLVATUR*, with the note: *Vet. Cod. SALVATUR. August. SOLVATUR legit.*

"3. There is in the British Museum a beautiful MS. of the 13th century, Arundel 87, in which the reading is *SOLVATUR*. This has, I understand, been collated for the new edition which we are led to expect from Germany.

"4. Then, as to the internal evidence, not only may *SOLVATUR* be governed by *ut*, but, as you well observe, the *correlativeness* of the passage, which is preserved by *SOLVATUR*, vanishes utterly if *SALVATUR* be admitted.

"The idea seems to have been familiarly present to the mind of Irenæus, as it was to Justin Martyr before him: that, as the unfaithfulness of Eve bound mankind to

When expanded, it imports : that here we have distinct HISTORICAL TESTIMONY to the fact ; that, in one of the purest ages of Christianity, only about seventy years after the death of St. John, and in what is justly deemed the period of the Primitive Church, the Virgin Mary was venerated, as the ADVOCATE of Eve, and, of course, through her, as the ADVOCATE of all her descendants.

2. I am willing to hope, that neither the quotation, nor the argument, of the Cardinal has suffered in my hands. The quotation is unimpeachable : our whole concern, therefore, is with the argument.

(1). When I said that *the quotation is unimpeachable*, I obviously

death, so the faithfulness of the Virgin Mary, in giving birth to the Saviour, *loosed* that knot. And the passage in question has much light thrown upon it, and the old reading SOLVATUR is very greatly confirmed, by other passages in Irenæus. I need only, for example, to cite one. *Sic autem et Evæ inobedientia nodus SOLUTIONEM accepit per obedientiam Mariæ. Quod enim ALLIGAVIT virgo Eva per incredulitatem ; hoc virgo Maria SOLVIT per fidem.* Iren. adv. hæc. lib. iii. c. 22. p. 220, Edit. Benedict.

This valuable statement of Mr. Tyler completely settles the true reading. The only question seems to be the point of mood : that is to say, whether we ought to read SOLVITUR or SOLVATUR. According as the transcriber of a MS. for the press chose to punctuate, grammar would require the one or the other. It appears to me, as it does to Mr. Tyler, that the *correct* punctuation, though unfortunately not adopted by Grabe, requires the subjunctive mood. In the passage, as quoted in Mr. Tyler's edition of Augustine, the reading is SOLVATUR. In the edition which I possess, SOLVITUR is the reading. I subjoin the passage as it stands quoted in my edition of Augustine ; together with another passage from Irenæus which Augustine quotes in *immediate* consecution, as illustrating the first on the principle of the *correlativeness* of BINDING and LOOSING : a *correlativeness* totally lost, if the spurious self condemnant reading SALVATUR be adopted.

Quemadmodum ASTRICITUM est morti genus humanum per virginem, SOLVITUR per virginem *æqua lance disposita*, virginalis inobedientia per virginelem obedientiam.

Adhuc enim protoplasti peccato per correptionem primogeniti emendationem accipientes, serpentis prudentia devicta per simplicitatem columbos, vinculis illis *æsolvuti* sumus, per quos ALLIGATI eramus morti. Iren. apud August. cont. Julian. Pelagian. lib. i. c. 3. Oper. vol. vii. p. 326. Colon. Agripp. A.D. 1616.

The conduct of the Romish Critic at Dublin is not a little extraordinary. He adduces and argues upon the reading SALVATUR, as if it were quite indisputably the true reading, and indeed as if no other reading had even been even so much as heard of. I shall not pretend to settle the knotty question, whether such conduct is to be ascribed to ignorance or dishonesty. For whatever reason, there has clearly been, intentionally or unintentionally, a SUPPRESSIO VERI.

May 14, 1846.

meant, that it is *unimpeachable so far as we now possess the Treatise of Irenæus*: whence, no blame can attach to the Cardinal, in respect to the simple point of his having *cited* the passage. Whether he has been equally cautious in pronouncing upon the *import* of the passage, is quite another question. Here, the learned Cardinal has, I think, been too hastily led away by his zeal for a favourite dogma of his Church.

The passage is quoted, not from the original Greek, but from a Latin Translation: nor does any blame attach to Bellarmine from *this* circumstance; for here, as throughout the greater part of the Work of Irenæus, the original has perished, and the old Latin Translation alone remains.

This ought to have been considered by the Cardinal, before he laid such a stress upon the *Latin* word ADVOCATA, as if that *alone* were quite sufficient to settle the doctrine and practice of the Church in the second century.

The point must be decided, not by the *Latin* word of a Translation, but by the *Greek* word of the original.

Now we doubtless cannot demonstrate, as it were, mathematically, *what* Greek word Irenæus employed: but we may well have a moral certainty, that the word, which he here employed was Παράκλητος or *Paraclete*.

Such being the case, a vital question arises: *In what SENSE did he use this word, when he applied it to the Virgin Mary?*

(2). The word itself is ambiguous: for, with a certain measure of cognate ideality in the two senses, it denotes either an ADVOCATE or a COMFORTER.

The Latin translator has chosen to render it by the term ADVOCATA, which is *not* ambiguous: and, upon this single circumstance, rests the whole argument of the Cardinal.

Yet, if there be any cogency in the preceding conclusion, that the character of *an* ADVOCATE *with the Father on our behalf* can only, in the very nature of things, appertain to the Son: the original Greek word must have been erroneously rendered by the Latin translator. Instead of rendering it ADVOCATA or the ADVOCATE, he ought to have rendered it CONSOLATRIX or the COMFORTER.

The distinction is most judiciously preserved by our excellent English translators of the Bible. In the Greek, Christ and the Holy Ghost are alike denominated Παράκλητος or *Paraclete*. 1 John ii. 1, John xiv. 26, xv. 26, xvi. 7. But, since Christ is our *only* ADVOCATE, while, from the supereminence of the Holy Spirit downward to mere

mortals, we may have *many* COMFORTERS: they have, with strict doctrinal correctness, rendered the word ADVOCATE, where Christ is the person spoken of, and COMFORTER where the person spoken of is the Holy Ghost.

Very possibly, the Cardinal may have been influenced by the indefiniteness of the Latin Vulgate; which, in 1 John ii. 1, translates the Greek into ADVOCATUS, but which, in John xiv. 26, xv. 26, xvi. 7, retains the Greek word PARACLETUS untranslated and therefore left in its original ambiguity: whence he may have chosen to deem the ADVOCATA in Irenæus the proper translation of PARACLETUS, whenever the word is at all translated. Yet, if this *were* the case, though the word, as it occurs in the Gospel applied to the Holy Spirit, is similarly left untranslated by Tertullian or rather Novatian; and though Augustine, no doubt, translates it ADVOCATUS, on grounds, however, not very satisfactory: yet the Cardinal ought surely to have noted, that the critical Jerome correctly renders it, not ADVOCATUS, but CONSOLATOR. Comment. in Esai. xl. 1. Oper. vol. iv. p.132.

As the office of COMFORTING is no way *confined* to the Holy Spirit, though he is *pre-eminently* the COMFORTER, either the substantive or the corresponding verb is perpetually employed, both in the Greek of the Seventy and in the Greek of the New Testament, to describe either a mere human comforter, or a mere human act of consolation. See, inter alia, 2 Sam. x. 3. Job xvi. 2. Psalm xvi. 20. Eccles. iv. 1. Lament. i. 9, 16. Nahum iii. 7. Isaiah xl. 1. 2 Corinth. ii. 7. Ephes. vi. 22. Coloss. iv. 8. 1 Thessal. iii. 2, iv. 18, v. 11. The reason is obvious. We can have only *one* ADVOCATE: but, in various gradations of excellency, we may have *many* COMFORTERS.

(3). The way before us, in regard to the language of Irenæus, will now, I trust, be abundantly clear.

On the reasonable assumption, that, in speaking of the Virgin Mary, he employed the word *Paraclete*, the true translation of the word into Latin would have been, not ADVOCATE, but COMFORTER.

(4). Let the passage be thus understood: and the whole is perfectly plain and doctrinally sound.

As Eve and her posterity, through disobedience, had incurred the wrath of God, and were consequently devoid of all solid religious comfort: so Mary, by her prompt obedience, *Behold the handmaid of the Lord, be it unto me according to thy word*, became instrumentally the medium of the divinely appointed remedy, and was thus, though not an ADVOCATE (which she *could not* be), yet a COMFORTER to Eve and in her to all her children after her.

(5). In principle, the idea is not dissimilar to that of Lamech relatively to Noah.

The earth had been cursed for the sin of man; but Lamech foretold, that Noah should COMFORT mankind, concerning their work and the toil of their hands, by the circumstance of his instrumentally removing the curse. Gen. v. 29.

Here, the Vulgate Latin correctly expresses the idea by its use of the verb CONSOLABITUR. It ought, in the same manner, to have rendered the word PARAGLETE, as applied by St. John to the Holy Spirit.

III. Mr. Tyler states: that, from the ecclesiastical writers of the five first centuries, no EVIDENCE can be brought, which shall prove, that the worship paid, and the attributes ascribed, to the Virgin Mary, by the Romish Church *at least* ever since the days of Bonaventura, was part and parcel of the worship and doctrine of the first five hundred years.

1. I do not pretend to have read the Fathers to the extent which Mr. Tyler has examined them: for my own reading has chiefly, though not exclusively, respected the Antenicene Writers. But, certainly, my experience, as far as it goes, fully corresponds with his: and this circumstance, reasonably enough, makes me give full credit to Mr. Tyler's statement.

At any rate, if it be incorrect, the gentlemen of the Romish Communion may easily expose its incorrectness.

I am quite aware of the danger of making a large assertion; for a person, with only a tithe of Mr. Tyler's learning, might stumble upon a passage, which should invalidate the *absolute* integrity of the statement. Yet, should such a passage turn up in a writer of the *fifth* century, we will say: the circumstance would be of little real consequence to the *general* force of the argument. The true weight of testimony lies with the Antenicene Fathers; and, of these, the *earliest* are, EVIDENTIALLY, the most valuable. Hence I should say: that, if Cardinal Bellarmine could have made good his claim to Irenæus, that *single* witness would have been of more importance than *all* the Fathers of the fourth and fifth centuries collectively, if their testimony had been even *universal* in favour of Romish Mariolatry. Had such been the case, and had the Antenicene Fathers given no testimony to the same effect, the Worship of the Virgin could have claimed no more than a *relative* antiquity: it would not have possessed any proof of that *positive* antiquity, which should connect it with the apostolic age. Nay, even if evidence could have been produced from the Antenicene

Fathers ; even if the pretended testimony of Irenæus had been available : still, with that EARLIEST testimony, both *negative* and *positive*, so clearly afforded by Holy Scripture, we should only have been compelled to lament, that the predicted Demonolatrous Apostasy should so soon have invaded the Church of Christ.

A direct CONTRADICTION of Scripture, such as the Idolatrous Worship paid to the Virgin and the Usurpative Offices ascribed to her by the approved writers of the Church of Rome, can never be justly received, even though resort be had to the most ingenious working of Mr. Newman's Principle of Development.

The Idolatrous Worship of the Virgin might, in the downward progress of superstitious corruption, be developed and expanded into the Idolatrous Worship of the Saints : for the two forms of Idolatry are strictly homogeneous. But an express PROHIBITION to pay *any* worship, however sophistically disguised or verbally modified, to a *creature*, can never, consistently or rationally, be developed into the Idolatrous Worship of Mary.

2. In truth, the miserable expedient of this same System of Development seems to shew pretty clearly, that both Tractarianism and Popery (the *latter*, as it has been justly remarked by one of the recent perverts, being the necessary and inevitable development of the *former*) are reduced to their last extremity.

Most curious and instructive is it to note, how, step by step, the ground originally taken up has been abandoned.

(1). *At first*, both Tractarians and Papists boldly appealed to the evidence of Primitive Antiquity. Such was the language of Dr. Pusey and Mr. Newman : and such was the famous boast of the Tridentine Council, *This Faith was ALWAYS in the Church of God*.

(2). On *this* ground they have been met, with a distinct challenge to produce EVIDENCE : and, after every effort of fabrication and falsification, they silently descended from the *earlier* Fathers to the *later* Fathers ; having *now* discovered, that the fourth and fifth centuries were the Golden Age of the Church, and that it required full three hundred years to lick the unformed Church of the Apostles into a tolerably presentable shape.

(3). Still, though the *later* Fathers may have aided them on *some* points ; aid, most valueless, without the corroboration of the *earlier* : still even *these* were found insufficient to support the entire huge Babel of scripturally unauthorised Human Inventions.

(4). Baffled and perplexed, yet judicially hardened in their Apostasy, they next, under the auspices of Dr. Moehler and Mr. Newman, resorted to that ingenious modification of the *Quidlibet ex quolibet*, that

painful extraction of sunbeams out of cucumbers, which is celebrated as *The Theory of Development*: a theory, which brings out the notable result; that, the further we are removed from the apostolic age, the more pure and the more complete will be our Christianity.

(5). Yet even *that* wretched prop gives way: and so, at length, "sith 't will no better be," we are exhorted, with the joint COUNTER-EVIDENCE of both Scripture and Antiquity alike staring us in the face, to resort to the Personal Infallibility of the Pope and the so called Catholic Church, as they happen to exist for the time being; Mr. Newman assuring us that he has searched the Bible without the least emolument, and Dr. Moehler rapidly settling the matter by the profound *dictum* that Christ and the Church are strictly identical, and consequently that by virtue of this identification the Church must inevitably be infallible.

3. If such miserable drivelling were not awful; as shewing, how persons, who receive not the love of the truth, may be judicially given up to strong delusion that they should believe their own lie: it would be positively ludicrous.

The ground, *originally* taken up, has been *entirely shifted*. Nor does the disgrace attach to only a *single* shift: it descends, with perpetual increase, to a *succession* of mutations. To maintain the cherished lie, *per fas atque nefas*, is *necessary to the position* (as Mr. Newman speaks) of both Tractarian and Papist. The original ground of EVIDENCE, therefore, must be relinquished: and the dupes of the silliest System, which human folly ever excogitated, are finally expected to give in their degraded adhesion, not only *without*, but *against*, EVIDENCE.

4. Nevertheless, this state of things, this complete successive shifting of the original ground, this alacrity of sinking from one level to another, is a happy augury for the future. The force of folly can no further go: and, though Tractarianising Popery, like a hunted wild-beast, may finally stand at bay, and may even, through the astounding folly of Modern Liberalism which seems more inclined to patronise falsehood than truth (for it can scarcely be said to hold them in *equal* estimation), acquire once more the old and venerable power of persecution for conscience sake; yet the voice of Prophecy, most remarkably corroborated by the signs of the times, distinctly announces, and *that* at no distant period, the final triumph of sound Religion and the final destruction of the grand Apostasy. We have, indeed, to encounter a time of previous trouble such as never was since there was a nation: but, unless the Bible be an imposture, the end itself is certain.

Meanwhile, by this successful and successive driving of Tractarianism

and Popery from one line of defence to another, until, at length, the very citadel, the last resource, is invested: we may behold the Lord gradually consuming the Lawless One with the spirit of his mouth, and may thus confidently anticipate his final destruction by the brightness of Christ's still more sensible presence.

That the insolent spirit of domineering tyranny and antichristian persecution is as strong as ever in the harlot Church of Rome, is abundantly clear from the scandalous conduct of the Popish Priesthood in Ireland and of the wretched dupes whom they employ as their tools. Without danger to life and property, no man can quit the ranks of the Apostasy, which our wise Government, after solemnly declaring it to be IDOLATROUS, delights, in defiance of an insulted God, to honour and foster and cocker and strengthen. For a practical exemplification of this ruthless spirit in a concentrated form, we need only turn to Dingle and Achill: and, shame to say, the proceedings of the priestly tyrants have actually been encouraged by the infidel approbation of nominal Protestants, while these same nominal Protestants have liberally volunteered their services to calumniate the victims of Popery.

The effort, so conspicuously now making both in England and on the Continent to resuscitate the Apostasy, is, I believe, *chronologically* the last: nor is it anything more than might have been anticipated from the sure, though madly slighted, voice of Prophecy. The Ottoman Empire totters to its fall: and the three spirits of Hellish Infidelity, Despotism, Anarchy, and Jesuitical Popery, are already engaged in their allied predicted vocation. The peace of Europe and of the world apparently rests upon the life of a single wise old man. When the obstacle presented by this modern Sobrino shall have been removed, the demons of discord, *now* scarcely repressed, will be let loose. Revolution will elevate the successful soldier, the revived Buonapartè, of the day, to the imperial throne of military despotism. Then will follow, or rather then will be continued, that fearful material universal war, which is foretold by all the prophets, as occurring at the time of the end and synchronically with the restoration of Israel. And then Popery, budding as it has ever done into Lawlessness and Infidelity, partly through the loathliness of its own corruptions, and partly through such desperate arguments as constitute at once the *delicias* and the forlorn hope of Mr. Newman and the Romish Priesthood: then Popery, allied with the great God-denying Antichrist, the False Prophet associated with the apostatic Secular Empire under its last governing head, will, by some extraordinary process of violence, come to its end, none helping it.

If we expect a gradual gliding into a new golden age through the

medium of peace and prosperity, the nations, as the modern phrase confidently runs, becoming too wise to rush any more into war : we shall, I fear, find ourselves grievously disappointed. The present lull is nothing more than the predicted interval of mercy, placed between the two constituent portions of the last great woe. That no repentance has occurred, no turning away from idols to serve the living God, the present state of what is called *Christendom* sufficiently shews. THEREFORE may we expect those tremendous judgments, through which we must pass, as all the prophets testify, ere we reach that blissful season, when war shall be no more, when real Christianity shall universally prevail, and when a king, through the agency of his faithful servants, shall reign in righteousness.

April 8, 1846.

G. S. FABER.

P. S.—At the close of this Letter, I have briefly touched upon the prophetic denunciations of Scripture. I have not brought Prophecy directly forward, as affording a fearfully strong argument against Popery and its ally Tractarianism.

My reason has been : that, in this semi-infidel age, those persons, who have never studied the subject, are usually, from their very ignorance, the foremost to reject any such arguments, on the plea ; that *the argument rests entirely upon the arbitrariness of interpretation*, and that *the discrepancy among expositors makes any such argument appear, in the eyes of an impartial by-stander, altogether nugatory and inconclusive*.

I. When this plea is in the mouth of a person who has absolutely never studied the subject, it bespeaks pretty much the same amount of wisdom, as if one, who had never studied the principles of Astronomy, should roundly declare : that the whole matter was purely a case of arbitrary speculation ; and that, since some Astronomers had maintained the sun to move round the earth, while others were equally confident as to the earth's moving round the sun, it would THEREFORE be futile to draw any argument from so vague a science.

1. In reply, it will be said : that *Astronomy rests upon mathematical evidence ; whereas the utmost that can be said for any interpretation of Prophecy is, that it rests, more or less plausibly, upon the vagueness of of moral evidence*.

To a certain extent, this, no doubt, is, and, in the very nature of things, *must* be true : yet we Christians should think it a dangerous position, if we conceded the uncertainty of all predictions annunciative

of the Messiah, *because* their application rests only on moral evidence, and *because* Jews and Infidels deny its propriety.

But, in the case of a person, who, without being precisely an Infidel, not only has never studied Prophecy, but who is determined *not* to study it, while, nevertheless, he gives his general vituperative opinion as dogmatically and as positively as if he were a Sir Oracle: the reply, which I have supposed, is scarcely allowable.

So far, *in point of fact*, from there being a hopeless diversity of conclusion among expositors of Prophecy: there is, *in truth*, a very remarkable accordance, handed down from age to age, and confirmed by the multiplied labour of painful study. That is to say (with some individual exceptions), though there may be occasional disagreement in *subordinates*, there is a very singular and a very striking agreement in *primaries*.

Such agreement is easily accounted for. Though the interpretation of Prophecy rests not, because it is physically impossible, upon Mathematical Evidence: yet, in its grand points, it rests upon that highest degree of Moral Evidence, which is brought out by an union of Historical Testimony and Close Logical Deduction.

2. It may be useful to give an example of what I mean.

The character of the Harlot in the Apocalypse is so definitely marked, both locally and politically, that, in identifying her, there is an amount of CERTAINTY, which, though *not* mathematical (as it *cannot* be), is, I fearlessly say, for every purpose of intellectual utility, *equivalent* to mathematical. The identification, indeed, assumes, in its working out, that very form of a *Reductio ad absurdum*, which marks some of the demonstrations of Euclid.

That typical Harlot is described, as *geographically* sitting upon seven hills, and as *politically* reigning over the Kings of the earth at the time when St. John wrote.

Now, in the age of the Apostle, no city answered to this double description save one alone: and, be it observed, he expressly tells us, that the Harlot is the symbol, not only of a city in general, but of a definitely described great city in particular. To apply the typical character of the Harlot, therefore, to any city save that single great city so specifically pointed out in *magnitude* and *dominion* and *chronological existence* and *local peculiarity*, involves an absurdity, which is promptly set aside by History.

Consequently, the *Reductio ad absurdum* compels us, in the way of a mathematical demonstration, to identify the symbol with one particular city to the exclusion of all other cities which existed in the time of St. John.

Hence, the matter is, as it were, so mathematically certain, that Expositors of the most opposite Religious Principles, I mean Popish Expositors and Protestant Expositors alike, have fully agreed, that the Apocalyptic Harlot can only have been designed to represent ROME.

This perfect agreement of identification leaves no more than a single question to be determined: namely, *whether ROME, as described with her adjuncts in the seventeenth chapter of the Apocalypse, be ROME PAGAN or ROME PAPAL.*

Here, again, the same principle of the *Reductio ad absurdum* comes into play: and the Harlot is absolutely demonstrated to be ROME PAPAL, because History makes it an impossible absurdity that she should be ROME PAGAN.

In using this language, however, it must be understood, that I mean ROME PAGAN *exclusively*. I mean only, that she cannot, consistently with History, be *so* ROME PAGAN, as to shut out the *additional* character of ROME PAPAL which the lapse of time has impressed upon her.

The Harlot is described, as sitting upon her seven hills and reigning over the kings of the earth contemporaneously with St. John; and one of the forms of government which distinguished her empire is also said to be then actually existent. Hence, under *this* aspect, she must doubtless be ROME PAGAN.

But, in point of recorded historical fact, ROME PAGAN *became* ROME PAPAL: and, in reference to this *change*, such matters are, in the prophecy, predicated of the Harlot, as to prove, with an evidence akin to mathematical demonstration, that she *cannot* represent ROME PAGAN *exclusively*.

I draw the matter out thus.

(1). The Harlot is described, as co-existing with the ten kings or kingdoms, which sprang up when the Roman Empire was partitioned by the warlike nations of Teutonic Stock. For these *definitely specified ten kings* certainly cannot be those *indefinitely mentioned kings of the earth* over whom the great seven-hilled city reigned in the days of her PAGANISM; because it is expressly said of them, that, in the time of St. John, *they had received no kingdom as yet.* Rev. xvii. 12, 18.

This vital fact is fully admitted by the Popish Expositor Bishop Walmesley, who wrote under the fictitious title of *Signor Pastorini*.

"The ten horns," says he, "denote ten kings or ten powers, namely, "the Goths, Huns, Alans, Vandals, Saxons, Burgundians, Franks, "Heruli, Suevi, and Quadi, the chief of the barbarous nations that invaded the Western Roman Empire in the fifth century." Gener. Hist. of Christ. Church, p. 121.

Whether the Bishop's catalogue of the ten kingdoms be the best, is

nothing to our present purpose. He admits, we see, that they partitioned the Western or Proper Roman Empire in the course of the fifth century, *then* and *there* receiving their predicted sovereignty.

Now, if they partitioned the Empire in the fifth century, the ROME, which was *then* and which has been *ever since* contemporary with them, was assuredly not ROME PAGAN, but ROME PAPAL. For, in the fifth century, which itself followed the *final* subversion of Paganism by the great Theodosius, ROME had *ceased* to be PAGAN, and had *become* CHRISTIAN under the growing influence and power of the POPE. Hence, it is demonstratively certain: that the Harlot, admitted by both parties to be ROME, *cannot*, consistently with History, while thus contemporaneous with the ten Gothic kingdoms, be ROME PAGAN. But, if she *cannot*, during this term of her existence which was *future* in the time of St. John, be ROME PAGAN: she *must inevitably*, unless we boldly set aside the distinct testimony of History, be ROME PAPAL.

(2). Nor is this the whole amount of our demonstration. Though, for a season, the ten Gothic Kingdoms of the Divided Empire should, as the prophecy tells us, support the Harlot, and give to her all their power and strength: still the same prophecy assures us, that these Kingdoms of the Divided Empire should finally hate her, and make her desolate, and even burn her with fire.

History attests, that the first part of the prediction has been in a course of exact accomplishment during very many centuries reckoning downward from the fifth: and History likewise attests, that the announced final utter destruction of ROME has *never yet* occurred; whence, obviously, it must be still *future*.

How, then, does Bishop Walmesley, on *his* theory that the Harlot symbolises ROME PAGAN *exclusively*, get over this fearful difficulty?

He contends, that the *entire* prophecy was accomplished, in the case of ROME PAGAN, by the well attested historical circumstance: that, after the northern warriors had for a season supported her by serving in her armies, they finally turned against her; insomuch that ROME was successively plundered and burned, by Alaric A. D. 410, Genseric A. D. 455, Odoacer A. D. 476, and finally Totila A. D. 546, who completely burned the City and reduced it into a solitude. Gen. Hist. p. 121, 124, 127.

Now all this may be very true: but a not unimportant question immediately springs up.

Did these matters happen to ROME PAGAN or ROME PAPAL?

Most unfortunately for our Popish Expositor, they all, as History testifies, happened to ROME PAPAL, *not* to ROME PAGAN: and the *irrecoverable* ruin, foretold by the prophet as the destined fate of the Harlot

City acknowledged by both parties to be **ROME** (Rev. xviii. 2, 3, 21—24), *did not occur* at any of the dates in the fifth and sixth centuries so carefully specified by Bishop Walmesley.

This *last* particular Bishop Walmesley is compelled to admit.

"**ROME**, when the anger of God was satisfied," says he, "was designed to emerge from her ashes: and, though not allowed to recover her former temporal dominion, splendour, and riches, nor to rise, in her outward appearance, scarce above the condition of a village, when compared with her former extent and multitude of people; yet, in her depressed state, she is privileged with a higher dignity of another kind, of being not only a Christian City, but appointed the head and centre of spiritual dominion." P. 134, 135.

The prophet declares, that **ROME** shall be so *irrecoverably* destroyed, that *she shall be found no more at all*: intimating further, that her miserable deserted locality shall become the habitation of demons, and the hold of every foul spirit, and a cage of every unclean and hateful bird. Rev. xviii. 21—23, 2, 8.

Dr. Walmesley, constrained by the force of History, admits, that she was in nowise *irrecoverably* destroyed in the fifth and sixth centuries: but tells us; that she was raised, from her depressed state, to even a higher dignity; and that, ever since, she has been tenanted, not by foul spirits and unclean birds (as the prophecy announces), but by exemplary Popes, and devout Cardinals, and orthodox Clerics, and zealous Monks and holy Nuns.

This part, therefore, of the prediction, **THE IRRECOVERABLE DESTRUCTION OF ROME** to wit, has not hitherto been accomplished; even by the shewing of the Bishop himself: and, since **ROME** has *ceased* to be **PAGAN** for many centuries, it, most clearly, *never can be accomplished* in **PAGAN ROME**.

Hence, the general result will be: that we must either declare the inspired word to be false, or admit the prediction to be *now* only capable of accomplishment in **ROME PAPAL**.

Finally, then, we have a perfect demonstration, only *not* mathematical (which the *nature* of the subject does not admit): that, since the Harlot is, alike by Popish and Protestant Expositors, acknowledged to be **ROME**: and since a *Reductio ad absurdum* proves absolutely (unless all History be set aside) the *impossibility* of her being **ROME PAGAN** through the greatest part of the prophecy down to her predicted *irrecoverable* destruction; she must, *inevitably*, under such circumstances, be **ROME PAPAL**.

II. Now, when this vital point is once established *to absolute demon-*

stration, it is easy to perceive, what a train of expository consequences it draws after it by a clear logical necessity.

1. We may learn, in the first place, what a tremendous argument it furnishes against that Popery, which sundry Tractarians, in defiance of all evidence, have apostatically embraced as the very truth of God, and which the present leader of those, who nominally remain within the pale of the Protestant Church of England, has actually pronounced to be only *another Portion of the Lord's Vineyard*.

2. Furthermore, from the demonstrative establishment of the same point, we may learn the absolute madness of our Government, from the fatal year 1829 down to the present moment, in their forming a close political amalgamation with Popery, and in their fostering and encouraging and supporting it by grants of the public money most unhappily confided to the thoroughly anti-protestant management of their trusteeship.

To call such measures purely *political*, and to deny to them any *theological* character, is the very mockery of an infidel scheme of IMAGINARY EXPEDIENCY, which would treat all forms of religion as equally true or equally false, and which would daringly mock the majesty of Heaven by making the Government of England a sort of honorary member of *all* religions, while itself had *no* religion.

Very different is the scriptural view of the case.

In Prophecy, Popery and the whole Political System associated with it, are doomed to absolute and irremediable destruction: a destruction, so fearful and so complete, that (as Daniel speaks), during a time of trouble such as never was since there was a nation even to that same time, the several constituent parts of the great compound Imperial Image shall be broken in pieces together, and become like the chaff of the summer threshing-floor, and be carried away by the wind so that no place shall be found for them.

I had once indulged sanguine hopes of the preservation of my country in the midst of the *general* impending ruin. But, such being the *irreversible* doom of Popery and Popedom, it is quite clear, that, if England be *united* to Popery, *encourage* Popery, *endow* Popery, and in sundry of her subjects *apostatise* to Popery, thus *throwing in her lot and making a common cause* with Popery: it is quite clear, I say, that, under *such* circumstances, England can, by no possibility, escape the *awful doom* pronounced upon Popery. If Popery is to be struck at, it is physically impossible that it *can* be struck at save through the side of those States that are its *patronisers* and *supporters*. Hence we are assured, that, when Popery is destroyed, those Empires and Kingdoms, which *foster*

and *support* it, shall synchronically be so broken in pieces as no longer to have any political coherence and existence.

3. The unwise may scoff at such denunciations, as fools (we are told) make a mock at sin, and as the antediluvians no doubt ridiculed the unbelieving warnings of the patriarch: but this fatal connection is what, to every student of Prophecy, makes our present position, through the infatuation of one set of legislators after another, so tremendously awful; the more awful, because, with the very results before them, they seem obstinately determined to learn no wisdom from experience.

Had we *throughout*, as a religious people, acted simply in faith, revering God's plain behests in Prophecy, and confidently leaving the issue in *his* hands; we should have been safe in the midst of surrounding danger and destruction.

But, now, the vile antichristian principle of an INFIDEL EXPEDIENCY, instead of bringing peace and security, has *begun* with introducing a spirit of exacting popish lawlessness, and, unless we retrace our steps and disentangle ourselves from the coil of the serpent, will assuredly *go on* to involve us in the common ruin of those papalising kingdoms which constitute the divided feet of the symbolic Imperial Image.

At least, our only hope, I believe, of a mitigated judgment is: that the favourite political project of encouraging Popery and discouraging Protestantism was not so much the mind and wish of our people at large, as the daring foolishness of our imagined worldly-wise Legislature; who, by first solemnly declaring Popery to be idolatrous, and then by giving for its support the public money and the public patronage, having previously engrafted it upon the once Protestant Constitution, have insulted Almighty God to his very face in a way rivalled only by the POLITICAL EXPEDIENCY of Jeroboam.

A greater act of presumptuous impiety than this I can scarcely imagine. To form a constitutional alliance with what God has doomed to wide-spreading destruction, would have been *simple madness*: for the madness might have been *unconscious*, and so far forth *comparatively innocent*. But the whole has been done by our Legislature with their eyes wide open. They first solemnly declare Popery to *be* idolatry: and then, *with full cognisance of their own free declaration*, they do their utmost to encourage and support and ally themselves with what *is* idolatrous by their own open avowal. Thus, to *madness*, they have deliberately added *insult*. Shall not God judge for these things? Assuredly he will, if there be any such thing as his moral government, the future operations of which are distinctly set forth by the *unanimous* voice of Prophecy; unless his wrath from this nation be averted by timely repentance.

4. Mr. Habershon, like myself, looking forward to that fearful crisis which is announced by all the prophets, and which apparently is not very far distant, in complete accordance with my own anticipations, thus expresses himself.

"Allowing England the full benefit of her three centuries of separation from Rome out of that long period of Popery's existence, the twelve hundred and sixty years, it may fairly be asked: has not England already had her reward in the striking preservation she experienced during her last long conflict? On the other hand, is not that link of darkness reappearing, that decidedly joins her with the Papal Kingdoms, and marks her as one of them? The bulwarks and defences, which the wisdom and piety of our forefathers had established against the encroachments of Popery, and which it was thought had for ever dissevered England from all communion with apostate Rome, have been demolished by the liberalism or rather the infidelity of the present faithless generation, in the passing of what is called the Roman Catholic Relief Bill of 1829. Remembering, in what terms of reprobation the beast and his image and his mark are spoken of throughout this prophecy, what most awful warnings are given against them, and what a dreadful doom awaits them: we cannot but think, that the wisdom of man and the wisdom of God, in this important national act, have been at perfect variance. Very similar does it appear to the conduct of Jeroboam, who, *in his wisdom*, on the separation of the Ten Tribes of which he had been divinely constituted the king, ordered two golden calves to be set up, one in Dan and the other in Bethel, and commanded the people to go thither to worship at the great festivals, instead of going up to Jerusalem, the place which the Lord himself had chosen for that purpose. The consequence of his wise POLITICAL EXPEDIENCY was, that *this thing became sin unto the House of Jeroboam, even to cut it off and to destroy it from off the face of the earth*. His single idolatrous act of rebellion against God ultimately led to consequences he did not look for; namely, to that captivity from which his nation has never recovered to this day. Now, as that GOVERNMENT-POLICY brought finally upon Israel the severest judgments of Heaven: just so it is with too much reason to be apprehended, that the admission of Papists into power, in almost every department of the State (let the POLITICAL EXPEDIENCY of it have appeared what it may; let the arguments for it, on the grounds of the *Rights of Conscience*, have been ever so plausible), will be found to have united us so closely with Papal Rome, as to bring upon us what we little expect; namely, *a full participation of her tremendous judgments*. It is impossible to

"say, what perfection of mischief such a change of political circumstances may yet further develope: but, from the well-known insidious workings of that Apostate Power, it is but too probable, that the issue will still more decidedly identify us as *a Papal Kingdom*." Habershon's Historic. Expos. of the Proph. of St. John, chap. xix. vol. ii. p. 195—197.

Since Mr. Habershon wrote this, the Legislature, with their wonted liberality, have largely increased the endowment of Maynooth, for the more effectual encouragement and the more extensive propagation of a Theological System which our wonderfully consistent senators have declared to be *IDOLATROUS*! For its admirable *political* utility, we need only, I suppose, turn our eyes to Ireland.

Quos Deus vult perdere, prius dementat.

LECTURES ON THE PROPHECIES PROVING THE DIVINE ORIGIN OF CHRISTIANITY.

"Lectures on the Prophecies proving the Divine Origin of Christianity. Delivered in the Chapel of the Hon. Society of Lincoln's Inn, on the foundation of the late Bishop Warburton." By Alexander M'Caul, D.D., Professor of Divinity in King's College, London, and Prebendary of St. Paul's. London: J. W. Parker. 1846.

THIS volume of Sermons has just been placed in our hands, and therefore we shall be excused from examining its contents and weighing its arguments with too critical an eye. The fame which the author has already achieved as a Hebrew scholar will guarantee the safety of the oriental criticisms, and his sound and steady judgment will at least make men give credit for a quietness of induction and an absence of particular bias, which is essential in handling the prophecies as an evidence of Christianity. In every age of the Church, men of different powers and characters are raised up for the various and necessary offices in the Church. It demands a different system in removing intervening obstacles from that which is best employed in patiently waiting for fruits. Artificers of different employments are instructed in elaborating the

parts of the great temple—that is, the body of the Church. Not every member is a tongue, or every one an ear, according to the illustration which the Apostle of the Gentiles gives. “There are diversities of gifts, but the same Spirit;” but of this all-important truth we seem, in our day, to have lost sight, and every one grows more and more attached to his own peculiar system. We call every man’s system peculiar, not by way of blame or complaint, but simply for the reason, that as each man differs from his fellow in appearance, so does he in mind. Nature is so prolific, that there are no fac-similes, though there are many similar one to another. Even imitators, that servile race, cannot hit off the exactness of the person imitated. There is no plan by which mind can be daguerreotyped from one to another. The likeness is, after all, a poor resemblance when the original is present.

Our readers will perhaps be inquiring to what aim all these truisms are directed. Why should we write off a number of sentences which no one can doubt, and much less will any venture to dispute? The truth is, that truisms are out of date, because they are too practical. Whichever way they are regarded, they are broad principles that present a point to the spectator or the combatant. They are like universal axioms, which adapt themselves to every subject that deserves notice or demands investigation. In themselves they seem empty, but the subjects to which they are applied bring out their utility. For instance, to apply our first remarks as to exact likeness, it is not thought or even expected that two men should personally resemble each other, nor should it be even thought or wished that in the minds, which the same Creator has created, there should be any more close resemblance than in the corporeal substance. The space in which mind moves is less narrow than that of matter, and so is there greater variety of form; and yet in every class of men there is a desire to make all others of an exact similarity of mind, and in every individual a hope that men will see with his eyes and hear with his ears; and in no subject is this universal feeling more strongly developed than in the instruction which is given from the pulpit. There is a general idea that all sermons should be brought up or down to one standard of thought and subject. In the last century the idea of sermons was a dry morality, which was itself a sad declension from a style which dwelt almost exclusively on evidences. It seems to us an inheritance, in the present day, that our pulpit is to present the sameness of the past, and that some one style and character is to pervade every sermon before it can meet with general or even any approval. Those who admire the general tone of our present pulpit, and are thankful for the marked improvement which late years have given it, may yet allow

that it is anything but perfect, and that it by no means fully accomplishes the aim of building up men in our most holy faith. If, indeed, our pulpit were what it ought to be, the late unhappy differences would never have arisen, nor would Rome have gained her docile perverts from our people. The truth is, that, in shunning controversy, we have forgotten our outworks; and in striving with too little wisdom, though with the best intentions, for what is absolutely practical, our sermons have not abounded in a sufficient depth of thought, or exhibited that evidence of reading, which is absolutely necessary for the theologian, and will render him dissatisfied with the simple product of his own brain. It certainly does not derogate from evangelical truth, if it be accompanied with exegetical skill or critical development of latent meanings. The right dividing of the Word of Truth seems to require that all of its corners should be penetrated, and every grace earnestly sought after. The preciousness of the treasure shews that no smallest part should be neglected; and the deficiency of the earthen vessel by which it is conveyed should teach us to husband up each drop, that no particle be lost. There is milk for babes, and meat for the more advanced; but where, in our days, is the depth and power of the seventeenth century, or of those which have followed? Or, to come down to later times, while we lament the defects of the past, where shall we find, not to say a Warburton or a Pearson, but even an approach to their learning and power? Nearly all our learned men are simply learned. Their learning is shut out from the pulpit. Our Bampton Lectures will not compare with those foundations of older times—the Boyle Lectures or those of Warburton. Sermons may be preached, but no one is hardy enough to publish, except in some solitary instance, which, like the work before us, startles us by recalled events, and compels us to lament over forsaken glories, and to desire that our own times, which have grasped the substance, would not disregard the humbler point of excellence, but use every prop to support and every means to promote the pure and simple truth. It is not a change which we advocate, but an *addition*, and we feel sure that this will come when our candidates for holy orders are subjected to a more strict and searching ordeal; when they are set apart by their training for the sacred office, as is done by nearly every communion but our own. Learned men say that our clergy are not learned, and day by day we have evidences of the fact. Thinking men, whose experience has given them a wide field for observation, seem to doubt whether there are many reading and studious divines among them. Reason tells us that the clergy in large towns are shut out from so decided a course of study as is necessary; and we have met with few young men, who, in active labour, have not lamented

the inefficiency of their training for the onerous duties imposed on them. The most sanguine person cannot expect that any decided improvement will at present happen from theological professorships and voluntary examinations, when nearly every thinking man at either university throws himself body and spirit into the course which is to flatter his ambition and delight his friends, even though it leaves him ignorant of theology and utterly inexperienced in many important matters. We would not be thought to undervalue the rewards or the labours, but we wish that theological lore was a *sine quâ non* in the training of future clergymen. Sound theological attainments will make instruction safe, will steady the minds of our clergy, and give a tone to the character of our Protestantism; and this will go much further to repel Popery, than all the popular excitement of a moment.

It gives us great pleasure to find Dr. M'Caul publishing his "Wartonian Lectures," which are a specimen of sound argument and severe reasoning. They seem to us to be written with that happy mean between the two extremes of empty assertion and abstruse discussion. The most which we can do is, to lay before our readers extracts, by which they may arrive at a conclusion for themselves as to the real and lasting value of these lectures. In speaking of prophecy as an evidence of Omnipotence, Dr. M'Caul says—

"Man may calculate the motions of the heavenly bodies, predict an eclipse of the sun, or the return of a comet, because these events are dependent upon known, fixed, and immutable laws; but where is the human being who can calculate the destinies of any one individual of the human race—who can determine beforehand the motions of his will, and the development of his intellect—who can point out the various disturbing powers, that will interpose to check their progress, or alter their direction—who can predict the changes to arise from variety of circumstance, from new and unexpected relations with his fellow-men—from sickness and health, from inward caprice or outward violence? Thus to foretell the history of any one individual, it is necessary to know not only his physical constitution and moral mechanism, but also the infinite variety of circumstance in which he may be placed, the never-ending succession of human beings with whom he may be brought in contact, and the varied effects to be produced and modified by these various causes. But this is clearly beyond the utmost powers of the human intellect. Attention to the natural capabilities of the child may enable the observer to conjecture, if he live, the greatness of the man, but there his power of presentiment finds its limit. Whether the child may live to fulfil the

"expectations of his friends, he cannot determine; and still less can he predict the details of his history. The bystanders might easily conjecture that the son of Amilcar would be an enemy to Roman power, but none could foretell the splendour and variety of his successes, nor his melancholy end. The friends of the German Reformer, who saw him a devout and fearless boy, might guess or hope the faith and courage of the man. But the most sagacious could not imagine that the child, who sang from door to door, should shake down the pillars of Papal power, and extend his moral influence to the limits of the civilized globe, and the end of time. Yet prophecy takes a still wider range. It does not form conjectures respecting the future destinies of those whose character and circumstances are known. It announces the birth of Him who was yet unborn, and was not to be born until centuries after its voice had been hushed into silence—it assigns the time and place of his birth, the features of his character, the course of his life—the reception which he should meet with from his contemporaries, and the influence which he should exercise as long as the moon endureth. Here then is a direct appeal to God's omniscience. If it be beyond human wisdom to foretell the futurity of its nearest living friend, it is clearly the exclusive attribute of the Divine prescience to announce the life and acts of him who is yet to come. If, therefore, we can shew, that prophecies respecting an individual did exist centuries before his birth, and that these prophecies have been minutely fulfilled, we prove an interposition of Divine omniscience, and have consequently the same species of proof as that offered by Elijah to his countrymen. He appealed to omnipotence, we to omniscience; the one as certainly the attribute of Deity as the other." Pp. 4—7.

Of the six lectures which are published, the two last are by far most important in the present crisis, as they are engaged on the fulfilment of New Testament prophecy, in the history of the Roman Church. Dr. M'Caul says, that his choice was naturally directed to the prophecies relating to the Romish Church, by the expressed will of the founder of the lecture. The first of these two lectures is on Revelations xvii, 5; and in these days, when the new school of interpreters are trying to confound the long-received interpretations by their scheme of futurism, it is refreshing to read the following:—

"In the text he says, 'Mystery, Babylon the great.' In the 9th verse he adds, 'Here is the mind that has wisdom,' and immediately adds a partial interpretation of the symbol by saying, 'The seven heads are seven mountains on which the women sitteth.' And in the

" 18th verse he says that the woman described represents ' the great city
 " ' which reigneth over the kings of the earth.' It would, therefore, be
 " scarcely consistent to take the word Babylon literally, even if the
 " things predicated of the subject of the prophecy could be referred to
 " that ancient city, which is impossible. The author himself tells us, in
 " the verse just referred to, that he was speaking of the great city, which
 " in his own days ruled over the kings of the earth, whereas the literal
 " Babylon, far from having any dominion, was then a desolation. This
 " last particular is equally conclusive against the exposition which makes
 " Babylon to stand for the congregation of the wicked. St. John is
 " speaking of a particular city, whose geographical position and universal
 " empire are so accurately described, as to agree to but one city in the
 " world. The city whose wall encompassed the seven hills, and which
 " claimed an empire co-equal with the limits of the earth, cannot easily
 " be mistaken. Jewish rabbies and Christian fathers, Romanists and
 " Protestants, all agree that Babylon is Rome. Some few of the Popish
 " interpreters attempt a different exposition, but the more respectable,
 " not excepting even the Jesuits Bellarmine and à Lapide, admit that
 " Rome is the subject of the prophecy. So far, then, the prediction
 " confessedly announces the destinies of the eternal city. But whether
 " Rome heathen, Rome Papal, or Rome anti-Christian, or Rome abso-
 " lute, including all three, be spoken of, is a matter of controversy.
 " Romanists adopt either the first and third supposition, or both toge-
 " ther, and in some respects the history of heathen Rome agrees with
 " the prophetic delineation. She was idolatrous and reigned over the
 " kings of the earth, as is here asserted ; but a more close examination
 " of the prophecy shows that either interpretation is untenable. In the
 " first place, it is not of heathen Rome that the apostle speaks. This
 " is evident from the great surprise which he expressed at what he saw.
 " If we suppose that the angel exhibited to his view heathen Rome in
 " the form of an adulterous persecuting woman, possessed of great do-
 " minion, what was there in this to excite that profound astonishment
 " which he expresses in the words, ' When I saw her I wondered with
 " ' great admiration ?' Heathen Rome did not compel other nations to
 " embrace her creed. St. John knew that Rome was idolatrous—he felt
 " that she was persecuting—he saw that she was in possession of ex-
 " tended empire. There was, therefore, nothing in this to astonish.
 " Had the angel exhibited to him Rome converted from heathenism, the
 " professing see of St. Peter, the centre of the Church's unity, the mo-
 " ther and mistress of all Churches, this might have astonished the
 " apostle who had seen the fierceness of her opposition to Christianity ;

“ but to be told that she was idolatrous, persecuting, and supreme, could produce no emotion of the kind. It could not, therefore, be heathen Rome which he saw. And this argument is confirmed by the account of the total destruction which follows, not now to speak of the seven-headed beast and the ten kings. Heathen Rome suffered no such overwhelming catastrophe as is here described; but was, on the contrary, converted to Christianity, and attained a glory and a dominion in nowise inferior to that which she had before possessed.

“ Some Romanist writers have felt this difficulty, and therefore add, that what Rome was before the time of Constantine, it is again to become at the end of the world; that it will forsake Christianity and the Vicar of Christ, that its name shall again be Babylon, and that then it shall be destroyed. But this interpretation, if true, would be as fatal to Roman pretension as that adopted by Protestants, for it not only implies the open and formal apostacy of the inhabitants of the Papal See, and, therefore, some gross misconduct and carelessness of the shepherd to whose care they had been entrusted, but expressly declares that the place of St Peter's chair is itself to be destroyed. Now, if there be no city of Rome, there can be no Bishop of Rome, and, therefore, St. Peter's primacy, the apostolic chair, must come to an end; and if there be a primacy at all, it must belong to the Bishop of some other see.” P. 116.

For the valuable notes on the passages which we quote, we must refer the reader to the work itself.

Dr. M'Caul shews that idolatry is prophesied of Rome, and that it is the people, not the mere city walls and stones, to which allusion is made. “ That inanimate mass never reigned over the kings of the earth—never believed in Christ, and could, therefore, never apostatize.” He alludes to their image worship, and by the letter of the commandment excludes Rome from the claim of being a sound church. And so also, as to saints and angels, it is incontestibly shewn that Rome is idolatrous. The most important point for us is the fact that our own church has denounced and does denounce Rome as idolatrous. He alludes to the “ Injunctions of 1547,” “ Cranmer's Articles of Visitation,” “ The Second Liturgy of Edward VI.,” “ The Homily,” and thus continues :—

“ In the injunctions of Queen Elizabeth, A. D. 1559, Popery is again spoken of as idolatry, and thus also in the form of thanksgiving in 1594, and again in the canons of 1640; and in the declaration against transubstantiation, prescribed in the thirtieth of Charles II, the church requires her sons to swear that the invocation or adoration of the Virgin Mary, or any other saint, and the sacrifice of the mass, as they

“ are now used in the Church of Rome, are superstitious and idolatrous. An oath of this kind, prescribed by the great council of the Church, and voluntarily taken by some of the most learned bishops we have ever had, settles for ever the question as to the judgment of the Church. If our Church collectively, and our bishops severally, did not believe the Roman Church to be idolatrous, then are both Church and bishops convicted of gross and deliberate perjury. It is unnecessary to add the private testimonies of individuals, but those who desire it will find a complete collection made by the learned Stillingfleet, and containing all the great names which adorn the Church’s history from Bishop Jewell to his own time. That prelate concludes that list of authorities in the following words :— ‘ By this we see that the most eminent and learned defenders of our Church, of the greatest authority in it and zeal for the cause of it against enemies of all sorts, have agreed in the charge of idolatry against the Church of Rome, and I cannot see why the authority of some very few persons, though of great learning, should bear sway against the constant opinion of our Church since the Reformation, since our Church is not now to be formed according to the singular fancies of some few (though learned men), much less to be modelled by the caprichios of superstitious fanatics, who prefer some odd opinions and ways of their own before the received doctrine and practice of the Church they live in.’ P. 132.

Let us add to this the strong language of Archbishop Wake :—“ It is not the private opinion only of some particular and forward men in their zeal and heat against Popery, thus to accuse it of idolatry : but it is the deliberate, and sober, and downright charge of the Church of England, of which no honest man can be a member and a minister who does not make and believe it.” P. 166.

In continuing the illustration of the prophecy, it is shewn that nothing could, humanly speaking, have been more improbable than the idolatry of Rome, and her continuance in it, and then we read—

“ St. John declared that this idolatry should continue, and the Church of Rome remain a spiritual adulteress, impenitent and unreformed, to the hour of her destruction. More than a thousand years have elapsed since the worship of images was formally adopted, and the history of that long period confirms the truth of the prophet’s word. Three hundred years ago there were some symptoms of a change. Divers National Churches, daughters of Babylon, and harlots like their mother, put away their abominations, and gave glory to the God of heaven. The light of truth once more illuminated the earth, and

"Rome herself could not shut her eyes against its glory. God gave his blessing to those churches—their sons advanced in wisdom, in arts, in science, in power, intellectual and political, whilst darkness and semi-barbarism were the national companions of idolatry. Rome saw and heard the glory and the voice of truth, but resisted the evidence which the experience of three centuries has forced upon her, and still continues, as St. John predicted, idolatrous. Her blasphemous assumption of infallibility renders it impossible that she should ever amend, and thus the principles and long-continued practice of Rome lead us to conclude, that, as St. John has proved a true prophet in announcing her conversion and return to idolatry, so he will be found in the announcement of her final overthrow." P. 184.

This lecture concludes by a solemn exhortation to avoid the plagues of Rome:—"Let us learn that all thought of a union with Rome is an abomination in the sight of God, and fraught with imminent danger to our Church, our nation, and our souls. If we unite either nationally or individually with Rome in her idolatry, we must expect that God will unite us with her in her plagues."

In the 6th Lecture, history is shewn to agree with the prophecy as to pseudo-catholicity and persecuting cruelty; on the first of which he remarks—

"The apostle describes the Church which he has in view as widely diffused, (and the mother church of a large communion), of which she is the centre of unity and the source of doctrine. In the first verse he describes her 'As sitting upon many waters;' and in the 15th verse he interprets this image of the diffusiveness of her dominions, 'The waters which thou sawest, where the whore sitteth, are peoples, and multitudes, and nations, and tongues.' In the text he calls her 'the mother of harlots;' she is, therefore, the head of many communities similar to herself. He designates her further as 'the mother of the abominations of the earth;' that is, the source of the corrupt and abominable doctrines with which the earth is filled, as he himself explains the words in xviii, 3, 'All nations have drunk of the wine of the wrath of her fornication.' In this description there is evidently an anti-parallelism to the features of the true Catholic Church, which is the bride of Christ. She consists of 'a great multitude which no man can number, of all nations, and kindreds, and peoples, and tongues.' She is the 'general assembly and Church of the first-born;' 'the pillar and ground of the truth;' and 'the mother of us all.' The true Church is catholic, because she is made up of all the members of Christ's mystical body; all the children of God belong

“to her communion, and her doctrine is that which has been received everywhere, always, and by all. The anti-parallel features of the harlot may, therefore, fitly be designated by the term pseudo-catholicity.” P. 142.

Again,

“Romanists will no doubt reply, by saying, that this diffusiveness is also a note of the true Church, as is acknowledged by some Protestant writers; that, therefore, when they refer to it, it is in this sense as a note of the true Church, and a proof that their Church is so. To this I answer, that when Protestants speak of diffusiveness as a note of the Church, they speak of the whole Church. No Protestant ever thought of making diffusiveness a proof that his own particular Church is a true Church. Reformed Christians are content with being able to prove that they are catholic, as being a part of the Catholic Church. The only particular Church that ever attempted to prove itself to be the Church universal is the Church of Rome. She is not content with asserting the diffusiveness of the whole Church, but makes this feature the essential difference whereby the particular Church of Rome is distinguished from other particular Churches, or Christian societies. But I reply, further, that diffusiveness neither is nor can be a note of the true Church. It would, indeed, be strange that the true and the false Church should have one common mark, or that God should confer upon falsehood the semblance of truth. The Romanists themselves cannot make out their proof except by renouncing the primary signification of the word catholic, and by interpreting it to mean *morally universal*, that is, they are obliged to have recourse to a mere fiction. The word *catholic* does not, either in its etymology or its first use, signify *diffusiveness*, but universality, totality; and, however it may be used by the Fathers or Protestant writers in the secondary sense to mean diffusive, the best writers of our Church, when speaking of the Church universal, attach to it its proper meaning.” P. 145.

Again,

“Diffusiveness, therefore, is no more a note of the true Church universal, than it is of a true particular church. When it is a little flock, and when, as we assuredly believe it one day shall, it includes all the families of man, and every individual of each family, it is equally the true Church. Diffusiveness as the note of a church is peculiar to the Church of Rome, as asserted by her last council, maintained by her divines, and gloried in by her members. She has, therefore, according to her own confession, the particular feature intended by St. John, when he describes her as sitting upon many waters.” P. 151.

The words "mother of harlots" are interpreted by the author as predicting that "she was not to remain alone, but to have daughters 'equally corrupt and faithless as herself.'"

After quoting the claim in the creed of Pope Pius IV, he writes thus eloquently and powerfully:—

"The very words, marked out by the apostle's 'MOTHER OF HARLOTS'; 'mother and mistress of all churches' is that which Rome adopts as her distinctive title—a title necessarily distinctive, for there cannot be many mothers. One church, and one church alone, can lay claim to maternity. The Church of Rome declares that she is that one—the only church that ever pretended to be the universal mother. O just and righteous judgment of God upon her presumption! O merciful dispensation of an all-wise Providence! O marvellous and judicial blindness of usurping Rome; that led her to adopt not only the character, but the very word specified by the Holy Spirit as the characteristic of the false and faithless church—the pretender to catholicity. In her most solemn, her peculiar profession of faith, she calls herself the mother of churches, and their boasted unity of faith and uniformity of worship proclaims them to be harlots like herself. She is mother of harlots and mother of their abominations. She claims to be and they acknowledge her as the centre of their unity, and the source of their doctrine. Thus far, then, the pseudo-catholicity of Rome proves that St. John was a true prophet." P. 153.

"But," writes our author, "there is another feature still, so dreadful, so revolting, so unlike Christianity, as to cause some hesitation, or even to raise a doubt of the correctness of the prophetic picture, or at least of the propriety of the application. St. John goes on to say, 'I saw the woman drunken with the blood of the saints, and with the blood of the martyrs of Jesus.' Is it possible, that any community calling itself Christian, and professing faith in the meek and merciful Jesus, should be found imbruing its hands in the blood even of idolators or persecutors? Is it conceivable that any church, even of heretics, not to speak of that society which calls itself the church, the true church, the only spouse and bride of Christ, should have to answer for the blood of the saints and of the martyrs of Jesus? The wildest imagination could never have fancied anything more abhorrent from the spirit of Christianity. The feverish dreams of the wicked could hardly produce an image more unworthy of the Gospel. And yet, it has been portrayed by the pencil of inspiration. St. John presents the picture of an idolatrous and pseudo-Catholic Church, glutted with the blood of true and faithful Christians, and history bears witness, that it is no phantom of a diseased imagination, but sober and dreadful

"truth. 'In her may be found even now the blood of prophets, and of 'saints, and of all that were slain upon the earth.' In the first place, Rome is answerable for all the Christian blood shed in wars produced immediately by Papal pretension, or the maintenance of her religious supremacy. Since the day that the 7th Gregory proclaimed himself arbiter of kingdoms, and donor of imperial and royal crowns, as well as head of the universal church, the stream of time flowed with Christian blood long before the Reformation. Germany and Italy witnessed the long-continued strife between rival emperors, and torrents of Christian blood poured forth by Christian hands at the bidding of a Christian pontiff."—P. 154.

And again,

"The Church has not been content with mere wars; she has herself wielded the sword of the executioner, and with her own hand kindled the fire to consume the witnesses of truth. Need I to remind you of that tribunal which for six centuries has been the scourge of mankind, and the disgrace of Christendom; whose progress through the world has been marked by fire and by blood, or proclaimed by the groans of murdered martyrs? Need I to tell you that by its diabolical agency the light of the Gospel was expelled from Italy, and Spain, and Portugal, and that the sacrifices which it offered were thousands of the disciples of the Lord Jesus Christ, of every sex, and age, and condition? Need I to relate how the Roman Church representative, in council assembled, consigned two ministers of the gospel to the flames under circumstances of aggravated atrocity? or how a hundred thousand persons in the Netherlands were murdered within the period of fifty years, for no other crime but the profession of the Gospel in its purity."—P. 155.

Our last quotations shall be taken from the application of the whole view :—

"In these days of spurious liberality and real indifferentism, the assertion of this interpretation may be deemed uncharitable, and branded as ultra-Protestantism: concession is the order of the day, and men, in their ardour to conciliate, do not stop to consider whether they are not by the approximation abandoning the truth. This is intolerable even in secular politics; but the solemn importance of religion forbids any compromise, or any softening down of the awful reality. The peculiarities of Romanism as pointed out in this prophecy are idolatry, heresy, and murderous cruelty,—all mortal and damnable sins; and for these no propriety of external form can atone, no traces of a venerable antiquity compensate. True charity to ourselves, our Protestant brethren, and the unhappy children of the mother of abominations, is

“ to point out the enormity of these doctrines and practices, and their
 “ utter incompatibility with a state of salvation. We may hope that
 “ God will have mercy upon the irretrievably ignorant, and believe that
 “ he will make allowances for the prejudices of birth and education, as
 “ we hope also in the case of the children of pirates and robbers; but
 “ we must affirm, that they who murder the disciples of Christ by the
 “ ten thousand, and the hundred thousand, because they will not worship
 “ an idol of wood, or of bread, are not a whit the safer because they are
 “ called catholic Romans, than if they were called heathen Romans; and
 “ that murder is not a less heinous sin because it is committed under the
 “ pretence of religion, than if perpetrated for the open and undisguised
 “ gratification of vengeful malignity. We may abhor the impiety of
 “ schism, and deplore the self-will and prejudice that leads men to take
 “ upon them the ministerial office without call or warrant; but we must
 “ never forget that schism is not so daring a flight of impiety as idolatry,
 “ nor temerity a sin of so deep a die as the deliberate and merciless
 “ massacre of Christ’s faithful people.”—P. 168-9.

Again,

“ We must beware, therefore, of leading the idolater and the persecutor
 “ to think that he is safer than the schismatic, or of outraging common
 “ sense, and confirming the sceptic in his infidelity, by affirming that
 “ Christianity considers the violation of a positive institution a more heinous
 “ offence than the transgression of the two eternal and immutable laws,
 “ ‘ Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and thy neighbour
 “ ‘ as thyself.’ We must take care that we do not, by palliating image-
 “ worship, perpetuate the stumbling-block which has so long stood in
 “ the way of Jewish and Mahometan conversion, or confirm them in the
 “ main error which keeps them from Christianity, namely, the belief
 “ that the religion of Christians is idolatrous. We must learn, finally,
 “ that separation from the Church of Rome, in her present continuance
 “ in the profession of persecuting cruelty and the practice of idolatry, is
 “ a duty not merely in England, where there is a pure apostolic Church,
 “ but in every part of the world,—that communion with her under ex-
 “ isting circumstances is sinful everywhere, and continued and earnest
 “ protest as needful and as obligatory as it was when our sainted mar-
 “ tyrs protested even unto death.”—P. 170.

Dr. M^cCanl informs us in his notice that he intended to prefix a critical examination of the text and context of the prophecies, but that circumstances have prevented it. As, however, the remaining lectures are promised, we may express an earnest desire that he will increase the obligation under which our Church lies, by rendering his work complete, and armed against all cavillers and assailants.

THE CREATION, THE CROSS, THE JUDGMENT.

“ Momentous themes !

“ And such as would demand a seraph’s tongue,

“ Were they not equal to their own support ;

“ And therefore no infirmity of mine

“ Can do them wrong.”

WORDSWORTH.

Go, gaze upon the vault of night,
 Measure its measureless embrace;
 Count each suspended orb of light,
 Range each far labyrinth of space :
 Then think of Him whose mighty hand
 The formless void of ether spann’d,
 And fram’d yon glorious dome on high,
 And wove its golden tracery ;
 While Angels round in wonder hung,
 And, rapt with joy, loud anthems sung !

Turn thee to holy Calvary now ;
 Watch yon mysterious agony ;
 See that pale Sufferer faintly bow
 His thorn-wreath’d head—then meekly die !
 Lo ! Nature veils herself in gloom ;
 The sheeted dead unburst the tomb,
 And from their startled dust arise,
 Woke by that awful Sacrifice,
 Proclaiming from their dread abode—
 “ This was, in truth, the Son of God !”

Go, view Creation’s Easter-day :
 Earth, sea, and hell their depths unroll ;—
 Hark ! mountains fall—ises flee away ;
 Yon heavens are withering as a scroll !
 See One upon that dreadful throne,
 Girt with the rainbow’s emerald zone.

A sun-crown wreathes his radiant brow,—
Bright hierarchies before Him bow ;
For on his vesture blaze the words,
“ King of kings, and Lord of lords ! ”

Saviour ! if e'er in life's dark vale,
Or faith or hope our poor hearts fail,
Turn to Thy cross our trembling eye,
Unfold its hallow'd mystery ;
Shew us that Thou, there bleeding laid,
Art He by whom the worlds were made !
When the dreadful hour of doom
Shall burst upon our world with lightning blaze,
And nations on th' unclosing skies shall gaze,
Trembling to see Thee come,
With cloud-girt majesty and seraph train,
To visit Earth again,
While sun-bright hosts their loftiest anthems raise,
And the wide universe o'erflows with praise ;—
What time th' Archangel's thunder-blast
Heaven's eternal vault shall shake,
And the dead of ages past
From the slumbering dust of the sepulchre wake,
And we that myriad throng shall meet,
Circling Thy burning glory-seat,
And the Throne be set, and the Book unseal'd,
And the secrets of Earth to the Heavens reveal'd ;—
Holiest ! in that awful day,
Smile our rising fears away !
Think how Thou didst leave the sky,
On Palestine's lone hill to die ;
Think of Thy majesty and love,
Thy cross below, Thy crown above ;
And bid us serve Thy throne before,
When Earth dissolves in flame, and Time shall be no more !

THE PARKER SOCIETY.

"The Works of John Jewell, Bishop of Salisbury." Edited by the Rev. John Ayre, M.A. Cambridge. 1845.

THIS valuable society still continues to hold its place in public estimation, notwithstanding the virulent attacks of its enemies, and the unceasing manifestations of hatred with which it is assailed by the adversaries of the truth. Never, perhaps, in the annals of publishing, have any works been subjected to such unsparing criticism, or to such unfair attacks, as the labours of several of the editors employed by this society, who have undertaken the herculean task of giving the references and setting out the opinions of the men whom Providence raised up to effect the glorious Reformation. No pains have been spared, no ungenerous means have been neglected, which the tractarian clique could resort to, to throw discredit upon the labours of men, as far advanced above them in learning and research, as they are in piety and acts of charity. The great cause of this method of dealing has not originated, we believe, through any personal antipathy to the gentlemen whom the council of the Parker Society have employed as their editors, for in almost every instance they are actually unknown, save by name and reputation, to the men who leave no stone unturned to assail them; there has been a deeper cause, which has moved their hostility—an under-current, which has not been permitted to rise above the surface, for which they would claim a superior intelligence, and a greater amount of learning than those possess, who give themselves to the work of editing the Fathers of the English Church, which cause and under-current may be expressed in a few words, "hatred of the truth." The bringing up the writings of such men as Cranmer, Jewell, Becon, Ridley, Hooper, Latimer, Rainolds, and many others, from the oblivion and neglect into which they had so unworthily and so unhappily been cast, even by men of decided piety, and famed for their evangelical sentiments, could not fail to strike a blow at the efforts of that heresy, which would, under the specious name of Anglicanism, undermine the foundations of the Church of England, to lay in their place the keystone of Popish error and dishonesty. Men, a few years ago, really did not know what the opinions of the Reformers were; many of intelligence and of great usefulness in the ministry, scarcely, to their shame

be it spoken, were aware of the existence of some of the works which the Parker Society has already brought to light; they were absolutely ignorant of the armoury from which, next to the holy Scriptures, they could draw weapons of defence in these perilous times. The enemy had them at an immense disadvantage: the machine of heresy was moved at first by the impulse which this unhappy ignorance offered; it gave it a momentum, which, up to the hour of the appearance of the Parker Society, had caused the falsehoods to rush onward, without having a break to apply to its wheels, or a signal to announce the danger to which its impetuous course was hurrying.

The Tractarians fancied they had it all their own way. They rejoiced in their fancied security: having taken the citadel by storm, they thought to hold it, and to dash down every forlorn hope that should advance against its walls, with the conviction, that the men who were paralyzed at the first by the impudence of the movement, were ignorant of the teaching of their forefathers, whom also, by means of distorted passages from their writings, they made to suit their own purposes of falsehood and mischief. The cry raised on one hand, when Tractarianism commenced its onward route to Rome in 1834, was, "It is an effort made by *the learning* of the Church to retard the progress of dissent, which is *spreading* throughout her, by preachers of doctrine called evangelical." And evangelical men, alas! gave to the idea existence, simply because they were unable to meet the accusation, that they had no authority for their opinions in the writings of the divines of the sixteenth century. Their course of reading had been limited; their inclination, directed by Divine power, led them, by the high motive of winning souls to Christ, to devote their lives to this great work, and, occupied solely in it, they had not the time to devote to the study of lengthened treatises, of the use of which they did not perceive the advantage. For a time they were beaten down and discomfited. They could not withstand the shock, and they were on every hand defeated. They were astonished at the improbable opinions they found professedly drawn by their adversaries from the works of our writers; they thought it strange, passing strange, that men who had suffered and toiled for the truth's sake, and in testimony of the strength of their faith, and hatred of Romish blasphemy and ignorance, should have said such and such things. They were honest, at least, in purpose themselves; and, scrupulously adhering to the great scriptural command so much forgotten, both by politicians and a certain class of divines now-a-days, that "Evil is not to be done that good may come," they could not suppose that quotations had been falsified to suit a purpose, or that extracts were given which were

garbled and distorted. The bare idea of such a thing never entered their minds; if it were hinted at, it was dismissed as impossible; the flagrancy of such a course was too positively wicked, for them to suppose that any men could lend themselves to such a system; and they considered that, bad as was the cause sought to be supported, it could not be benefited by a resort to such practices, and therefore should be shrunk from, not merely from the damage they would do the promoters, but from the very iniquity of such dealing itself. They were ignorant (and yet they of all others ought to have known it, for they searched the Scriptures more than any others,) that it is the constant practice of the followers of Antichrist and his system "to speak lies in hypocrisy." They could have believed that it was the practice of Rome positive to do this; but they could not think it possible, that members and ministers of their own Church would ever resort to such practices, or would prostitute their minds by such demoralising conduct, or follow courses the ways of which, if unrepented of, are death. They were mistaken. The system commenced by fraud, by fraud has been supported. Honesty is a word not found in a Tractarian vocabulary; "the conscience has been seared as with a hot iron." One proof out of the many against the whole system, which most effectually damages it, and shews it to be pernicious, is the resort to such dealings; for truth shrinks not from the light of day, and derives no advantage from the arts of falsehood. It is unnecessary for us to stop here to give proofs that no method has been left untried by the deceitful habit which evangelical men at first believed not to have been acquired. The pages of our Magazine will shew evidence that we speak not at random, and that men whose fall we must ever lament, have suffered such distortion of vision, and such palpable deflexion of mind, that they have not shrunk to avail themselves of methods, which, if used in every-day life, would drive them from society, and brand them with dishonour.

There were, however, a few men of evangelical mind, who did know what was contained in the writings of the Reformers, and who did not share in the common ignorance which prevailed upon the subject of their unwearied labours. They saw the immense advantage the Tractarian party had obtained by their assumption that they alone were the learned men of the age; they perceived that it was a pivot of immense power, on which to move their scheme of Romanizing the Church of England; but they felt it only required an effort, united and persevering, to shake this assumption, and that a blow struck with judgment and firmness might at all events avert the danger, if not annihilate it. They buckled on

their armour; they set to work in good earnest, and, to the dismay of their adversaries, without ostentation, and wisely without positive allusion to the spreading mischief, announced the intention of forming a Society to reprint the works of the Reformers. The season of their announcement was well-timed. Men began to suspect the assertions of the Oxford school. A few of their garbled quotations had been found out; waxing bolder, by having been for some time undetected, they ventured further on more dangerous ground, and the mask fell from the face, discovering the distortion of the features. The scheme took with the public; and though the labours of the first year were immense, and the promoters had much to discourage them from those to whom they looked, and had a right to look, for support, it was in the end successful. The work, however, was at the first new. The old method of republishing was imperfect; although men of tried powers were employed, they unfortunately laid themselves open to the attacks of their wily adversaries. How to destroy the Society, was the first question asked; in what way could its labours be rendered ineffectual, was the next object of consideration. They could not take up a public print, but they saw the announcement that subscribers to the Parker Society were pouring in, and that the ground they had broken, from which to besiege and take the Church captive to their will, would be speedily undermined, and that they and their position would speedily be exploded. The first volume of the Society would be the first match applied to the mine beneath their feet, and would prove their annihilation, unless they could turn off its explosive danger, and make it in some degree recoil amongst their opponents. They did not attempt to deny the unfairness of quotation, or the falsehood of extract: that was too palpable, and would soon be evident. They took the worldly-wiser course: all the vituperation launched against them they treated as if never uttered; every accusation they permitted to pass by without allusion to it; every proof that damaged their reputation for honesty and learning they listened to, but never replied. This suited their purpose, but it would not support their scheme: it might irritate their opponents, for nothing is more irritating than contempt; but it would not push the object of their aim. But, if they could throw discredit upon the labours of the new Society; if they could find fault with some of the editors; if they could find them tripping in a reference, or discover that their eye had overlooked the error of the printer in the proofs,—however unfair, however ungenerous it would be to assail on such points, it would be too valuable to be omitted, and at all events would serve as a peg to hang an attack, which should be

as coarse for its virulence, as it would be unfair towards the party assailed. These were the tactics determined upon, and many were the small fry, who let loose their spite upon the labours of the Society, which, if they could not crush, they would at least endeavour to nullify. But two tritons appeared amongst the minnows,—Mr. Maitland one, librarian to the Archbishop of Canterbury, and Dr. Todd, a fellow of Trinity College, Dublin,—men of no great repute, except in their own party, and withal not so calculated, either by their learning or powers of mind, to undertake the task entrusted to them, as adapted for such a work by the well-known and unhappy bitterness of their spirit. The public are for the most part in ignorance as to who and what these persons are. It is generally imagined that one, being the librarian of the present Archbishop, must be at all events a man of great depth of learning, if not of much influence; and that the other, as a fellow of Trinity College, Dublin, must be a man of influence, if not in possession of great acquirements. There is much mistake upon his head, and it shall not be our fault if we do not rectify it. It is generally supposed that Mr. Maitland is a young man rising into life, and that, when his powers are more matured, he will put forth some work of great learning and research, and give to the world a better specimen of his reading and of his talent for composition than has appeared in his book called “The Dark Ages,” in which are many passages which shew but a slight acquaintance with the construction of the English language, and a far smaller amount of acquirement in the Latin and Greek tongues. The astonishment will, perhaps, be commensurate with the disappointment which the announcement we are about to make may occasion, that *Mr. Maitland is not a young man*, but is fast declining in the vale of years. He has not even had the advantage of an University education,—for he was formerly a Dissenting minister at Gloucester, we believe, of the Independent sect, where he for many years resided. We are unable to say, whether, like many of his brethren amongst the Dissenters, he found the voluntary system unproductive, or whether his disposition was of that severe temperament, that it could not give way to the iron rule which is exercised over preachers of this denomination. Be this as it may, the light broke in upon him, that he had not the benefit of a direct apostolical succession where he was, and, therefore, like many others before him, he sought admission into the Established Church, which, in all probability, he had once repudiated as the house of Belial. His reputation for learning was never great amongst his own brethren, by whom he was looked upon rather as a good arranger of a library, than as gifted with a

knowledge of the stores of erudition it contained. As such, having been admitted into holy orders, he was recommended to put the Lambeth Library into order, which, to his credit be it spoken, he has ably done; and he now holds the permanent office of librarian. Of Dr. Todd it cannot be said that he has been either a Dissenter or deprived of connexion with an University by his position; but, were we disposed to give a detail of his life, we could shew that much more of Christian charity might have been expected from one who has himself so forcibly had set before him, that "it suffereth long and is kind." His learning is undoubted: so that, in fact, few men now residing in Trinity College, Dublin, have a greater repute for research and talent than himself; but the manifestation of a bitter spirit is evident in all his polemical writings; and it is perceived, at a glance, that he has not learned "to bear all things, "or endure all things," with that magnanimity, which nothing but Christian principle can produce. His influence is of a very minute character: he is looked upon as the exponent of Tractarian principles in Ireland; but his rashness and want of prudence have much damaged his labours, and the evident spirit with which he attacks all who disagree with him has long since manifested, that the temper he shews is too palpable to render them injurious.

We know that it is a source of much mortification to many persons, that Messrs. Maitland and Todd have found even a possibility of attacking the labours of the Parker Society, through the mistakes of some of their editors. We have heard complaints, that they are not more careful; but such complaints are made with little apprehension of the immense labour of the work they undertake, and with a small idea of the difficulties they have to encounter. Let any one, who is inclined to give ear to the strictures launched unceasingly by Dr. Todd and Mr. Maitland, "*et hoc genus omne*," against the editorial work of men of unwearied application and untiring zeal; let him, we say, take up the volume of Jewell before us, edited by Mr. Ayre, and ask himself whether it is not wonderful that such works contain so few mistakes, rather than express disappointment that there should be any. In this volume there are more than 3000 references found, and given from the Fathers and other sources; the greater proportion of which, being quoted by the author from memory, are inaccurately given, or the place stated found to be incorrect. It has always been said of Jewell, that more than half the quotations he had made from St. Augustine could never be found; and that, in the portion of the works contained in this volume, at least 800 would never be met with. But Mr. Ayre has *discovered all except three*; and whoever knows what the writings

of St. Augustine are in bulk, must at once be aware that no common research has been expended here, and that the labour is sufficient to break down the constitution of the strongest man. The labours of other editors have not been so great in proportion as those of Mr. Ayre in this volume, but they have been, and are, immense; and if here and there they have been caught tripping, all due allowances ought to have been made. But it does not so much suit the policy of Tractarian opponents to praise the accuracy, as it pleases their malignity to condemn the deficiency. It could scarcely be deemed possible, if it were not known to be the fact, that no sooner has a Parker Society's book issued from the Pitt Press, than forthwith men are set to work to collate every passage, and every reference, simply that their employers may find an opportunity of assailing the editor; and, be his errors few or many, the same castigation is inflicted—the same virulence expended. At present Mr. Ayre has escaped, and been in a far better position than any of his brethren in editorial labour. His accuracy is so great, and his assiduity so unceasing, that the enemy despair of taking him at a disadvantage. But there is no greater affection towards him than towards the others; and, as it cannot be said of him that he is “ignorant, and manifestly unfitted for his task,” credit is taken that this volume of Jewell bears the high character it sustains, entirely on account of the unceasing pains taken to render the Parker Society equal to the task its promoters have undertaken. An Irish print, which is chiefly in the hands of a few men of bitter spirit, of evident opposition to the truth, which is as notorious for the virulence of its attacks as its companion in mischief in this country is for the unsparing vindictiveness of its abuse, has taken this credit to itself. The idea would be only sufficient to provoke a smile, were it not palpable that a feeling lurks beneath the assertion, of as inveterate hostility towards Mr. Ayre as towards others. Mr. Ayre's reputation has long been made; evidence is before the world of his great adaptation and fitness for the work he is accomplishing. Becon's works, as well as those of Sandys, have already appeared as the productions of his labour, and give a direct and positive negative to the impression desired to be made, that he would never have shewn himself so efficient an editor as he has done, had he not been drilled by the castigation of this journal of Tractarian and Romish sentiments.

The Parker Society has no occasion to fear that any injury will result to it from the attacks of its adversaries. It still keeps up the number of its subscribers; the books already published are at a premium; and, notwithstanding death has removed many of its earlier supporters, its ranks

are filled up by an accession of strength, and the same anxiety is manifested as from the first to support it. We trust that none of its officers will "go down into Egypt for help," and employ as future editors those who have been virulent against them. If they should condescend to this, they will not only give a triumph to the enemy, but they will find the men they employ manifestly unfitted for the task, for to criticise and to edit are two widely different affairs. A man may sit down and tear a brother's labour to shreds, imputing to him ignorance and unfitness for that he has undertaken; but let the same man attempt the same work upon which he is so severe, and the difficulties of it will soon overcome him; his restlessness and inability to bear the restraint of searching day after day in libraries, often without success, will break his spirit; and if his book comes out, it will be as amenable to the lash of the critic, perhaps much more so than those he was so ready himself to condemn.

No society that has ever yet been established has worked up so well as this has; it has only to prosecute its labours without fear and without constraint, and it will continue to maintain the high reputation it has secured for itself against every competitor. We look forward to the result of its labours. We do not merely imagine that its present influence is all that will be beneficial from its establishment and progression. The works it issues must sooner or later tell upon the country: they breathe so much of the pure spirit of Christianity, they are so evidently correct in doctrine and in exposition of religious truth, that they cannot be read or studied without leading the mind to the contemplation of the chief object of man's life. We do not find in them sophisms to establish the doctrines of men; we do not discover any desire to be men pleasers, or to teach for truth that which is palpable error. The Reformers took their stand upon the word of the living God, and there is a freshness and vigour in their writings, which give evidence of the pure fountain from which the sweet waters flow. The contrast between their success and that of the writers of the seventeenth century, when the attempt was again made to Romanize the Church, evidently shews the wisdom of their plan; and just as their writings were the great bulwark which then resisted the efforts of Rome, so they still remain; and the common sense of mankind, though for a season it may be bewildered by the shamelessness of the means the opponents of the Reformation have resorted to, will yet react, and spurn with contempt the sophistry which assumes the phases of reality, and then use every effort to unmask its imposture.

Never, perhaps, did the Tractarian party do a more unwise thing for themselves, than when they established the Anglo-Catholic Library in

opposition to the Parker Society; though they would fain make the public believe that the idea was stolen from them, and brought to bear by the promoters of the latter for their disadvantage. Their object was to palm upon the members of the Church of England the writings of the seventeenth century as those only which existed of an orthodox character; they would gladly have thrown the Reformers "to the moles and to the bats;" but having again been brought to light, the hope was that their library would counteract that influence which they were well aware honest dealing must in the end exert. They felt their way, and published Bishop Andrews, who was no more of their way of thinking than Jewell was of Harding's, or Bishop Davenant of Mr. Newman's. But they have since put forth other men, of feelings more akin to their own; however, they have done them no service. The Anglo-Catholic Library drags on its existence, it is true; but, so far from being of injury to, or from counteracting the work of, the Parker Society, it is scarcely heard of; though it maintains its existence, it is by means of a larger amount of subscription, and by an altogether different system of management. As affording a means of innoculating the country with heterodox opinions, it is a manifest failure; and, instead of doing any great amount of mischief, is chiefly useful by warning men of the dangers in which a departure from Holy Scripture will entangle them, and evidences that the books of the Parker Society are far better calculated to improve the tone of morality, no less than to maintain integrity of doctrine. The method now resorted to for carrying it on shews that the feeling of favour for Tractarian opinions is upon the wane, and that the party is in much disrepute throughout the country. But this is no reason why the Parker Society, or any other society, should relax their labours; it is rather a reason why they should be more strenuous to suppress the activity of the enemy which is but scotched, not killed, and which will, whilst it is in disfavour, watch every opportunity to spring forth to attack the unwary, and to despoil the Church of its glorious possessions, viz., a sound faith, and a correct exposition of doctrine as set forth in the Thirty-nine Articles.

JONAH AT NINEVEH.

Lo! where, in dusky garb array'd,
 A stranger seeks yon rampart's shade;
 With haste he treads the city's maze,
 While startled crowds in wonder gaze.
 Erect his mien, and stern his brow—
 Say, hoary stranger, who art thou?

But whence this ailence sad and drear?
 Whence the strange signs of gathering fear?
 The stir of busy life is o'er,
 And revelry is heard no more;
 Hush'd is each wonted sound of glee:—
 Why weep the men of Nineveh?

No tyrant's wrath has spread the gloom;
 No portent from the fearful tomb.
 Lo! from yon height the Prophet speaks,
 His voice like wakening thunder breaks:—
 "Yet forty days be number'd o'er,
 "And Nineveh shall be no more!"

And can it be, that stranger lone
 Whose power yon awe-struck myriads own?
 Yes; 'midst the heathen's trembling bands,
 Jehovah's messenger, he stands;
 And none of all that throng may dare
 To brave the doom his words declare.

The solemn fast, the sackcloth vest,
 Their earnest penitence attest;
 The prostrate city's suppliant cry
 Ascends in solemn tones on high;
 And, from the lowliest to the throne,
 The voice of prayer is heard alone.

Nor raised in vain that humble cry ;
Nor breathed in vain that fervent sigh :
Jehovah's eye their grief surveys ;
He owns their faith, He marks their ways ;
He bids his threatening terrors cease,
And pardoning mercy seals their peace.

And speaks not yet the word of fear ?
Sounds not the Prophet's voice still near ?
Yes, sinner ! from the page divine,
That voice proclaims the danger thine ;
Reveals Jehovah's dread decree,
And bids thee from his anger flee.

Flee for thy life ! arise ! beware !
For judgment yet to come prepare !
Before thee yawn the gates of death ;
Short is thine age, and frail thy breath ;
Nor canst thou certainly divine
That forty days shall yet be thine.

Ere yet stern vengeance strike the blow,
Thy true, thy only safety know !
The contrite heart shall meet his love,
The prayer of faith his mercy prove,
Who his own Son an offering gave,
A death-devoted world to save.

Ere judgment dawn, be this our care,
The Saviour's proffer'd grace to share ;
Lest in that day, before our eyes,
The men of Nineveh arise,
And put our faithless hearts to shame,
That turn'd not at a mightier Name.

MR. GRESLEY AND THE REAL DANGER OF THE CHURCH.

"The Real Danger of the Church of England." By the Rev. W. Gresley, Prebendary of Lichfield. London: James Burns. 1846.

THE pamphlet which heads this Article is one of a very extraordinary character. We have previously adverted to the style of this gentleman's writings, and have condemned the reckless tone of assertion and calumny which pervades every work that he publishes. The last novel which he has sent forth to the world perhaps exhibits this in a stronger light than any of its predecessors. "Coniston Hall" is evidently written for the purpose of magnifying the chivalrous character of the Pretender's party, of apologising for its defeat, and of defending the Nonjurors. The Hanoverians, that is, all constitution-loving Englishmen, are made to sink lower than the earth. Providence is made to uphold the Jacobites, and imprudence is pointed out as the cause of their failure. We would have reviewed it by itself, but its variety of plot, its lingering, tedious style, as well as its gross flattery of the secret adherents of the Papists, convinced us, that to review such a performance would but slay the slain; and, as we never have found any one but ourselves who confessed to having read more than the early parts, we have less anxiety as to the mischief it may accomplish. For although it would be absurd to hide from ourselves the lamentable fact, that foolish romances are more popular than sound literature, yet a romance must exhibit some idea of the romantic before it can claim popularity. Do we then deny romance to exist in this novel? Far from it; for it has its love tales, its fine old Jacobites, its youthful enthusiasts, its devoted servants, its attached animals. It has, in a word, everything but truth and the plain dictates of common sense; and as to its history, of course in this it is consistent; for, being a romance, why should its author cultivate a due regard to reality? Why should imagination be checked by any over-scrupulous regard to facts, which could only delay the reader's curiosity, or impede his haste to complete his reading? Novels are, therefore, a convenient method for inculcating incorrect history and for teaching unsound doctrine. Nothing is easier than to misrepresent

Puritans in one work, and Hanoverians in another. James II did all he could (poor weak man!) for Popery, and therefore he must be defended by an attack on his successors. Popery was crushed in the glorious Revolution of 1688, and therefore it becomes Mr. Gresley and his Anglican school to denounce it as a shocking rebellion; and this confessedly is the main aim in "Coniston Hall."

"One step, at least, in a right direction will be made, if the rising generation are taught to view the 'glorious revolution' of 1688 as false in principle and pernicious in its results, and the persecution by William of the Church of Scotland as an unrighteous act of daring impiety." Pp. 311, 312.

Such is the peroration, and the whole work is in accordance with the declaration in the Preface:—

"In the present instance, a period subsequent to the event itself has been chosen, rather than the precise era of the Revolution, in order to exhibit the tone of feeling, and the disorders in Church and State, to which that ill-advised measure gave rise." P. vii.

The following is the way in which Mr. Gresley speaks of the concluding scene at Preston:—

"So ended this most lamentable affair—an insurrection begun by many of the principal actors from high and conscientious motives, whatever we may think of the justice or policy of their undertaking; carried on with humanity and consideration far beyond the usual practice in such movements; maintained with bravery where circumstances allowed of its exertion; lost partly by the miscalculation of the real condition of the country, by misplaced confidence in friends who betrayed them, and partly by want of military skill in their leaders."

"It is a painful and perplexing page in the history of our country." P. 237.

This surely is an amusing account, when we consider that the writer seems continually to lament that so few English joined the rebels, and speaks of violent Protestant feelings. Let us look back a few pages, and see of what class generally the rebels consisted.

"At Preston they were joined by a good many friends, but almost all Papists, which was a great disappointment, because the insurrection began daily to assume more and more the appearance of being confined exclusively to those of the Romish communion, which rendered it more unlikely than ever that the English Church-party would join them in any numbers. Preston had been occupied by two troops of Stanhope's dragoons; but they withdrew at the approach of the insurgents, who began to boast that the king's troops dare not look them in

"the face. Little did they know that the storm was fast gathering round them, and ready to burst upon their heads; and that they had arrived at the place where the trial was to be made of their mettle, and their enterprise come to a crisis." Pp. 209, 210.

We have heard that *ifs* are great peace-makers, but never have we been so much assured of the excellent use which may be made of the word *had* as a substitute. Let us learn by example:—

"Whatever we may think of the object of this attempt of the Jacobites, it was altogether an unfortunate and unhappy business; ill concerted in its origin, ill managed in its prosecution, and ill brought to a conclusion. *Had* the chiefs been more able and vigorous; *had they been supported by the people*; *had* the insurrection been successful; and, in a word, *had* a counter-revolution been effected and established, the world would, of course, view the whole affair and the actors in it in a very different light. Instead of rash and hapless insurgents, history would record their names *as patriots and heroes*." Pp. 258, 259.

"Mar was a politician, and not a very straight-forward one either; he had no very enthusiastic notions of honour or devotion; ambition, not duty, was his leading principle. The arrival of the Chevalier *had* been rather inopportune than otherwise. *Had* he come a few months sooner, when Mar's arms were in the ascendant; *had* Mar been another Montrose; or *had* James possessed the popular manners and daring confidence which his son exhibited in the insurrection of 1745, the result might have been different. The country was in a much riper state for a counter-revolution in 1715 than when, in the next generation, the young Chevalier penetrated, with a victorious army, to the very centre of England. But on the present occasion all things turned out adversely for the Jacobites. The cause was lost before their chief arrived; and now that he had arrived, the great object was to get him safe back again. The army retreated from Perth, followed by Argyle. Neither marched with great alacrity, owing to the inclemency of the weather. The army of the Chevalier kept two days in advance: they were encouraged and kept together by the report that a considerable reinforcement might be daily expected from France. This, however, was but a blind; James's determination *had* for some time been taken." Pp. 255, 256.

But notwithstanding these little elegancies, we have the confession (p. 259) that "there was not in the body of the people so decided a feeling in his (James's) favour, that it could be affirmed his cause was that of the nation; so far at least may be said as regards England."

Many similar inconsistencies might be pointed out, but we can excuse them in the case before us. The reason for which we overlook them is, that, as Mr. Gresley writes not as a historian but as a partizan, he feels all the bitterness of disappointed hopes, and he cannot avoid lamenting over any blunder, because wiser measures might have made the invasion seem less rash and wicked. Sometimes facts peep out and shew themselves from the midst of the fiction, as in the battle betwixt Mar and Argyle, in which Mr. Gresley seems to doubt which party were the victors. Now it appears, that as Mar was marching towards England to reinforce the rebels, anything short of victory was a defeat. Argyle, in fact, prevented his march, and at the least gained the object which he most desired. We have, however, very little to do with the history, independent of the amount of prejudice which it exhibits. The tone of the book is that which alone demands attention, and we will extract a few more passages which, in conjunction with the previous, shew how much mildness, moderation, and impartial judgment is to be expected from the writer. We pass over nonjuring conversations, and come to the following moral observation :—

“The spirit of whiggery or liberalism, which gained the ascendant at the Revolution of 1688, has lain on the country like an incubus ever since, and *led to a gradual deterioration in our national character, which, it is to be feared, has not reached its climax.*” It will be fair to remember that Mr. Gresley writes especially for the young, as will be made very prominent by the following pretty passage of animal instinct :—

“Gipsy, however, turned away his head with great contempt from the hay, and looked round whinnying and snorting, as much as to ‘say, I wonder when you are going to bring me my supper of oats.’ Oats, however, were interdicted that night, and for several days afterwards, for fear of increasing the inflammation : and so poor Gipsy was obliged to be satisfied with hay.” P. 21.

Mr. Gresley is determined to be consistent ; and after the reader is brought to the ring and the bride-cake, the happy issue it seems of religious as well as other novels, he devotes a chapter to the Revolution of 1688, which, though long antecedent to the time of his plot, must be discussed last as well as first :—

“*By a concurrence of fortuitous circumstances, James II found himself entirely alone. He had not a friend on whom he could rely. The mass of the nation was indifferent or prejudiced against him: the Whig aristocracy were the prime movers in the revolt ; the Tories forsook their principles, and, for the time, sided with the revolu-*

"tionists, at least to the extent of placing power in the hands of William, though they may not have designed that he should make the use of it which he did. The Church itself, which is usually the staunch maintainer of law and obedience, was on this occasion neutralised, in consequence of being at the very time suffering persecution, and threatened with loss of its privileges, from James's endeavours to aggrandise the power of Rome." P. 295.

"By a concurrence of *fortuitous* circumstances," James stood alone in Mr. Gresley's view! Tyranny and falsehood were never glossed over in more mild phraseology, and deep laid cunning was never before so amusingly called "fortuitous." As if in sin there was much of chance and little of guilt and design. It was a "fortuitous circumstance" that James sent the Bishops to the Tower, and dragged the Bishop of London before the Court of Ecclesiastical Commission, because he would not deprive one of his clergy who had the honesty to preach against popery; or it was *fortuitous* that he interfered with Oxford, and thrust Papists into both Universities. What writes the said Mr. Gresley in an earlier part?

"When James II ascended the throne of England, his *prospects* of a happy reign, notwithstanding the difference of his religion from that of his subjects, WERE MOST PROMISING. He declared, with apparent sincerity, his fixed intention of maintaining the constitution which he found established both in Church and State. *His promises were believed*, and received with gratitude by the Parliament, which consisted mainly of Churchmen and Tories; and the nation itself was most favourably disposed towards him. 'We have the word of a king,' said they, 'and that is enough.' *Had he kept his word, he and his children might long have sat upon the throne of England.* But notwithstanding his promises, it soon appeared to be his fixed determination to use all the means in his power to subvert the Established Church. One of his first measures was to open a communication with the Pope of Rome, in order to pave the way for a solemn re-admission of the Church of England to communion with that see." Pp. 43, 44.

James was friendless, but he was *false*; and his forlorn, unhappy life, was the necessary result of his own baseness. He united all the vices of the Stuarts, but he lacked their virtues. We need not review his life, as Mr. Gresley says enough to make all good men despise the traitor, and denounce him as false. And yet, forsooth, Whigs, Tories, and the Church left him by fortuitous circumstances. When shall we call things by their right names, and, in plain Saxon-English, cherish the

truth, and deny the false in morals, policy, and religion. As to the remark, that if Protestants may dethrone a Popish Prince, Romanists may also act the same towards a Protestant King, we can only say that to apply such an axiom as resulting from the Revolution of 1688, is either to lose sight of facts, or miserably to distort them for the sake of placing Romish treachery to monarchs on a par with Protestantism. But let us mark the sophistry of the following, which, however, confesses all that is requisite:—"Hence, though we thank God for his "mercy in preserving to us *our religion and laws* by the instrumentality "of William, yet we have no sympathy with the *political faction* which "deprived James of his throne." Strange it is that any man can venture to write in so careless and reckless a manner. What will our readers think when we inform them that the preceding arguments were directly to shew that neither liberties nor laws were in any danger at all, and that the Revolution was needless, as the nation were too much opposed to Popery to allow its tyranny. In the passage last quoted, Mr. Gresley talks of thanking God for preserving that which he had previously argued was in no danger. Mr. Gresley would praise God for that which, in his creed, is a political and moral crime.

Contradiction and inconsistency do not end here; for, in a very few pages, Mr. Gresley speaks ill of toleration, and soon commends James, as if he alone of men had invented it.

"And this state of blind ignorance, which pervades all classes, to "the real claims and actual power of the Church, may be traced, in no "slight degree, to the Revolution of 1688. No doubt, schism and "insubordination existed before that period, and wrought fearful mischief; but it remained for the 'glorious Revolution' to *legalise schism*, "and invest a sect with the outward garb of a church. In its horror of "popery, the nation flung itself into the hands of a dissenter, who "brought more mischief to both Church and State than will be repaired "in centuries, if it be repaired at all." Pp. 304, 305.

Again,—

"It was James II who, in his anxiety to obtain favour for the "Roman Catholics, first hit on the true principle of universal toleration. *While one religion was upheld and cherished, all others were "to be tolerated.* This was a sound principle, clear, just, and intelligible." P. 305.

It is possible that some subterfuge may relieve this apparent inconsistency; but what must be the effect of such miserable confusion in the minds of readers whose age and character does not make it an easy task to separate obscurity from that which is useful and consistent

Mr. Allonby, the nonjuring hero or oracle in the novel, assures us "that popery is neither so violent nor deceitful as we are led to suppose from the accounts of the deeds of its adherents in by-gone days." (P. 60). And the author himself, with a simplicity that is amusing, introduces a remark which has a clear reference to his friends, who have made so much confusion in our Church. It is as follows :—

"That bitter feeling of animosity against the Church of Rome, which, in the preceding reign, had caused the sacrifice of so many innocent lives at the time of the pretended Popish Plot, and *at various periods of recent English history has been so prejudicial to the cause of truth and charity.*" Pp. 44, 45.

No more need be said of the genuine fiction called "Coniston Hall."

It is true that the author is fond of telling his readers that neither he, his friends, nor his principles, are in favour of Popery. Why, then, does he object to the Revolution of 1688, unless, indeed, his opposition to it arise from a natural love of tyranny, which flourished so unsuccessfully in the great object of his love—the tyrant king; or perhaps it may originate in the fact, that Mr. Gresley, angry at present affairs, hates all that has happened, or all that has had a part in causing our present liberty. Be this, however, as it may, we have no hesitation in believing that Mr. Gresley would not have joined the Nonjurors, had he lived in their days. It is a very curious history, but more curious for the romance writer than pleasant for the participant. The Nonjurors left our Church because they were staunch politicians, and had their religion and political theories closely united. What Mr. Gresley is and does must be best known from his friends; and yet, to judge from his love of romance writing, we can hardly give him credit for a burning zeal in favour of reality in suffering because of his creed. We would, however, miserable as is the novel, yet seriously and earnestly advise Mr. Gresley to confine his pen to absolute fiction. In our review of his last theological work, we shewed that inaccuracy and strength of accusation, without sufficient basis, were its prevailing characteristics; and once more the same fault is brought prominently before our notice.

These faults are so grave, that it is painful for us to repeat the charge; yet it is a question not of pleasure, but of duty. A clergyman of our Church publishes a pamphlet on the dangers of his Church, and laments disputes, while he bitterly aggravates contention. At some distant intervals there are words of peace, but in every page there is the venom of

the disappointed partizan, and the gall of the forsaken disputant. Excuses may be made for all this, as Mr. Gresley has known the sweets of gratified ambition, and at one time was a member of a compact array of a league of agitators, who boasted that they were prospering above their own most ardent hopes. But the year 1846 has come, and the body has lost its head. It lies a withered, sapless trunk. It is true that some few of its supporters live, and still boast themselves of their life. Some of them, like our author, shew how unfit they are to be members of our Church, by railing against all its members, with the exception of their own band, which, by Mr. Newman's secession, has become "beautifully less." It is under these circumstances that Mr. Gresley has discerned what is the real danger of our Church. The fall of his friends and leaders might have warned him of the danger of his party; of the danger of those unhappy and misguided young men, who are on the very verge of Romanism. But surely it is with very bad taste that Mr. Gresley, who never knew the danger of his own friends, should come forward to teach the whole Church. A short time since, he told us that none of the Tractarian leaders would secede; and that only a few ill-taught, ill-trained young men would withdraw. It seems, then, that an inaccurate prophet as to his own party comes forward to instruct his opponents and teach his superiors. And right enough it is that such a person should come forward, provided he confesses his errors, and deplores his erroneous attacks, and gives evidence that, by experience, he has learnt that his own friends are not monopolisers of sincerity and earnestness. It is not thus that Mr. Gresley writes, but rather as if he were struggling to drown the past in the bitterness of the present. The want of sound arguments is compensated by the bitterness of attacks on private persons. And at this time, the inquiry is made as to the causes which induce our author to asperse his brethren, and sneer at some of the Bench of Bishops. The truth is, that the Tractarian party are indignant that their plot has failed, and their conspiracy exposed; and, in private, they find all possible fault with the seceders, while, in public, they accuse the opponents of Mr. Newman, as if they had compelled him to be perverted to popery. The argument is truly absurd; for if party violence on one side has compelled Mr. Newman to leave our Church, why has not the same party violence compelled men, said to be on the other extreme, to join the ranks of dissent? It will not be denied, that the "English Churchman" is as violent and bitter an organ as any on the opposite side of the case. Or, if it be said that the way in which the Bench have acted has turned the scale against Tractarianism, we can only take the confession, and

thank God that we have a faithful band of rulers, who, knowing well the evils of schism, dare not act as if they held the idolatries of Rome and the absurdities of dissent as equally reprehensible. The plain truth is, that the Bishops know full well, that amongst one party in our Church are found the active, zealous, and laborious parish priests, and that the great mass of our clergy is decidedly and unflinchingly opposed to every Roman error; and they also know, that not only amongst the Tractarians are found lovers of Rome, but that the main body consider the differences of the two churches as trifling, and have constantly an eye to the time when this may be effected by a surrender of our Protestant bulwarks. Now, whilst our rulers remember the history of our Church, they know Rome's usurpations; whilst they read history, her persecutions are before their eyes; when they know her doctrines, they cannot forget her absurd claim of infallibility, which perpetuates every blunder, and rivets the chains of falsehood on her. Whilst they trace the history of our Church and country, they will know that our Church has been most holy, and our country most prosperous, when no connexion or parleying with Rome has been allowed, and when the banner of the Cross, not the crucifix, has been made most prominent. And few of our sees are there which do not recal to the minds of the present occupants many predecessors, who have lived and died in repelling either open violence or secret treachery of the Papal see; or, if they needed anything to quicken their zeal, it would be found in the annual meetings with the representatives of the Irish bishops, who can tell of persecution and sufferings which Rome, prodigal as ever of cruelty, casts upon the faithful witnesses of the truth. Let Mr. Gresley answer our question as to the locality or power of Tractarianism in Ireland, and he will be compelled, in truth, to confess that it has scarcely any, if any, existence in that country. And, no doubt, the reason for its absence is as plain as the fact is obvious. The counterfeit is not wanting where the reality is so rife; and, in Ireland, it is impossible to make sensible Protestants believe that Rome has in any degree or feature been altered. They see it, they suffer from it, and live in the midst of it in its practical working; and, instead of finding that priestly influence sanctifies the heart, they know that it panders to the passions, and excites where it ought to allay the concentrated bitterness of generations. Mr. Gresley has friends who know somewhat of Ireland, and he may ask of them what is the spirit and power of Romanism. If the Church of Rome is a church at unity with itself, the influence of the Roman apostacy is the same in all countries as in Ireland; but if it has no power to check its own in that unhappy land,

what becomes of its boasted harmony and power ; what becomes of the ring of the fisherman, or the keys of the Apostle, in the extravagant sense which Rome claims to exercise them ?

To return, however, more immediately to Mr. Gresley's pamphlet, it is our intention to touch, not on all its errors,—for this would require a volume,—but to shew the coolness and absurdity of some of his conclusions ; and, in some instances, perhaps, no small amount of presumption will be shewn in his attacks on men infinitely his superiors. The first passage which we shall quote lays bare the cardinal defects of the party, and is as follows :—

“ Any attempt to mix up this school, which has become so widely spread in the English Church, with the Romanisers who have left us, would prove great ignorance of the real state of the question, or a *de-liberate intention of causing prejudice*. True that, to a certain extent, and before the principles of each were fully understood, *they have acted and sympathised together*. Reverence for the Church was their bond of union. But now the difference is marked, and the separation defined for ever. They who, in their zeal for the Church, fixed their views on the Roman Pontiff, have withdrawn from us ; those who remain look to the Church of England as their spiritual mother. *Perhaps some Romanists in heart* may yet be left behind ; but to represent these as identified in principle with the Anglican body, is an unfair and disingenuous manœuvre, unworthy of an honest controversialist. The characteristic feature of the Anglican party is, a *devoted attachment to their own Church*—not as being faultless, *far from it* ; but *as being the branch of the Church in which the providence of God has placed them*,—their spiritual Mother,—*their Nurse, who has fed them* from their youth with spiritual food. To persist in saying that men influenced by such principles are Romanists in heart, is nothing less than a shameful calumny. Their fault, if fault it be, is being *Ultra-Anglican*. They acknowledge and firmly believe the Church of England to be the divinely-appointed instrument for administering the means of grace to the people of this land.” Pp. 5, 6.

With regard to the distinction between the Romanisers and so-called Anglicans, it is hard to believe that Mr. Gresley really thinks his opponents capable of admitting it. “ True,” says he, “ that, *to a certain extent*, and before the principles of each were fully understood, they *have acted and sympathised together*.” This is an admirable way of escaping from a difficulty, but it is by no means fair to use such language, which presumes a perfect equality between two parties ; whereas, in truth, they had the same leaders, or, as in fact it would be more accurately said, Mr. Newman originated the party, led them, swayed them, and

taught them, and was worshipped by them. Now, says this new-born leader, we sympathised with them, and when we knew their sentiments, our union ceased. But when, we ask, did the Anglican fully understand these sentiments? Was it in the end of 1844, when, in a book called *Anglo-Catholicism*, Mr. Gresley boldly expressed his opinion that none of the leaders would join Rome; or was it when Mr. Gresley and his friends supported No. XC, which was the mainstay of the Tractarian theory; or was it when Messrs. Ward and Oakeley became prominent? In vain we look for some point by which Mr. Gresley's ingenious but unreal distinction can be supported, and it is clear that he has placed himself on one of the horns of a dilemma; for either there is some point on which the two divisions separated, or else they "acted and sympathised together" until the very moment when the perverts withdrew. If the first be the case, why has this leader allowed his friends to hesitate as to their opinion of Mr. Newman's conduct, and not proclaimed the dissidence before the theory of development was published; or, if there was no division until the perverts actually withdrew, what precision is there in Anglican principle which can embrace men of such different feelings and of such different sentiments. But, after all this melancholy confusion, our author becomes violent, and traduces his opponents as using a "shameful calumny," if they identify the principles of the two sections. We must beg Mr. Gresley either to be more explicit or more charitable. Indeed, there is an explicit confession that some Romanists may be left behind, so that we need the more some test by which to distinguish, as, for instance, between Dr. Hook and Dr. Pusey. One of these thinks Rome but another part of the vineyard; and what Mr. Gresley himself deems it to be, is still unknown. It is true that he mentions, as the characteristic feature of his party, a devoted attachment to their own Church; but the grounds for this attachment are loose and unsatisfactory. They are placed in it by Providence: but this might be urged by Romanists, or even by Pagans, as an equally tenable ground for remaining in idolatry. We tell Mr. Gresley, that if his fault is to be "ultra-Anglican," it must be on principles different from this. Our idea of an Anglican is, that he is a man who takes the documents of that church as true; and if he wants to know what is a church, he does not refuse that definition which the Article gives. The reason why he belongs to, and has a "*devoted attachment*" to the Church of England, is, that the sacraments are duly administered, and the pure Word of God is preached. Let it, however, be proclaimed from one end of England to the other, that by a devoted attachment to our Church is meant, the feeling of a man who knows that he was born in it. Truly, an enlightened profession is this from one who aims at leading a section. But this is to surrender the Church

to its enemies, and to deprive it of the locks of its strength; it is to rest its claims on the sand, instead of building it on a rock: and it does seem the part of a designing traitor, when the high ground of truth is deserted, and the low basis of mere existence is put in its place. The true Churchman is attached to his Church, because he knows it to be scriptural, feels it to be apostolical, and realises the blessings of God in its privileges. His attachment is devoted, not because he was born in it, but because the truth lives in it. It is devoted, because the Church is the guardian of Holy Writ, and because the Almighty ever manifests his presence to the faithful hearers of the Word. Anglicanism forsooth consists in the information communicated by our parents, that they are Church-people; but surely Mr. Gresley has wronged his party, and, in a vain attempt to escape a difficulty, has shewn his inefficiency either to define or explain his principles. No wonder that such friends have not been able to retain their leader, for such arguments as this can but sway the willing votaries of error. This slender thread, which binds "Ultra-Anglicans," is made more slender by continual assertions such as the following:—"Thus, the Anglican Churchman stands in a position analogous to that of the Reformers in the sixteenth century. The church had then become corrupt and inefficient, and needed reformation; and so it does now." (P. 6). It is true, that Mr. Gresley in a measure palliates this, by saying that our inefficiency consists in not carrying out the Church system; but we will leave our readers to judge of the little appreciation of truth which is manifested, in comparing the disuse of the surplice with the idolatrous rites which our reformers expelled and denounced. And again, our author tells us, that he and his friends, seeing our "ritual degraded," "watch for the time when they can work more effectively in the cause of the mother who hath borne them."

After this stable and philosophical procœmium, an apology is given for the introduction of the surplice question, and as we are engaged in examining the animus of the writer, let us produce the following temperate, pious, and solemn passages:—

"Who would have expected that a Bishop of the English Church should have been found to condemn the strict adherence to her rules, and blame the clergy for abiding by their engagements?" P. 10.

"I do not think such a phenomenon could have been reasonably expected. Had but the railroad mania been at its height a few months earlier, or the corn-law question come sooner into importance, or any other absorbing subject of temporal interest occupied the public mind, this strange excitement would probably never have happened; and

"the Church would have been left to pursue her own internal reforms, without let or hindrance. However, as it has turned out, surely no blame can possibly attach to those whose only error was a too sanguine expectation that the English people would have been found willing to abide by the laws of the Church of which they are members." P. 11.

"It may, indeed, well be doubted, whether that spirit was not overrated; whether, if the Bishop of Exeter had been supported by his brother prelates, and the subject fairly represented to the people; the *undoubted rules of their own Church* laid before them, and the impossibility of maintaining uniformity of practice without recurrence to some fixed standard; if the *Bishops had calmly and dispassionately laid these things before the members of the Church*," &c. P. 12.

"However, the rulers of the Church deemed it prudent to *evade*, or rather to postpone, the crisis. The publication of the Archbishop's Letter, recommending that things should remain as they were in the different churches, has greatly changed the aspect of affairs. Of course, legally and strictly speaking, the *Archbishop's Letter can have no cogency whatever. No clergyman is constrained to obey it.* Convocation alone can alter the formularies of the English Church. Still, considering that the Archbishop, no doubt, was aided by the counsel of his brethren, and that no protest has been made by any of them against it, *we may, perhaps, suppose it to speak the sense of the English Church.*" P. 13.

"I cannot but think that the injury done to the Church, by thus tampering with her fixed laws, is very serious indeed. Some, perhaps, may view it with less apprehension. They will argue that, practically speaking, the Church is better than she was." P. 14.

"And this serious damage has resulted from the *manœuvres of the Puritans*. Skilfully availing themselves of the evil passions, as well as the honest prejudices, of the people, they have frustrated the attempt of the Church party to restore her ritual. With the pretext of maintaining the Church, they have, for a time at least, taught her children to break her laws and despise her authority. Under cover of an assault on Popery, they have inflicted a serious wound on the Church of England." Pp. 14, 15.

We will beg Mr. Gresley's attention to the following passage from Bishop Saunderson, *mutatis mutandis*. "Of late our *English Arminians* (read Tractarians) have got the trick to fetch in within the compass of this title of *Puritans* all orthodox divines that oppose against their *semi-pelagian* subtilties, of purpose to make sound truth odious, and

'their own corrupt novelties more passible and plausible.' This passage will be found in a note on section twenty-seventh of his first sermon *ad clerum*; and we suggest that this trick has been tried too often for much hope of success from it in these days.

The Christian charity which our author demands for his own party, stands in strange contrast with the unsparing violence of his language towards all who venture to oppose him. Archbishops and bishops are alike in error, when they act in a way contrary to this self-created infallibility. With regard to the flippancy of the remarks as to the railway mania, our readers will in a moment perceive, that no one who feels deeply on his subject would condescend to degrade its importance by such miserable trifling. It may, however, be the essential characteristic of our author, to possess more levity and trifling than most men, and, having written so much fiction, he may find it no easy matter to adhere to solemn realities, or sober and sedate arguments. These we in vain search for from the first page to the last; and if we were asked to give a short summary of the pamphlet, it would be as follows: a bitter accusation of brethren far more true than himself, a querulous attack on the acts of the Bench of Bishops, and a dictatorial letter of advice to his whole Church. We can hardly tell to what class of readers Mr. Gresley directs it, but presume that it is meant neither to the bishops nor clergy; for, in a most amusing way, he transcribes several passages from the Prayer-book, with a view to demonstrate the doctrine of baptismal regeneration, and this is done for such of his readers as are not familiar with the subject; but we presume, from the rambling character of its contents, that it is meant as an act of kind warning to all members of our Church, and, therefore, a word occurs here and there for every class. It is to be supposed that it is meant as an extra-Episcopal charge to supply the manifest shortcomings of our chief pastors. Either we are in sad state, or the author of this pamphlet does not overflow with the meekness of wisdom. Let us see in what estimation he holds the doctrine of baptismal generation:—

"The whole character, I say, of the Christian religion, depends on this *primary* doctrine." P. 20.

"*It may well be doubted whether the greater part of the nation's sin, the desperate wickedness of the mass of our population, and the general worldliness of all classes, may not be traced to this denial of baptismal regeneration. No care is taken to train them as members of Christ and children of God; the grace given them at baptism is never cherished or called forth; their sinful nature is suffered to rise up and become predominant: thus the great vantage-ground of their*

“ Christian calling is abandoned, never, alas ! to be regained. They
 “ grow up practically without God in the world; and if some few here
 “ and there are brought to repentance and saved, the mass, it is feared,
 “ never return from their wallowing with the swine—they live and die
 “ ungodly. Thousands who once were made members of Christ and
 “ children of God are thus eternally lost, *mainly in consequence of this*
 “ *great heresy*, whereby our country, and even our Church, is overrun.

“ The denial of baptismal regeneration is the leading doctrine, not only
 “ of dissenters from the Church, but of the Evangelical or Puritan
 “ party within it; and in this they have entirely departed from the doc-
 “ trine of the reformers.” Pp. 22, 23.

Such is the Christian meekness of this would-be leader ! Mr. Gresley talks of the Gospel according to Calvin, and this may be the Gospel according to himself; but we have yet to learn either the truth or propriety of such sweeping denunciations. The plain truth is, that Mr. Gresley lives in a world of his own, cherishing all its bitternesses, and enlarging them; and, as we have seen that he is unable to define his own sentiments, much more does he fall into error when he ventures on the subject of his opponents' views.

This Christian gentleman, after quoting from two or three tracts, boldly accuses the party, which he calls Evangelical or Puritan, of a general wish to alter the Prayer-book.

“ The wish to alter our Prayer-book is very general amongst this
 “ party.” P. 24.

In a page or two further on, he accuses them broadly of “ *continually*
 “ *disparaging the grace of the sacraments*,” (p. 26), and that it is “ *a*
 “ *favourite topic*.” From this and similar misrepresentations, the pamphlet before us shews either a remarkable ignorance, or a more remarkable perversity of judgment; but the truth is, that Mr. Gresley writes on subjects as to which it is utterly impossible that he can form an accurate opinion. We accuse him of gross misrepresentation; and the least possible blunder which he can have made, is the not slight error of arguing a universal from the particular. How can he know what is a favourite topic with Evangelical preachers? It is painful thus to find a clergyman, who has our Orders, traducing his brethren, and charging them with a fault, as to the existence of which *by no possible means can he have had an opportunity of forming a judgment*. It is the conviction of prejudice, and the declaration of one who is more eager to make charges than to promote harmony. And then, forsooth, he comes forward with a mock blandness, which is perfectly ridiculous after what precedes it.

"It may be thought by some unadvisable to put forward in so broad a light the differences which exist in the Church of England—it may be called a stirring up of strife and agitation. What our Church most wants, as some maintain, is peace, the suppression of irritating topics; outward harmony at least, if not inward unanimity. *And some whom the writer most respects may think, that if this pamphlet has any effect, it will only be to cause additional bitterness and animosity.*

"All this I have well considered; and most heartily do I wish that God will give us peace; most earnestly would I join in deprecating *that party-bitterness which dwells on matters of trifling importance, and magnifies them into occasions of perpetual strife; most willingly would I sacrifice all mere personal predilections for the promotion of harmony.*" P. 27.

Even by the more prudent friends of Mr. Gresley, he expects to be blamed; and of one thing we are quite sure, that no publication for some time has been more useful to his opponents in shewing what are the tender mercies of the party, and their aims. Besides, we would wish the pamphlet to be read by every sensible man, and the recoil will be most useful. Even on the surplice question, as on baptism, the arguments are all personal. The Islington Clergy, Bishop of Calcutta, and Chancellor Raikes, all have their share of vituperation; and, as a summary of his venom, is the following:—"Not that they would have gained their point without calling in to their help a most dangerous ally. It was the spirit of the world that enabled them to *subdue* the Church. They have to thank the *Times* and *Quarterly Review* for their successful opposition to their Bishops." Now this is a fresh instance of Mr. Gresley's inaccuracy; for on p. 13 he had plainly confessed, that the Bishops, as a body, were opposed to the changes, and he complained of it. In the present instance, to excite or increase odium towards his opponents, he wishes us to believe that it was in opposition to the Bishops that the surplice agitation arose. We have, however, another specimen which misrepresents things in precisely a similar way: "*Church views,*" says he, "*are now associated in the minds of the people with all sorts of inconvenient innovations, as begging-boxes and five minutes longer service; and Evangelicalism, with freedom from these monstrous abuses.*" All this is written with a full knowledge that Evangelical services are almost always longer than those of Mr. Gresley's party, and that boxes and contributions are not only far more general among the Evangelicals, but that they are ten times more filled. The truth is, that the party called Evangelical, which does not number the great

wealth and aristocracy of the country in itself, does nobly support the Church Missionary ; but the Propagation Society, with all the old Church and Ultra-High-Church dignitaries, and recommended by every bishop on the bench, can scarcely hold on its existence. It has much Evangelical support, and without it must at once fall. And so it is in many other points ; but the truth is, that Tractarianism has frozen up the energies of its votaries, and is the doctrine of a few designing men, rather than the striving energy of the souls of men. It is a kind of play-religion, which satisfies the frivolous, but will never rouse the dormant powers of our country.

When next Mr. Gresley intends to accuse the Evangelical party of courting popularity by avoiding liberality and earnestness, let him consult the judgment of a friend, if he has such an one, and we venture to predict that his attention may be drawn to facts of which, in charity, we hope that he is ignorant.

But while on this point, we will advert to some after-remarks which he makes on the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, which shew in a moment how far begging-boxes are popular with Tractarians and their friends :—

“ The first aggression of the Evangelicals was the establishment of “ a rival society, called the Church Missionary Society, under the “ pretext of sending Missionaries to the heathen, (though it is well “ known that this is a branch of the undertaking of the Society for “ the Propagation of the Gospel), but with the real intention of “ sending out persons imbued with Puritan principles, over whom “ the London committee may exercise control. Not content with “ this, however, *they have in various ways raised so great a pre- “ judice against the Propagation Society*, that its exertions to increase “ its funds have been much counteracted, *its capital is all expended*, “ and there is reason to fear that the salaries of the colonial clergy “ must be withdrawn or much diminished.” P. 39.

Now, when we inquire by whom this prejudice is raised, we are answered by a charge against the *Record* newspaper ; but surely this, which Mr. Gresley accuses of being an organ of the Evangelical party, has no influence with the Ultra-High Church, and, therefore, cannot have raised any such prejudice amongst its general supporters ; unless, indeed, we are now to be told that the Evangelicals used to support it, in spite of their opposition to begging-boxes. The fact is, that the pamphlet is a mass of contradictions, which only extreme party blindness would have put forth. But the charge is repeated on the next page, that it may not be forgotten, as follows :—

“ Yet so attacked and vilified by a party in the English Church, calling themselves Evangelicals, that its means of usefulness are seriously impeded, its increasing efforts checked, and the good work in which it has been so long employed in danger of being suspended. Can there be a greater instance of unmitigated mischievousness?” Pp. 40, 41.

The Society has been its own injurer, by its imprudence, and by its Tractarian Secretary; but, if Mr. Gresley and his friends are anxious to know what is now done by it among the heathen, one piece of advice is tendered to them by us, which is, that they would inquire how much money is annually subscribed to it in the three Presidencies; and by this means they will gain an idea of the estimation in which it is held in the East. Would that the Propagation Society stood clear from suspicion; but while it is managed as at present, it will never stand in its proper position in our country, but will present the spectacle of a Society, whose funds are miserably low, while the sphere of its duties is scarcely less than the world. It lacks but one thing to make it the first of all societies; but that one want is its destruction. Whilst no public confidence is placed in its managers, and whilst it has the name of Tractarian stamped upon it, it cannot rise, and, alas! our own colonies suffer from the follies of men.

The next point on which an accusation is founded, is an account of Simeon's trustees, to which, in the first place, we start the objection, that if Mr. Simeon had done any wrong, it can hardly be laid to the Evangelical party. Let us, however, hear the pamphlet:—

“ No one dreamed that the character of the Church of England could be so seriously affected by such an affair of pounds, shillings, and pence. The result, however, has fully proved *the worldly wisdom of the projector*. Many very important places have already fallen under the patronage and management of Mr. Simeon's trustees; and, by *the judicious appointment of able, zealous, and unscrupulous partizans*, a sensible effect has been made on the general character of the Church. When the living of Bath fell into their hands, every curate in the dependent chapels, whose doctrines were not those of the Evangelical party, was at once removed, and Bath has since been a *hot-bed of Puritanism*. Clifton is likely soon to suffer the same fate. The greater part of Bristol is similarly circumstanced. The case of Cheltenham is notorious. DERBY, BEVERLEY, and many other places might be named, which, unless Divine providence open some means of escape, are likely to remain for generations under the same influence, and to be the centres, in their respective districts, of a

"system of doctrine which we have shewn to be essentially distinct from that of the English Church." P. 31.

It is a painful thing once more to accuse the writer of gross misrepresentation, and we hope that he will in some way explain away his error. As to Bath, it is simple calumny to say that its rector is not a sounder Churchman than Mr. Gresley; but, even granting that he is a "Puritan," more than half the churches in Bath have no connexion with Simeon's trustees; and how are these to be accounted for? As to the case of Clifton, it would be difficult to shew that the future will make any important change in it. "But," says our author, "the greater part of Bristol is similarly circumstanced." The "Clergy List" gives twenty incumbencies in Bristol, of which three are in the gift of the dean and chapter, six in the gift of the corporation, two in the gift of the Chancellor, and the rest in the hands of individuals, with the exception of two, which are in the hands of trustees; and neither of these even are said to be of the Simeon trust. But, if they were both such, *is it true* to say, that the greater part of Bristol is in their hands, and, in consequence, is a hot-bed of Puritanism? Neither of these churches produces £400 per annum, and the incumbent of the largest pays £110 from his own income for a curate; so that, on this score, the influence is comparatively trifling. But "Cheltenham is notorious," says Mr. Gresley; yet, if we except the chief incumbency, scarcely one of them can respectably maintain its clergyman; and it does not appear that all of these are in the gift of Simeon's trustees. Two places then remain, which are Beverley and Derby. We take them in their order, and find that *Beverley Minster* is in the gift of Simeon's trustees, and that the income of the living amounts to the enormous sum of £128 per annum, and that the population is 4517; but the other living, which has nearly as large a population, (4242), and a larger income, (£289), is in the gift of the Chancellor: so that Beverley cannot have been made a Puritan hot-bed by any very worldly man. But, perhaps, Derby is the most extraordinary case which could have been mentioned. Of twelve incumbencies, only one is in the gift of Simeon's trustees, and this is so poor, that it only produces £90 per annum: and we may mention a fact, which a few days since was communicated to us by a friend of the incumbent, whose name we will not mention, that it was necessary to find some man of property who could hold it, and live among the population of 4442; and that the present incumbent resigned the pleasures of a church in the country, with a view thus to devote himself more fully to his Master's service. With reference to Simeon's trustees, Mr. Gresley would do well either to be silent,

or to gain information, which is in the power even of the most careless and idle writer.

In addition to this, Mr. Gresley, speaking of Sir Robert Peel's Act, says—

“ A populous district is in want of a church,—a subscription is raised from benevolent persons to supply the want,—five trustees of Evangelical views are appointed as patrons, with power of filling up vacancies in their own body ; and so the Gospel (according to Calvin) is established there for ever. *Sometimes it is managed by taking a district out of an old parish ; but where this is not practicable, then, as I have known in several cases, a church is built in an adjoining parish, within a few yards of that from which the congregation is to be drawn ;* and an orthodox clergyman has the mortification of finding a rival preacher drawing off his people, and teaching them doctrines on many points diametrically contradictory to his own.” P. 33.

We challenge a proof of this assertion, that in several instances a church has been built within a very few yards of another in an adjoining parish, with a view to draw away the people ; and we can hardly understand why Mr. Gresley, who is profuse of personal attacks, should in this case have withheld the examples. We think, however, that the allusion to five trustees is very clearly meant to apply to “the Church Extension Fund,” which was originated in 1844, and has only paid sums towards two churches, and promised a sum towards three in addition. It would be very easy to shew, that in none of these instances could Mr. Gresley's words be applied ; but it seems needless, after our abundant exposure of his errors in the cases above.

It is easy after this to say, “ *that the Evangelicals are a schismatical body, distinct in feeling and practice from the Church,*” and soon after to write as follows of the Bishop of Chester, in speaking of the Christian Knowledge Society :—

“ One rule of the Society is, that all books and tracts proposed for the Society's catalogue shall be submitted to five Episcopal referees ; amongst them is the Bishop of Chester, who, I suppose, far from being offended, will consider it rather an honour to be designated as one of the heads of the Evangelical party. Consistently with his position, his lordship pretty freely exercises his power of placing his veto on such tracts and books, or such portions of them as, according to his judgment, do not harmonise with Evangelical truth, or, rather, the Calvinistic tenets which he espouses. Those Episcopal referees who are of a different school, have the power of excluding books of a Low-Church tendency. The obvious effect of this system is, to exclude

“ from the Society’s catalogue all books of a positive doctrinal character, and admit only such as are vague and neutral. But, as *it is generally supposed that the Bishop of Chester* is more strict in his revision than the other referees, the consequence is, that gradually a set of books and tracts, more or less tinged with Calvinism, has been added to the Society’s catalogue, and those of decided High-Church principles are denied admission. What is the remedy? *Obviously, not to re-elect the Bishop of Chester on the committee.* But this would be looked on by the chief managers of the Society as highly uncourteous, and exhibiting party-spirit; so that his lordship remains, and probably will remain until a crisis comes, a principal authority for reference in a Society which was founded by Dean Stanhope, Nelson, and Melmoth, and has been the honoured instrument, for more than a century past, of the old orthodox portion of the English Church!” Pp. 41, 42.

This passage needs no comment, for it accuses four bishops of neglecting their duty, and proposes to eject the fifth as a heretic, because he does what seems to him his duty. But let our bishops observe the following, which Mr. Gresley introduces for their especial advice, after having spoken of “the extreme *depravation of principle*,” (p. 43), “the *extreme bitterness and undisguised heresy*” (p. 47) of his opponents.

“ I wish to call attention to the fact, that there is within the pale of the Church, a body of men professing to belong to it, who nevertheless hold doctrines diametrically opposed to the plain language of our formularies; and, in their zeal for the maintenance of their mistaken views, are, by means direct and indirect, *labouring to their utmost to undermine and subvert those institutions to which you, the Bishops of the Church, all of you, or WITH ONE OR TWO EXCEPTIONS, take a warm interest, and have been accustomed to make use of as the best instruments, under present circumstances, for the edification and extension of the Church.*” Pp. 48, 49.

If we might make a suggestion, it would be, that Mr. Gresley should inform his diocesan that he considers his subscription to the Thirty-nine Articles not of perpetual obligation, which clearly appears from the following :—

“ Men who, *once or twice in their lives*, sign the Articles in a non-natural sense, are stigmatised as disingenuous, and pointed at as Jesuits: while those who, week after week, administer the sacrament of holy baptism, and teach the catechism in a non-natural sense, remain unblamed.” P. 52.

We are giving many extracts, that the general tone of the writer may appear: but the following is remarkable for two reasons; for, in the first

place it shews, from one who knows well from the complaints of his own party, that our bishops are taking decisive steps, and will rid the Church of the incubus of Romanism; and, secondly, that no language towards the bishops is too violent for the Anglo-Catholics.

“Bishops and their chaplains are careful to detect and exclude from the ministry candidates of Romanising views, but take little or no heed of such as hold dissenting doctrines.

“But even this is not a full statement of the partiality complained of. This discouragement of the rulers of the Church is not confined to Romanisers only, but is extended to those who most strictly hold the doctrines of the English Church; while, on the other hand, those who deny her doctrines and debase her services, are comparatively countenanced, or certainly not interfered with. A strict Anglican, who has not the smallest wish to join the Church of Rome, meets with opposition, or at least finds no sympathy; while those who are plotting against their own Church, and spreading heterodox doctrine through the land, are suffered to pursue their schemes unmolested. By this apparent partiality, many excellent men are much disheartened. Some even are disposed to regard their Church rather as she is seen in practice than as she is in theory, and to doubt whether *a communion in which truth is discouraged, and heresy tolerated and suffered to proceed unrebuked, can be guided by the Spirit of God.* Some have been driven by their feelings to schismatical acts; and even the most staunch adherents of the English Church—men who feel it their duty to remain with her, and contend under her banner to the last—find their spirit damped, and their energies weakened, *when those to whom they looked for countenance and support join in the ignorant outcry, instead of allaying it by the authority of their office.*” P. 54.

What opinion our readers will form of Mr. Gresley's pamphlet, we can leave to their judgment; but before we close our remarks, it will be as well to state what seems to us to constitute the real danger of the Church. In a word, it arises from the Romanisers that we have among us, who are all now anxious to avoid the change, because it bears some inconvenience with it. They are not few in number, and their main strength is in what is called the Anglican party, or a number of wary men, who can approximate to Romish principles without, at present, caring much for Romish practice. They are watching their opportunity for a full display of their principles; and, certainly, they have some apology for manœuvring, in the fact, that Dr. Pusey is permitted to hold his stall at Christ Church, and a regius Professorship, without being molested for his letters in the “English Churchman.” There

are, it is true, the difficulties of jurisdiction which stand in the way ; but when a party has sustained such a moral defeat that its own leader abandons the defences, what further need is there to prove to honest men that the principles of the party are not defensible on Anglican grounds. The real danger to our Church is, that it should lose the confidence of the country by the insidious dealings of the secret Romanists in her bosom. No one can doubt that Dissent was a falling system, until it was called into fresh vigour by Tractarian Popery. The dissenting leaders saw, in a moment, that the hour of our difficulty was the birth of fresh hopes. They were bitterly indignant that the larger portion of the Evangelicals refused to unite with them in societies, and, like the editor of "The Congregational Magazine," they exhorted them to repent, and do their first works, by joining them. While Rome was replenished with converts, a new and very cheap publication* was published, under the sanction of the great body of the Independents, and edited by Dr. Campbell, in which misrepresentation of our Church was as rife as in the pamphlet of Mr. Gresley. We will quote some remarks, which will at once shew how much use is made of the Tractarian controversy.

" Now, the Church of England is a society formed by act of Parliament, and made up of all sorts of people. The ministers, or *priests*, as they are profanely called, are very few of them faithful men. Puseyism, or Popery, in place of the pure Word of God, is preached in many of the buildings ignorantly called churches ; while a rite similar to the Lord's Supper, which papists and Churchmen call the sacrament, and try to persuade men (oh, awful delusion !) will, if properly given and taken, save the soul, is offered to people the most wicked ; therefore, it cannot be a true church, our accusers themselves being judges. How can I, then, dare to belong to it ? But not only I say, Out of thine own mouth will I judge thee." P. 12.

" Because of its trifling ceremonies, such as bowing towards the east, praying in a white gown, and preaching in a black ; going from the desk to what is impiously called the altar to read the communion service ; signing the form of the cross in baptism ; kneeling to take the Lord's Supper : and often changing the posture in divine service, which appear childish and trifling, a religious mummary, or an irreligious formalism, and not a worship of Him who 'is a Spirit, and ' must be worshipped (with the heart) in spirit and in truth.'" P. 13.

* It is called "The Christian's Penny Magazine and Friend of the People: under the Sanction of the Congregational Union of England and Wales." London: Snow.

“ Again ; in order to gain power for its priests, it exceeds the sin of Korah, Dathan, and Abiram, whom God destroyed in anger, *only* because they assumed to be priests ; but this church makes its ministers assume to be God, for, in the rite of confirmation and ordination, its lord bishop (poor, sinning, mitred mortal !) pretends to give the Holy Ghost. O what a fearful mockery ! what an awful sin !

“ Again ; by the absolution service, a poor dying criminal is led to think that the minister’s reading a form of pardon gives him a passport to a happy eternity ; and the minister is, perhaps, himself befooled to think that he can pardon sin—an error which we who know the truth can only look upon with agony, when we think that many, trusting to it rather than to Christ, may find their awful mistake, when they open their eyes in hell !

“ Lastly ; I might condemn its teaching us transubstantiation, its excommunicating good men of other churches, and its forbidding me to hear the Gospel ; but these are nothing to the evil of the burial service, which has often been read over the corpse of an atheist, an infidel, a thief, a drunkard, a prostitute, as though it were that of an eminent Christian ; and the holy God is defied to his face by a man, daring to call himself a minister of Christ, thanking him for taking a reprobate to glory ! What an outrage on religion ! What a lie to souls ! What a shame to Christ ! ‘ O Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do.’ Now, can I, as a Christian, belong to such a church ?” Pp. 13, 14.

This publication is said to have a circulation of 20,000 ; and we have never heard that this slanderous attack on our Church has been repudiated by the Independents, or any one of their leading men. So much for the present ; while it is notorious that no very long time has elapsed since the “ Eclectic ” lost much support, in consequence of its virulence against the Church. If, however, we leave the question of dissenting bitterness and energy, as excited by Tractarians, and consider what are the feelings which our clergy, as a body, hold towards Dissent, it will not be found that there is any the slightest danger of too great an union of clergy and dissenting teachers. Mr. Gresley is absurd enough to accuse his clerical brethren of a tendency to Dissent, while every one in the least acquainted with the general tone of the Evangelicals knows, that they are hostile to Dissent in every shape, and that year by year they withdraw more from mixed societies. If, however, there were a friendly feeling to Dissent, why should we not say with Bramhall :—

“ I am no advocate for schism. Yet this seemeth strange para-

"doxical doctrine to Christian ears. What, is all schism a more grievous sin than formal idolatry? Who can believe it? Schism is a defect of charity. Idolatry is the height of impiety, and a public affront put upon Almighty God

"Idolatry is a spiritual adultery, and so styled everywhere in Holy Scripture. A scolding, contentious wife is not so ill as an adulteress

"St. Paul calls idols devils, and their altars the tables of devils. "Can any sin be more grievous than to give honour to the devil?"—*Bramhall's Works*, p. 145.

Here, therefore, is the turning point, and one which ever is to be kept in view by all who are anxious to call in question the conduct of others. Is schism, in any sense, to be compared with idolatry? It is true that Dissent is on one side and idolatry on the other; but far, far better had we have "a religion without a Church," than "a Church without a religion!" A defective truth is better than a buried Gospel. But, says a certain party, is Rome to be called idolatrous? The whole history of our Church since the Reformation is one mass of absurdity, and our divines a number of ignorant men, unless the Church of Rome is an idolatrous church. It is idle to pretend that it is otherwise, with the writings of every century before our eyes. It is the great fact, that all of our best divines have been the most strenuous champions against Romanism. It is inconceivable, therefore, that, by any means, our Church should apostatise from the truth, by receiving Roman doctrine; and, even if it were willing, Rome would refuse it as a daughter, for they would, by fresh baptism, confirmation, and orders, shew that they denied our very existence as a Church, and, as in the case of Mr. Newman, they would profess to give him a Christian existence. To Romanise is to commit deliberate suicide, as an English Churchman; to throw a doubt on all past Christian principles, and plainly to deny the influences of the blessed Spirit in our previous existence. We hear, however, of a party who have apostatised; and we know of men who still Romanise; and these men, with all imaginable presumption, come forward and charge their opponents with being favourers of Dissent. And in all this they know that they are making a groundless charge, that facts are against them; and that, both in principles and from association, no men are more opposed to or by Dissent than these much maligned men, who have done so much to rescue our Church from Romanism and Dissent, that the country owes them lasting gratitude. The paucity of clergymen joining "the Evangelical alliance" might have shewn that the greatest dangers will not compel

the great body of Evangelicals in any way to compromise their principles. But Mr. Gresley wishes them not to be consistent, and he writes what he wishes, not what he might easily know. All this we can say freely, because we do not belong to any party, nor can we approve of the conduct of many who bear the stigma of Evangelical. Much has been done by them; but far more remains to be accomplished. But one thing they have not done, and that is, they have not concealed their principles, and for years contented themselves by making their young followers Dissenters, while they enjoyed the emoluments of the Church. They have not formed themselves into a secret party with a wide-spread correspondence, and with insidious devices ensnared the unwary, and spread misery in many a Christian family. It is true they have enormous influence; but they have had no organ in their pay which they dared not to acknowledge. They have not dealt largely in false transactions, with sophistical and garbled *Catenæ Patrum*. They have not praised loudly Episcopal authority, and then as loudly condemned every prelate who dared disobey their dictates. They have neither pirated some dissenting perversion of our Articles, nor acknowledged it when pirated. They have not shielded by numbers or by subterfuge any clergyman, whose conduct had made him amenable to the Ecclesiastical laws. They have not vilified the judge of the highest Ecclesiastical Court in this realm. These things they have not done, with all their faults or shortcomings. These high crimes and misdemeanours, common to Tractarianism, they have not done. At least, they have been honest and retained the high character of English clergymen.

It will not, however, avail Mr. Gresley, that by calling names he should endeavour to separate one body of the clergy from another. The truth is, that by a name of odium he attempts to create divisions, whereas, for the very practical purpose of ridding our Church of the incubus of popery, all good men have united; and, by whatever name they may be stigmatised, we fear not that they will continue so to harmonise. That influential body of clergy who occupy the middle rank, fall just as much under the anger of Mr. Gresley. He thinks they are traitors of his party, because they are aware of its aims and tendency. They know too much of it, and respect it too little ever to assist it in overturning the sincere and honest among the clergy, because the Anglo-Catholics wish it. Let Mr. Gresley simply ask himself whether he has the confidence of any party but his own, and let him propose some measure, and he will find that his partisanship is too well known to be undone by a virulent attack on such as he opposes. He will find, that no one imagines that to call others heretics proves the caller to be orthodox; or

that to denounce what he is pleased to call "extreme depravation of principle," is to prove himself honest or impartial. It is clear that Mr. Gresley will never be able to head the moderate party by calumniating the Evangelical clergy. There is too much truth, too much love, too much fear of Romanism, for this at present to happen. There is one course which becomes him, and this is *silence*. Let him tarry awhile, until the shame of his party is cancelled by a faithful and laborious service in behalf of his Church. It is not enough to inundate us with empty and bigoted fiction. Let us have cause to remark the diligent parish priest, who daily *binds up* wounds, pouring in oil and wine, not the loud and contentious disputant, who *stirs up* strife, and constitutes himself as the judge and ruler of his superiors. As neither nature, nor, as it seems, Providence, has designed him for any high post, let him be content to be humble, and remember the prayer of that great man, Jeremy Taylor, when he prays God to teach him to desire to be "little esteemed." With this earnest advice we may leave Mr. Gresley and his pamphlet, and say one word as to our own Church. We are not alarmists, although the heavens do sometimes look black over our Zion. It seems to us impossible to trace the past without discerning in it the finger of mercy. God has been with it in the storm, in the tempest, and in the still small voice. It has surmounted every danger, and, perhaps, never in its history has it been so alive to its duties as at the present; but how much more remains to be done! There are millions who hear not our clergy; there are thousands living in vice and ignorance of the great God and Saviour. The jarring discords of controversy have diverted many energies from the mass of evil which is in the world. The enemy sowed the tares while men slept, and on every side has there been confusion. We were becoming too pleased with our own advancement, when this last trial fell upon us. If it has humbled us, it has done some good part of its work. If it has shewn, in very strong colours, how easy man, with all his enlightenment, can apostatise, then it will have urged us prayerfully and perpetually to resist the devices of Rome in every shape. But as there is much to be done, so each of us must do something. We are too apt to imagine that the Church must be influenced and worked on by something external, by something powerful and vehement; but the past tells us that beneficial changes have commenced in stillness. The individual congregation is the sphere by which every man should seek to influence the Church. He is the least sinful in God's sight, who most earnestly and humbly labours to promote his will. Not the cloistered meditations, not the labours of the press, but the pastoral imitation of the Great Shepherd, is that which prepares and keeps the holiest worshippers of our common Master. And we are convinced that

this is every day on the increase ; so that we do not despair of our Church. The Lord would not have shewn us these evidences of His loving kindness, if He had been pleased to kill us.

With our apostolical constitution, our scriptural liturgy and articles, our missionary spirit and pastoral zeal, there is no pre-eminence among the churches of the world which we may not expect, or for which we may not pray. If the humblest of us are faithful, the gates of Hades shall not prevail so as to retain us in the grave, but in the morn of Resurrection we shall arise and shine as the stars for ever and ever.

May the great Head of the Church bless his own in our land ; and, as we are now celebrating the Pentecost, so may an abundant pentecostal blessing be poured down upon all lands, but, above all, upon that dear land which has nourished us, and on that beloved Church in which we have been called to a knowledge of the truth, as it is revealed unto us in our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.

To God be all glory, now and evermore.

NOTICES OF NEW PUBLICATIONS.

Supplementary Pages to the 7th and 8th Editions of an Introduction to the Critical Study and Knowledge of the Holy Scriptures. By Thomas Hartwell Horne, B.D. London: Longman. 1846.

MR. HORNE has added to his previous claims on our Protestant Church by entering more fully on the question of the Apocrypha, in opposition to the Romanists ; and he sums up the question as follows :—

“ The result of the preceding investigation is, that all Protestant Churches are fully justified in rejecting the apocryphal books from the canon of the divinely-inspired Scriptures :—

“ FIRST, because these books possess *no internal evidence* or authority whatever to procure admission into the sacred canon. Not one of them is extant in pure ancient Biblical Hebrew. They were all written subsequently to the cessation of the prophetic spirit ; and not one of the writers or authors of them, in direct terms, advances any claim to inspiration. Moreover, the apocryphal books contain many things which are either fabulous, or contradictory to the canonical Scriptures in facts, doctrines, and moral practice, as well as contradictory to authentic profane history.

"SECONDLY, the apocryphal books possess no *external evidence*, to procure their admission into the sacred canon; for they were not received into that canon by the ancient Jewish church, and were not sanctioned by Jesus Christ, or by his divinely-inspired Apostles. No subsequent Jewish writers have recognised the apocryphal books as forming part of their canon of the Old Testament. Further, they were not admitted into the canon of Scripture in any catalogue of the sacred books recognised by any council of the ancient Christian church, whose decrees were received as binding upon the universal church; neither are they to be found in any catalogues of the canonical books of Scripture published by the Fathers or ecclesiastical writers of the first four centuries. Moreover, we have the consentient testimony of numerous writers in regular succession, from the fifth to the fifteenth century, all of whom depose against the canonicity of the apocryphal books, besides the involuntary admissions or confessions of learned advocates of the modern Church of Rome, who lived before and after the so-called Council of Trent; and though some of them, 'in many other matters of religion, were violently carried away with the abuses and streams of the time,' yet, 'in this particular, which we have examined and followed through all the ages of the Church, the current ran clear and smooth among them.'

"LASTLY, the apocryphal books are rejected by the Oriental or Greek Church from the canon of divinely-inspired Scripture; so that, as Bishop Burnet has well observed, 'we have the concurring sense of the whole church of God in this matter.' Nor were these books received into the canon of Scripture until the eighth day of April, 1546; when five cardinals, eight archbishops, and forty-one bishops of the Roman obedience (who were almost wholly Italians), arrogating to themselves the appellation of the oecumenical Council of Trent, at their fourth session, presumed to place the uninspired apocryphal books in the same rank with the inspired writings, and denounced an anathema against every one who should not receive them and every part of them as sacred and canonical."

This Supplement will soon be in the hands of all who know the inestimable value of the great Work itself.

A Supplement to the Horæ Paulinæ of Archdeacon Paley; wherein the Argument from undesigned Coincidences is applied to the Epistle to the Hebrews and the First Epistle of Peter. By Edward Biley, A.M., late Fellow of Clare Hall, Cambridge. London: Seeley. 1845,

THE following passage from the Introduction will sufficiently explain the aim of the author:—

"In addition to the original plan of Dr. Paley, as here stated, the following *Supplement* contains the application of his argument to the Epistle to the Hebrews, and the First Epistle of Peter; shewing the former to have been written, like the thirteen others which bear his name, by the apostle Paul. By way of foil to the minute accuracy and consistency of the apostolic writers, an Appendix is subjoined, in which some errors are pointed out, into which the ecclesiastical historian Eusebius has fallen, in treating three centuries afterwards of the apostolic times. A long note is also added, to justify by unquestionable evidence the application of a passage in one of St. Paul's letters, which Dr. Paley has represented as being so obscure, as to be perhaps altogether inexplicable by us. It seemed difficult to curtail this evidence beyond the

limits here assigned, while it might have been multiplied to almost any extent. The original passages would have been given, but for the fear of increasing the size of the volume."

The Work seems done in a careful manner, and supplies a desideratum to students of the Evidences.

Four Lectures on the Advantages of a Classical Education, as an Auxiliary to a Commercial Education; with a Letter to Dr. Whewell upon the subject of his Tract "On liberal Education." By Andrew Amos, Esq., late Member of the Supreme Council of India; Recorder of Nottingham, Oxford, and Banbury; Auditor and late Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. London: Bentley. 1846.

THESE Lectures are perhaps more amusing than solid, but they exhibit considerable talent in the amount of anecdotes and illustrations that are interspersed. In some cases, particularly ludicrous instances are given in which ignorance of the classics has been of no small moment; but, in our opinion, much more should have been made of the needful distinction between mere *instruction*, or the cramming in of information, and *education*, which implies the bringing out and formation of every faculty which man possesses. The use of the classics, also, as exerting and strengthening the memory, is passed over, and the moral point of view, in general, is not enough regarded.

The following is a pertinent question, and the reflection which follows speaks for itself:—

"But whence comes the *heart of a merchant* devoid of a classical education? I speak here of the classics as an *auxiliary* to a commercial education; for I do not conceive that the system of exclusive classical education prevalent in our public schools is well adapted for the mercantile profession, or indeed for any other profession, or for persons of no profession at all. But can you not conceive that the man must be, in a measure, degraded in the scale of intellectual beings, whose heart, instead of coming from Dr. Ramsden's *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, comes from Boileau's '*Guidon de Finances*,' from the *Ledger*, the *Journal*, the *Railway Share List*, the *Times*' '*Money Article*,' and *Prince's Price-Current*?"

We could wish that our limits allowed us to enter the lists on the subject of the Universities; for in the letter to Dr. Whewell there are so many deficiencies, that it grieves us to pass over them, especially as there are many sensible remarks, and the author has some acquaintance with University affairs. We may produce the following extract as worthy of consideration:—

"It could be wished that when a young man quits college, at an age varying generally from twenty-two to twenty-four, he should possess a certain quantity of that kind of knowledge which is producible in the ordinary business of life, or such at least as, with little additional labour, may be applied to purposes of practical utility. He should not merely have acquired powers for accumulating knowledge, nor merely have stored those substantial treasures of information on which, if he can give considerable more time and attention to them, he may build an admirable superstructure of learning or science. He should know, or should be in a condition to know with

very little additional pains, what is immediately useful in the conducting of the affairs of the world.

"How often do we see young men at the age of twenty-four, who, from their acquired habits of reading, may be deemed to have the whole circle of human knowledge in *posse*, but who, owing to the avocations of their after-life, never possess above one branch of it, or perhaps not even so much, in *esse*? How often do we find persons of a like age profound in the theories of certain sciences, which, except as regards the subtilising of their own minds, are never of use to themselves, or any one else, because they have not opportunity or inclination to learn how to make the practical application of them? Just as if a person should propose to visit the different capitals of Europe, and should diligently approach within a stage of each, but, from accidents of the road or contingencies of his affairs, should never arrive at one of them.

"Again, although a student, upon quitting college, may not be reasonably expected, either at public meetings, or by the publication of written opinions, or even in less prominent ways, to contribute largely to the instruction, edification, or delight of society; yet his education ought to have supplied him with much of information requisite for these purposes, and also with the means of imparting that information in a manner to interest the attention of others. He ought, before attaining the age of two or four and twenty, to have acquired some skill in writing, and in speaking extemporally his vernacular language.

"How many persons of the age of twenty-four, and even in their grand climacteric, do we meet with, who are eloquent in the languages of antiquity, but imbecile in the use of their mother tongue? And yet the arts of speaking and writing English are the principal means of acquiring wealth and honour, and, what is of more importance, of advancing the interests of society. Without them a person, however deeply versed in ancient and modern learning, will, in most of the transactions of life, resemble those gifted saints described by Butler in his '*Hudibras*,' as illumined by inward lights which were not apparent to others, and whom he therefore compares to *dark lanterns*."

Mr. Amos thinks that a man ought to be conversant with the classical authors before he is allowed to take high mathematical honours, and to this he would add a competent knowledge of moral philosophy. The style of examination at Trinity presents him with a specimen which suits his taste, as we presume it would most men of genius. With him we lament that our Universities do not combine some more interesting studies, and we cannot but feel that such a variety would tend to enable the mind to embrace the more deep and subtle studies. At present everything yields to the one aim of ambition, and ambition is best gratified by the miserable system of *cramming*. How is it, we inquire of the University authorities, that so few men even profess to study Oriental literature? How is it that Hebrew is all but neglected, and that scarcely any Hebrew scholar of moderate pretensions can be found?

The state of erudition in our country is miserably low, and we believe that it has gradually decreased since the introduction of Classes. A high honour is an encouragement of idleness in many cases, and the ruin of every vestige of health in many more. The honour is put in the place of that for which the honour is given. And certainly it is an open question, whether our present exclusive systems are best calculated to expand the mind and enlarge the heart. At present, theology is forcing its way into prominence, and we trust that the sanguine hopes of many may be answered in it.

An allusion is made to the custom in Oxford of examining from particular books;

and both Mr. Amos and Dr. Whewell seem to favour this plan. It is useful, in our opinion, provided it be well carried out; but is it not absurd to allow a man to waste his time in preparing twelve or sixteen books, in many of which he will only have to construe fifteen, twenty, or, at the most, twenty-five lines? For instance, in Terence and Aristophanes, is it wise or right that a candidate should have in one examination to translate merely a few lines; or again, in Thucydides, at most to translate one chapter on paper, and half a one *vivâ voce*, and not to be asked more than one question on that important history? These are not imaginary cases, but of frequent occurrence in Oxford, and it is natural enough; for, in truth, so much has to be extracted, and so many subjects are forced into so small a compass, that the schools inevitably become a lottery, in which some men gain their deserts, but in which few have their proper place. The consequence of this system is, that many men, knowing the chances, take up books at a *shot*, as it is vulgarly called, and in most cases the whole energy is thrown into the study of Aristotle. The effect of this system is rendered even worse by the perpetual change of examiners, and, as a general rule, of the style of examination. One examiner is a scholar, but his senior is attached to science, and men are tossed about in doubt and uncertainty. One thing is, however, tolerably certain, that theology, in all its branches, is neglected. The Dublin system, which divides its examinations, and distributes honours for each subject, in our opinion, is far preferable to those of Oxford or Cambridge. It keeps up a continual ambition, helps on the student, and tells him, that if he fails, there are other opportunities by which lost ground may be recovered, or, if he is successful, he may renew the honour. Mr. Amos shews what is one of the many defects of the Cambridge system in not fixing on any particular books.

“ It is a bad consequence of the Cambridge system, which I know to have happened in the case of many distinguished prizemen, that they have neglected the study of some of the most valuable portions of classical literature, on account of their comparative easiness; thinking it a better *speculation* to rake for difficult passages and stiff words among authors of inferior merit. I have heard of young men coming to Cambridge who have been drilled to construe any Greek *chorus* which might be placed before them, but who had not read a single drama of which the chorusses were parts. Besides the danger incurred by a candidate for honours from the numerical odds in favour of a passage not taken from an author of the highest merit being proposed to him at an examination, there is a strong temptation to an examiner to select an obscure author and a crabbed extract: for he is thereby enabled with facility to draw marked lines of distinction between candidates, especially if one has, and the other has not, seen the extract before. How often has a young man's fame and prospects at the University depended on such chances as an examination-paper *turning up* Sophocles or Lycophron, Cicero or Plautus?”

We remember hearing of an instance, in an examination for Dean Ireland's Scholarship, which in Oxford is the great test of scholarship, of a man who was able easily to translate and comment on an exceedingly difficult passage in one of the Orators, who is seldom read, because he had read it for an examination by Dean Gaisford, as Regius Professor of Greek. There are circumstances which will always be happening, and will make every examination a matter of less certainty; but the question is as to the way in which their frequent recurrence can be prevented, or if not prevented in existence, yet nullified in their effects. The great point

which every examiner should avoid is, to be imposed on either by ingenuity, or by that species of preparation which flies away as soon as it has once been used.

The passage to which we most strongly object is one which exhibits an apparent ignorance of everything connected with theology.

" *The Divine*, who cannot hold a living until he is twenty-four years of age, whose " best chance of obtaining a living is by means of a college fellowship, to whom the " Greek and Latin languages, especially the former, being the language of the New " Testament, are professional studies, and who may unite the tuition of pupils with " his clerical duties very much to the improvement of his income, *has no particularly* " *strong grounds of complaint to urge against the present system of University* " *Education*. He even picks up *some crumbs* of Divinity in the *little* go, and " college examinations, and in the final examination for a degree also, *provided* he " renounce honours, and is numbered among the ' Heads without name, no more " ' to be remembered,' technically denominated 'The Many.' "

We can scarcely remember anything written by the bitterest opponent of our University system, which more strongly denounces it. Crumbs and pickings of Divinity, forsooth, are enough to qualify a man for the most solemn duties of life, and to be an ambassador for Christ to men! It reminds us, indeed, of a sad fact, that one of our young friends has now been two years at a college in Cambridge, and has never heard one word of theology, either in lecture or out of lecture, from the college authorities. Perhaps these authorities are satisfied with the pickings and crumbs, of which Mr. Amos speaks. We believe this carelessness is not general in Cambridge; and, as we have freely found fault with Oxford on some points, we may at least congratulate that University in making theology, up to a certain point, a *sine quâ non*; and, in some of the colleges, a very respectable amount of theology is necessarily read by every under-graduate. The course includes the Gospels and Acts in the Greek, with Paley's Evidences, Pearson on the Creed, Dean Graves on the Pentateuch, and Bishop Sumner's Evidences. Small as this may seem, it is much to be desired that it were more general. Public attention has for some time been drawn towards the Universities, and it must act in a manner beneficial to them and the country.

MISCELLANEA.

PROTESTANT NOVELTIES.

We have received the following *Essay* from a valued friend and correspondent.—ED.

THE heading of this essay has been applied by the Papists to our Protestant faith as a term of reproach. And it has been retorted on them that "Popery is a novelty, and that the Protestant religion was not only before Luther, but the same that was taught by Christ and his Apostles." This statement is incontrovertible. Thomas Doolittle well proves this in a sermon on Jer. vi, 16, inserted in one of the best treatises against Popery—"The Morning Exercise." His method is simple. He takes every article of the faith perverted by the Papists; and shews, first, what is the doctrine as taught by Christ and his Apostles; secondly, what is the same as taught by the Protestant Reformed Churches universal; and, lastly, what is the false doctrine as unalterably held by the Papists.

Now, it may be supposed that something similar is designed by the present paper: it is, however, intended to lose sight altogether of this controversy, and to take the assumed heading *as a truth*. It is affirmed, that the Protestant faith cannot be the true *living* faith, unless it be *productive*; for the written Word is not only *germinant* in the accomplishment of prophecy, and in the fulfilment of types, but the sacred Scriptures abound in truths "sealed up" unto the last days. This is well expressed by William Louth, Prebendary of Winchester, who wrote his "Commentary on the Prophecies" in 1720. (This writer must not be confounded with Robert Lowth, who lived subsequently, and is so well known as the author of a new translation of Isaiah).

William Lowth, in the dedication prefixed to the first volume of his *Commentary on Daniel and the Minor Prophets*, says,—

"The obscurity which is found in some passages of these prophecies, particularly in those of Daniel, hath exercised the thoughts of inquisitive men, in the foregoing ages of the Church. But we, upon whom *the ends of the world are come*, seem to have an advantage above those that went before us : forasmuch as it may be reasonably supposed, that the nearer the events foretold are to their accomplishment, the greater light several providential occurrences may afford to the predictions themselves."

And again, on Daniel viii, 26, he says,—

"The words instruct us that prophecies are never fully understood till they are accomplished : and the nearer the time approaches for their accomplishment, the more light shall diligent searchers have for the explaining them."

It is intended to shew, that the principle here applied to the prophetic part of the sacred volume is of general application. And I quote this from a writer at the commencement of the eighteenth century, rather than from many other authorities equally decisive ; since William Louth lived at a time of darkness, when God suffered, in judgment, a deep sleep to come on the ministers of our Church : and, on this account, his testimony must be received as free from any ephemeral excitement, or from what the world terms religious enthusiasm.

Leaving any additional remarks, by way of introduction, it is time to lay down simply and definitively the subject of the present essay ; or, rather, the fixed principle, on which it is intended to build the doctrine of "Protestant Novelties."

It is here contended, *that although there can be nothing new in respect to the analogy or proportion of faith, yet the application of those truths, thus comprehended, is infinite in expansion* ; and from each analogical truth, as a central sun, are innumerable rays of light continually emanating. The light is fresh, but the sun of truth remains the same. The Divine perfections are infinite in expansion ; and the truths of God, like those glorious attributes, are unlimited in application. God's mercies are new every morning, and all who "taste and see that the Lord is gracious," find also that his revealed will partakes of the character of those mercies. The sun is not less full of light, because of the rays it daily casts around ; neither is the Word of God less full of new views of truth, because of those which have hitherto been spiritually unveiled. Yet, in thus speaking of an important principle of revealed truth, a line of demarcation is plainly drawn. When God gave David directions for his son Solomon, in respect to the building of the Temple, it is recorded in 1 Chron. xxviii, 19 : "All this, said David, the Lord made

"~~me~~ to understand ~~is~~ *writing*, by his hand upon me, even all the works "of this pattern." Whereby, in a type, the builders of God's spiritual Temple are warned never to go beyond the rule of the written Word, as applied by the "hand" of the Spirit. This must be the measure both of their doctrinal and of their preceptive teaching. The walls must not be built with unhewn stones from Nature's quarry, but their natural roughness must be removed by the hammer of the Word; and their form squared by the rule of "the analogy of faith." And, again, in placing one stone upon another, untempered mortar must not be used, but that cement which the "hand" of the Holy Spirit only can supply. "To the law and to the testimony, if they speak not according to this rule, it is because there is no truth in them." We are warned to beware equally of the fanatical assumptions of those who would pretend to direct revelation independently of the written Word, as of the pride of others, who would place tradition on a level with the infallible rule of Divine Revelation. Each extreme charges a sacred fulness with a profane deficiency. The written Word, like the kingdoms of Nature, of Providence, and of Grace, is, as far as its Divine Author is regarded, perfect and complete, and embraces all things necessary to be known, even to the end of time: although its spiritual and hidden sense is but gradually unveiled; and its light will "shine more and more unto the perfect day."

And here it would be well to notice a common and popular objection, in respect to this peculiar property of the written Word. Many affirm that there is nothing new in regard to the gradual unveiling of revealed truth; and, in this way, they shut out the entrance of Divine light, and practically reject the office of the Holy Ghost, and the prophetic teaching of the Spirit of Christ. And, alas! how many, in this manner, have explained away those portions of the sacred Scriptures which relate to the glory of Jerusalem in the last days; and to that fulness of knowledge, which shall cover the whole earth as the waters cover the sea. May many be daily taught, by Christ, more and more the truth as it is in Jesus; and be enabled, by grace, to view the glorious things, passing knowledge, which are involved in those promises, that are yea and amen in Him!

If the gratuitous assumption were correct, that no new light is to be expected through the channel of the written Word, then one special end of prophecy, in respect equally to Jew and Gentile, must be renounced. God has revealed and foretold many events in such a wonderful manner, as to be understood in their fulfilment only; and by

which He is acknowledged to be God in Providence, directing and controlling human affairs. "His never-failing providence ordereth all things in heaven and earth."

Another objection presents itself to the principle inculcated. There are a great many who misquote a passage from Ecclesiastes, in support of a popular prejudice, that "there is nothing new under the sun," either in respect to revealed truth, or to human invention. If their dogma were confined to the *general* principles of "the analogy of faith," it would be perfectly correct; but, when extended to the *particular* subjects of revealed truth, to events in Providence, or to the power of human invention, it is *unscriptural, unphilosophical, and at variance with historical facts.*

The passage in question occurs in Ecclesiastes, i, 9, 10, and it deserves a distinct consideration; since, if the popular application be correct, that surpassing interest which surrounds the gradual development of spiritual light is dissipated on every side.

Solomon, in this passage, is speaking simply of there being no new enjoyment, either of the creature or of created good, which has not been previously possessed. This appears evident from the context. And what this can have to do with the subjects to which the words of Solomon have been so erroneously applied, it is difficult to discover. By a reference to the first chapter of Ecclesiastes, it is clear that Solomon is affirming that the supreme good is not to be found in the creature; and that we must look beyond it to the Creator. His text is, "Vanity of vanities, all is vanity and vexation of spirit."

Again, philosophically and historically considered, the application is false:—philosophically incorrect, inasmuch as the application of known principles is unlimited; historically false, because philosophically erroneous, as daily facts prove beyond contradiction. Not to speak of the invention of printing and of gunpowder since the time of Solomon, the modern application of steam, and of the light of the sun, points out the error of such a conclusion. But, although there are daily new inventions, the offspring of human intellect, under the control of Divine wisdom; although daily new pleasures are produced, by satanic cunning, for lulling into a sleep of death the souls of men; yet may it be confidently asserted, that there is no new thing produced effectual for satisfying the natural thirst of man after happiness, in any degree greater than that which has existed in former ages. Soon do such pleasures pall on the satiated appetite. Men may fancy that they have discovered some new way of killing time, and of vain amusement; or that they have at last found the supreme good in the creature; but they do not

exceed or surpass the inventions of former ages. "There is no new thing under the sun;" since all, irrespectively of the Great Giver, has been, and ever will be, "vanity and vexation of spirit." Even in the case of the Lord's people, their possessions and their varied sources of earthly comforts, are but so many magazines, from which our Heavenly Father draws his instruments of chastisement. The very principle of earthly joys is defective and insufficient to satisfy the natural thirst for happiness. Vain, therefore, are all endeavours to find in the varied application what is not in the principle. If the whole combined and concentrated cannot fill the capacity of an immortal soul, in vain do we seek for this satisfaction in the separate parts. The only true happiness of man is to be found in communion with God in Christ; in meditating on those treasures of wisdom, of knowledge, and of love, which are to be found in the written Word. David knew this well, for he esteemed God's word of more value than thousands of gold and of silver. Job understood this truth, for he declares that he regarded the Word of God as more to be desired than his necessary food. Our Lord taught the same in the parables of the one pearl of great price, and of treasure hidden in a field. St. Paul testifies to the same precious truth, where he says, "But what things were gain to me, those I counted loss for Christ. Yea, doubtless, I count all things but loss for the excellency of the knowledge of Christ Jesus, my Lord." In meditating on those promises, which are yea and amen in Christ, there are new objects and new sources of spiritual delight which never satiate. "Behold! all things are made new" by the Gospel! Grace now presents new spiritual joys continually, and promises an endless number of new blessings, which "the eye hath not seen nor the ear heard, and which hath not entered into the heart of man to conceive;" while future glory reserves ten thousand more. Faith draws aside the veil of the letter, and beholds with unveiled face the new heavens and the new earth; the new Jerusalem and a new Israel. Thus in Christ, and in the promises of his Word, there is no end of new delights. As his mercies are new every morning, so are the spiritual sources of that "peace which passeth all understanding, and which the world can neither give nor take away." But, in respect of the pleasure of this present evil world, "there is no new thing whereof it may be said, See this, it is new!" The meaning, therefore, of Solomon, where he says, "there is no new thing under the sun," is obvious from the context. It is, consequently, a gross perversion of Scripture to quote this passage for the purpose of proving that nothing new can be brought forward illustrative of Divine Truth. Yea, it is by no means unusual for persons to reject revealed truth on

the ground of novelty ; and no portion of the Scriptures has suffered so much from this popular prejudice, as those prophetic parts of the Word of God which relate to the last days, and which speak of the future glory of Jerusalem on a new earth under new heavens. If any fresh light is cast on the Word of Revelation, it is either referred to old sources and old commentaries, or else it is renounced and despised as "old wives' fables," the fanciful production of a lively imagination.

Now, the renewal, by the priest every Sabbath, of the shew-bread on the golden temple ~~is~~ the holy place of Solomon's Temple, was clearly typical of a "Scribe, which is instructed unto the kingdom of heaven, "who is like unto a man that is a householder, which bringeth forth out "of his treasure things *new* and *old*." Thus does the written Word support the principle affirmed.

Here, however, we must distinguish between the essential parts of truth, which are comprehended more especially in "the analogy of "faith," and their application in detail. There are certain general principles which must be distinguished from those which are particular, in the same manner as the genus is distinguished from the species. With regard to general principles, there can be nothing new in Divine Truth. For example, let the analogy of faith be compared to what involves unity. Then, though truth may be shewn to be one and unchanging, yet are there various sides to this one truth, which may be brought successively to view, and distinctively considered. And, since God's Truth is, like his perfections, infinite in expansion, new sides may be continually presented. Similar is the great variety of landscape-scenes presented by an extensive view, when seen from different spots. Or, like a venerable cathedral, there are not only certain prominent parts in the noble structure, but there are also many inferior beauties, which the eye of an architect only may be enabled to discover, and which require to be minutely surveyed. Or, the same subject may be illustrated from the light of the sun, seen under the refracting power of various transparent substances.

In reading the Scriptures, we must remember the power of God, the great Author of revealed truth ; since our Lord declared the true source of error, when He said : "Ye do err, not knowing the Scriptures, nor "the power of God."

The subject under consideration may perhaps be presented in a simpler light, by means of a familiar illustration, taken from the power of numbers, which are known to be infinite in combination. Arithmetic has been divided into general rules, which may be taken to represent

those truths that more especially constitute the outline of the analogy or proportion of faith. The examples of those arithmetical rules will then correspond to the application of these general truths. And, as none would venture to affirm that no new examples can be framed for the application of the general rules of arithmetic, so would it be equally absurd to maintain that no new examples can be discovered in the Word of God, illustrative of the general truths of Revelation. Though there are no new rules to be discovered, yet are there endless exemplifications of those rules. And as any arithmetician might frame examples to the rules of arithmetic, which were never before brought forward; so, in rightly dividing the Word of God, we can place no limit to the exemplification of the general rules comprised in the analogy of faith. But we must never forget that the rule is one thing, and the application another. To these general rules, St. Paul seems to refer in Heb. vi, 1: "Leaving the principles of the doctrine of Christ, let us go on unto perfection." This perfection, or fulness of age, applies not only to liberty of conscience, but also to spiritual discernment. Therefore, in the verse immediately preceding, the Apostle says: "Strong meat belongeth to them that are of full age, even those who by reason of use have their senses exercised to discern both good and evil." The writings of others on revealed truth are useful, just as worked examples to the rules of arithmetic are found to facilitate the progress of the learner: they were never designed to prevent the student from working out examples for himself. But it is in the school of the Cross only that any can be taught thus to work for themselves the rules of a spiritual arithmetic.

Let it not, however, be supposed that there is no danger in thus working out the examples of revealed truth for ourselves. There is much need of a chastened heart and mind that we may submit our carnal reason to the teaching of the Holy Spirit. We may otherwise easily mistake the rule by which we work our example: for heresy is nothing more than truth worked by a wrong rule. To this principle may the errors of the present day, as well as all former heresies, be traced; while, at the same time, we may recognise a depth of human wisdom in the mechanical part of the solution of these heretical problems.

It is by Christ only that we can be taught "the truth as it is in Jesus;" or be enabled, with unveiled face, to behold, as in a glass, the glory of the Lord, in the future glory of his Church. "In his light (only) can we see light." "The entrance (only) of God's words giveth light; it giveth understanding to the simple." The written

Word is the chosen channel for the conveyance of spiritual graces and of spiritual light. It is necessary for the Christian frequently to pray, in an humble dependence on the promises of a covenant-keeping God : " O send out Thy light and Thy truth : let them lead me ; let them " bring me unto Thy holy hill, and to Thy tabernacles ! "

Thus does grace only enable to separate Divine light from the false glare emitted from beneath ; and to distinguish true " Protestant " Novelties " from the perverted truths of " the Father of lies," and from the false inferences of a counterfeit teaching of the Spirit.

May " times of refreshing " soon " come from the presence of the " Lord ! "

F. D.

Haselbury, near Crewkerne,

May 26th, 1846.

In sending the last sheet of the CHRISTIAN'S MONTHLY MAGAZINE to the press, those who have laboured in it in behalf of the truth are anxious gratefully to acknowledge the kindness and sympathy which they have experienced from many quarters since its commencement, and humbly to thank that merciful God, who has sustained and blessed them up to this hour.

EDITOR of " *The Christian's Monthly Magazine.* "

June 1, 1846.

END OF " THE CHRISTIAN'S MONTHLY MAGAZINE. "

INDEX.

- Ancient Ceremonies and Superstitions, 227, 331.
 Anderson's Practical Religion Exemplified, 249.
 Anniversaries, The Freedmen's, 102.
 Antiquity, The Romanist Appeal to Ecclesiastical, 1.
 Apostolical Christians and Catholics of Germany, 67.
 Appeal to Ecclesiastical Antiquity, The Romanist, 1.
 Bamboo, The, 317.
 Bayford's Report of the Proceedings in Oakeley's Case, 203, 319.
 Benevolence in Punishment; or Transportation made reformatory, 398.
 Bible, Mayer on Luther's Version of the, 50, 180.
 Blencowe's Plain Sermons, addressed to a Country Congregation, 173.
 Bromsgrove Greek Grammar, Notice of, 226.
 Brothers, The Musing, 315.
 Bruce's Introduction to Geography and Astronomy, with the Use of the Globes, Notice of, 111.
 Carlyle's Letters and Speeches of Oliver Cromwell, 290.
 Catholics of Germany, The Apostolical Christians and, 67.
 Celibacy, Clerical, 286.
 Ceremonies and Superstitions, Ancient, 227, 331.
 Chester, D'Aubigne's Letters to the Bishop of, 338.
 Christian Doctrine, Newman's Essay on the Development of, 17, 272.
 Christianity, Lectures on the Prophecies, by Dr. M'Caul, proving the Divine Origin of, 614.
 Christians and Catholics of Germany, The Apostolical, 67.
 Christmas Garlands, 316.
 Church of England, Mr. Gresley and the real Danger of the, 640.
 Church, Position of Dr. Pusey in the, 203, 319.
 Churches of England and Jerusalem, Review of, 501.
 Clerical Celibacy, 286.
 Coombe's Notes on the New Reformation in Germany, and on National Education and the Common Schools of Massachusetts, Notice of, 111.
 Correlative Rights and Duties of Private Judgment, 524.
 Correspondence, 227, 331.
 Cottage Improvement Society, Second and Third Annual Reports of, 150.
 Creation (The), the Cross, the Judgment, 627.
 Crisis, The Ministerial, 87.
 Cromwell's Letters and Speeches, by T. Carlyle, 290.
 Dale's Good Shepherd and the Chosen Flock—an Exposition of the 23rd Psalm, Notice of, 109.
 D'Aubigne's Letter to the Bishop of Chester, 338.
 Dead, Memorials of the, 249.
 Dead, Voices from the, 102.
 Development, Self-refuting Tendency of Mr. Newman's, 538.
 Development of Christian Doctrine, Newman's Essay on the, 17, 272.
 Divine Origin of Christianity, Lectures on the Prophecies by Dr. M'Caul, proving the, 614.
 Duties of Private Judgment, On the Correlative Rights and, 524.
 Easter-day, 455.
 Ecclesiastical Antiquity, The Romanist Appeal to, 1.
 Ecclesiastical History Society, Notice of, 112.
 Editorial Retrospect, 575.

- Education, Report of Committee, appointed at Oxford, upon Extension of University, 457.
- Egypt and the Books of Moses, by Dr. E. W. Hengstenberg, 37.
- England and Jerusalem, Churches of, 501.
- Essay on the Development of Christian Doctrine, by Rev. J. H. Newman, 17, 272.
- Essays on Subjects connected with the Literature, &c. of the Middle Ages, by T. Wright, Notice of, 565.
- Esther, a Fragment, 562.
- Faber, Rev. G. S., Letters from—On the Secession to the Romish Church, 1, 113; On the Romanist Appeal to Ecclesiastical Antiquity, 1; On the Pope's Supremacy, 6; On Mr. Newman's Secession, 113; On the Tendency of Mr. Newman's Essay, 233, 353; On Moehler's Symbolism, 465, 480, 589; On the Worship of the Virgin, 577.
- Freedmen's Anniversaries, The, 102.
- German Poetry, Gostick's Spirit of, 70.
- Germany, The Apostolical Christians and Catholics of, 67.
- Golightly, Reply of Vice-Chancellor of Oxford to Rev. C. P., 231.
- Good Friday, 453.
- Good Shepherd and the Chosen Flock—an Exposition of the 23rd Psalm, by Rev. T. Dale, Notice of, 109.
- Gostick's Spirit of German Poetry, 70.
- Grealey (Mr.) and the real Danger of the Church of England, 640.
- Harrison's Historical Inquiry into the true Interpretation of the Rubrics, 124.
- Hastings' Parochial Sermons, from Advent to Trinity Sunday, 167.
- Heaven, Memory in, 318.
- Hengstenberg's Egypt and the Books of Moses, 37.
- Historical Inquiry into the True Interpretation of the Rubrics, by Rev. B. Harrison, 124.
- Hughes' Ocean Flower, 307.
- Imprisoned Nun's Lament, 535.
- Indian Empire, Our; its History and present State, by C. M'Farlane, 375.
- Industrious Classes and Cottage Improvement, 150.
- Interpretation of the Rubrics, Historical Inquiry into the true, by Rev. B. Harrison, 124.
- Introduction to Geography and Astronomy, with the Use of the Globes, by E. & J. Bruce, Notice of, 111.
- Jerusalem, Churches of England and, 501.
- Jewell (John), Bishop of Salisbury, Works of, 629.
- Jonah at Nineveh, 638.
- Judgment, Private, on the Correlative Rights and Duties of, 522.
- King's College, London, New Theological Department established in, 351.
- Lament of the Imprisoned Nun, 535.
- Last Day, The, Notice of, 225.
- Lectures on the Prophecies, proving the Divine Origin of Christianity, by Dr. M'Caul, 614.
- Lee, Professor, his Letter to Dr. Pusey on his late Sermon preached at Oxford, 423.
- Leeds Memorial on Mr. Newman's Apostasy, Reply of Bishop of Ripon to the, 349.
- "Let every Man take heed how he buildeth," a Sermon by Dr. F. Jeune, Notice of, 568.
- Letters and Speeches of Oliver Cromwell, by T. Carlyle, 290.
- Letters by Dr. Pusey, 203, 319.
- Letters from G. S. Faber on the Romanist Appeal to Ecclesiastical Antiquity, 13; On the Pope's Supremacy, 6; On the Secession to the Romish Church, 1, 6, 113; On the Tendency of Mr. Newman's Essay, 233, 353; On the Worship of the Virgin, 577.
- Life and Death, 316.
- Luther's Version of the Bible, J. F. Mayer on, 50, 180—Preface, 50; on the Rise, Progress, and 1st Edition of Luther's Version, also of the two Translations of the Psalter, by that blessed man, 51; What accuracy, faithfulness, and industry Luther used in translating the Bible, and whose help, and what copies, 63; Of the 2nd Edition or Revision of the Version by Luther, his subsequent Alterations and Corrections, 180; Mutual Contradictions of Luther's Testament, 190.
- Mayer on Luther's Version of the Bible, 50, 180. See Luther's Version.
- Memorials of the Dead, 249.
- Memory in Heaven, 318.
- Millennium, The, a Sermon by Rev. T. Rankin, 227.
- Mind and its Culture, a Lecture by Rev. W. Crump, Notice of, 336.
- Ministerial Crisis, 87.
- Miscellaneous, 231, 338, 457, 571, 673.
- Miscellaneous Works and Remains of Rev. R. Hale, by Olenthus Gregory, Notice of, 336.

- Moehler's Symbolism, Letters from Mr. Faber on, 465, 480.**
Moses, Egypt and the Books of, by Dr. E. W. Hengstenberg, 37.
Musing Brothers, the, 315.
New Jerusalem, or New Church Heresy of Emanuel Swedenberg exposed and refuted, by Rev. S. Gomperty, Notice of, 337.
Newman's Essay on the Development of Christian Doctrine, 17, 272; Letter from Rev. G. S. Faber on the Tendency of, 233, 353; Self-refuting Tendency of, 538.
Newman's Secession to the Romish Church, Letter from Rev. G. S. Faber on, 113.
New Publications, Notices of, 107, 225, 332, 464, 565.
New Zealand, "Letters from the Bishop to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel; with Extracts from his Visitation Journal, from July 1842, to January 1843," 545.
Nightingales, 537.
Nineveh, Jonah at, 638.
Notes on the New Reformation in Germany, and on National Education and the common Schools of Massachusetts, by G. Coombe, Notice of, 111.
Notices of New Publications, 107, 225, 332, 464, 565, 667
Novelties, Protestant, 673.
Nun's Lament, The Imprisoned, 535.
Oakeley's Case, Report of the Proceedings in, by Dr. Bayford, 203, 319.
Ocean Flower, The, a Poem, by T. M. Hughes, 307.
Oliver Cromwell's Letters and Speeches, by T. Carlyle, 290.
Our World, a Fragment, 496.
Oxford, Vice-Chancellor of, his Reply to Rev. C. P. Golightly, 231.
Parker Society, 629.
Parochial Sermons from Advent to Trinity Sunday, by Rev. H. J. Hastings, 167.
Passion Week, 452.
Peep into Architecture, by Eliza Chalk, Notice of, 464.
Perverts to Romanism, List of, 571.
Pilgrim, Spring a, 534.
Plain Sermons addressed to a Country Congregation, by Rev. E. Blencowe, 173.
Plea for the Abolition of Capital Punishment, by Rev. T. Pyne, Notice of, 565.
Plumptre's Letters, 266.
Pope's Supremacy, Letter from Rev. G. S. Faber on, 6.
Practical Religion Exemplified, 249.
Prayer, A, 317.
Present State of the Reformed Church, by Dr. E. Seherer, Notice of, 332.
Private Judgment, On the Correlative Rights and Duties of, 524.
Prophecies, Lectures on the, by Dr. M'Caul, 614.
Protector, The, 290.
Protestant Novelties, 673.
Protestant's Confession, Absolution and Penance, a Sermon by Rev. F. Dunsantoy, Notice of, 567.
Pulling's Sonnets, and Essay on Sonnet-writing, 410.
Punishment, Benevolence in, 398.
Pusey, Letters by Dr., 203, 319; Letter from Professor Lee to, on his late Sermon, 423.
Pusey's Position in the Church, 203, mon, 319.
Records of Apostacy from Protestant Churches to the Church of Rome, by Rev. J. Riddles, Notice of, 225.
Reply of Vice-Chancellor of Oxford to Rev. C. P. Golightly, 231.
Restless World, The, 179.
Retrospect, Editorial, 575.
Rights and Duties of Private Judgment, On the Correlative, 524.
Ripon, Bishop of, Reply to the Leeds Memorial on Mr. Newman's Apostacy, 349.
Romanism, Perverts to, List of, 571.
Romanist Appeal to Ecclesiastical Antiquity, Letter from Rev. G. S. Faber on, 1.
Romish Church, Secession to the, Rev. G. S. Faber's 2nd Letter on, 1; 3rd Letter on, 6; 4th Letter on, 113.
Rubrics, Historical Inquiry into the true Interpretation of the, by Rev. B. Harrison, 124.
Secession to the Romish Church, Rev. G. S. Faber's 2nd Letter on, 1; 3rd Letter on, 6; 4th Letter on, 113.
Self-Existence of Jesus, a Sermon by Rev. H. Vallance, Notice of, 110.
Sermon on the Death of an Infant Son, Notice of, 337.
Sermons, Parochial, by Rev. H. J. Hastings, 167.
Sermons, Plain, by Rev. E. Blencowe, 173.
Sharp's London Magazine, Notice of, 337.
Sonnets, with an Essay on Sonnet-writing, by Rev. W. Pulling, 410.
Spirit of German Poetry, Gostick's, 70.
Spring, a Pilgrim, 534.
Star of the Prophet, The, 317.

- Stories of the Primitive and Early Church**, by Sophia Woodroffe, Notice of, 107.
Superstitions, Ancient Ceremonies and, 227, 331.
Supremacy of the Pope, Letter from Rev. G. S. Faber on, 6.
Symbolism, Mr. Faber's Letters on Moehler's, 461, 480, 589.
Tendency of Mr. Newman's Essay, Letter from Rev. G. S. Faber on the, 233, 353; Self-refuting, 538.
Theological Department, Institution of, in King's College, London, 351.
Transportation made Reformatory, 398.
Treatise on Development, Mr. Newman's Self-refuting Tendency of, 538.
University Education, Report of Oxford Committee upon, 457.
Vallance's Self-Existence of Jesus, Notice of, 110.
Vice-Chancellor of Oxford's Reply to Rev. C. P. Golightly, 231.
Virgin, Letter from the Rev. G. S. Faber on the Worship of the, 577.
Voices from the Dead, 102.
Wild Flowers of the Year, Notice of, 464.
Woodroffe's Stories of the Primitive and Early Church, Notice of, 107.
Works of John Jewell, Bishop of Salisbury, Works of, 629.
World, Our, a Fragment, 496.
World, the Restless, 179.
Worship of the Virgin, Letter from Rev. G. S. Faber on the, 577.

